

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

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U.S. Imperialism Maneuvers To Crush African Revolution

On September 20, Ian Smith, head of the racist white minority regime in Zimbabwe ("Rhodesia") announced that he and his government had accepted a proposal for Black rule in Zimbabwe. Hailed in the capitalist press as a step toward a "peaceful solution," Smith's decision in fact represents the completion of another part of a neo-colonial trap for the Black people of southern Africa.

The specific proposal and Smith's acceptance of it are the result of months of imperialist maneuvering. The proposal is basically the same as the one proposed by the British last March. Smith rejected it at the time. Since then, U.S. imperialism sent its big gun, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, to work for an acceptance of the deal.

In a series of meetings since the spring, Kissinger lined up South African Prime Minister B. J. Vorster and, together, they pressed Smith into accepting the proposals. Despite disagreements over specifics, the presidents of five key African states—Tanzania, Botswana, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia—have made it clear that they are willing to bargain with Kissinger, Vorster and Smith.

Unless the Black masses are vigilant, they may find the fruits of their hard-fought battles snatched away and their struggle set back for years.

To see the dangers of the imperialist deal, it is first necessary to look at the specific proposals accepted by Smith. These include:

1) Black majority rule in two years.
2) A \$1.5 billion aid fund to protect the whites and their property if they decide to stay or to enable them to settle elsewhere if they decide to leave. Additionally, some money is to go toward subsidizing African-owned businesses.

3) A transitional government in which power is supposedly shared by the white racists and the Black majority.

MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE

Like all such imperialist deals, there is more here than meets the eye. On the surface the specific proposals look like serious steps toward Black rule. Underneath, they are something else.

First, the "majority rule" proposal does not specify who will get the vote. Nowhere is "one man, one vote" guaranteed. There is only a vague promise



that in two years there will be a Black government in Zimbabwe; what kind of Black government is not mentioned. And, since promises can be broken, nothing is actually guaranteed.

The second proposal is for \$1.5 billion in aid to the whites. But what do the white racists need aid for? "Aid,"

sweated out of the African people and mined from their stolen land, has been lining white pockets for decades. It's the African masses who need compensation, not the whites.

The real purpose of the aid is twofold. First, to convince the whites that the imperialists are not selling them out. If they leave, they will be

paid to set up shop in some "white" western country. And if they stay, which the imperialists prefer, the whites will be given money to compensate for any losses they might suffer.

The second purpose of the aid is to try to retain as much of Zimbabwe's current economic structure as is possible under the "new" regime. The \$1.5 billion is designed to help the ruling racists maintain their economic domination of the African masses. The small amount of "aid" that will go to African businesses is simply meant to buy the loyalty of the upper layers of the African population for the whole imperialist deal.

The third part of the proposal provides for a transitional government. For two years, power will supposedly be shared between the white racists and those Blacks who the imperialists have decided to recognize as leaders. In fact, power won't be shared at all. It will remain firmly in the hands of the whites.

In neither of the two proposed government councils, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, will Blacks have control. Instead, the deal gives the white racists the means to effectively obstruct all decisions by

(Continued on page 9)

Woodcock Engineers Defeat

Auto Workers Sold Out

DETROIT, October 13—Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), has pushed through one of the worst auto contracts in years. The settlement is not as good as what the Teamsters and rubber workers won; it falls far short of what auto workers were in a position to win; and it does not come close to what auto workers need.

Ford workers have narrowly ratified the new three-year agreement with Ford Motor Company. The 26,000 skilled tradesmen at Ford accepted the contract by the tiny margin of 489 votes. The far more numerous production workers ratified by a margin of 13,000 votes: 35,000 to 22,000.

Woodcock and the company are now hoping for an early end to the four-week strike, but 31 of 99 local

contracts remain to be settled. In these local struggles, auto workers must press the fight for what they need. They can begin to organize their own strength, independent of the union bureaucracy.

Woodcock accepted defeat from the beginning. When the negotiations were over, he claimed the deal he had made with Ford was "the best we can do." This is the lie that the Ford bosses want auto workers to believe.

What will the Woodcock sellout mean for auto workers?

Wages

Auto workers need: To make up the money lost during the last contract—plus a hefty wage increase to bring

(Continued on page 3)



Ford Rouge workers cheer as strike begins.

NOW 20 PAGES!

"La Migra" Launches Manhunt

Stop the Deportations!

Defend Immigrant Workers!

Every year, the United States government deports thousands of undocumented workers ("illegal aliens"). Most of these workers are Mexicans who crossed the U.S. border looking for work. Today, the campaign against the "illegals" is more widespread and vicious than ever. Who are these workers? Why are they being attacked? Why must the entire working class unite to fight for the rights of all immigrant workers— "legal" or "illegal?"

In the biggest manhunt in years, the Immigration and Naturalization Service Police ("La Migra") is now raiding factories and homes and stopping people on the street to check their papers. "La Migra" stops anyone who "looks Latin." If they have no papers they can be arrested and deported on the spot—over 1,000 workers in three weeks in Dallas, 200 in one week in Austin.

Many migrant workers have been attacked by the immigration cops. Cornelio Gonzales, for example, was beaten and tortured while "La Migra" was taking him to Laredo by bus. He died on August 26 in his hometown of Rincon.

"PROJECT INTERIOR REPATRIATION"

The latest phase of the increasingly vicious campaign is "Project Interior Repatriation," an airlift to the Mexican interior that started in July. Its purpose is to dump workers so far from the border that they won't try crossing again. The program's experimental phase, which ended September 30, anticipated flying out almost 17,000 adult Mexican men.

The airlift is only one example of

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PAC continues fight in Chicago



"La Migra" in action: immigration cops beat worker.

the growing attack on foreign workers in the U.S. Bills before the last session of Congress make it clear that the campaign will be pressed even harder.

Present law forbids smuggling, concealing or transporting "undocumented workers." But it does allow the capitalists to hire them. Because of this, sweatshop and plantation owners can work these workers to the bone at starvation wages and then turn them in to "La Migra" if they try to organize and fight back.

A bill sponsored by Rep. Rodino of New Jersey would make it illegal for employers knowingly to hire "undocumented workers." While this bill seems to go after the bosses, its real purpose is to hurt the workers. A boss caught knowingly employing "illegal aliens" would only get a warning notice, but his workers would be arrested and deported. After two years, if the boss got caught again, the boss could be fined up to \$500 per worker, but this is a fraction of the profit he would have sweated out of the workers. The workers would still be deported—of course.

Senator Eastland of Mississippi, a right-winger and large landowner who hires thousands of migrant laborers, introduced a bill in March. His bill combines parts of the Rodino bill with even more vicious features. He would let agribusiness import foreign workers without restriction for indefinite periods. The workers would have no rights. They couldn't even organize or change jobs without risking immediate arrest and deportation.

RETURN TO BRACEROS

The Eastland bill would restore the "traditional" way of handling Mexican migrant workers.

In the past, in times of economic boom, border patrols allowed growers to import hundreds of thousands of Mexican contract laborers ("Braceros") to work under slave conditions at starvation wages. During economic recessions the government then deported them by the hundreds of thousands, whipping up anti-Mexican hysteria and blaming "illegal aliens" for the unemployment created by capitalism.

Eastland likes this method of dealing with the "immigrant problem." His bill is designed to restore it.

Whichever of the new bills is adopted, one thing is certain: attacks on foreign workers will continue. Congress has made this clear. When President Ford recently asked for \$10 million to strengthen "La Migra," Congress quickly agreed. In fact, they gave him \$17.3 million—nearly twice as much as he asked for!

The labor bureaucrats join the capitalists in the reactionary attacks on the immigrant workers.

Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is one of the worst. He has attacked "illegal aliens" as scabs and told his supporters to write to the Justice Department and demand that they deport more people.

Chavez supported the Dixon-Arnett law, California's version of the Rodino bill, and even supported an appeal when the State Supreme Court threw the law out as unconstitutional! The UFW membership, however, includes both "legal aliens" and "illegal aliens" (often in the same family). Pressure from the rank and file has forced Chavez to change his stand a little. Chavez now supports "amnesty"—for his members, and to hell with the rest!

CAPITALISM IS THE ENEMY

The real cause of unemployment is not the foreign workers but capitalism. The capitalists find it more profitable

to add new machinery, lay off workers and sweat more out of the others. In economic crises, production is cut back and millions more workers are thrown out of work.

Today, the attacks on "undocumented" workers are part of the general attack by the ruling class on wages, working and living conditions. A united working class could beat back these attacks. It could demand that jobs be provided at the expense of the capitalists, through a shorter work week with no loss in pay, public works projects to rebuild the cities and reclaim the environment.

But this is the last thing the capitalists want. And to prevent it, they try to "divide and rule" the workers. They tell white workers that Blacks are taking their jobs. They tell the Black workers that the whites won't let them work. They turn the U.S. workers against foreign workers. The result is that instead of uniting to fight the capitalists for jobs, higher wages and decent conditions, the workers often fight each other instead.

The labor bureaucrats play the same game. They want to save their jobs by saving U.S. capitalism. They don't want the workers to weaken the capitalists, let alone overthrow capitalism itself. As a result they are for keeping out foreign goods and foreign workers, they support imperialism wars, and they support racism throughout the country and the world.

Just as the answer to the ruling class attacks is working class unity, the answer to the international capitalist attack against the workers is international working class unity. We need an international fight against U.S. imperialism, for jobs, better wages and working conditions. This means that we must fight for the right of all workers to cross any border to look for work. The capitalists aren't limited by borders. They move their plants to other countries where they can get cheap raw materials and pay the workers pennies. They finance dictators who jail, torture and kill workers for daring to strike while the immigration laws prevent them from escaping.

WORKING CLASS UNITY

U.S. workers must defend all immigrant workers, "legal" or "illegal." They must support the fight of "undocumented" workers for full rights and to get rid of sweatshop conditions and starvation wages. U.S. workers should fight for the U.S. labor movement to support the organizing efforts of workers all over the world and link up in truly democratic international unions. As a start, U.S. workers must fight for their unions to start coordinated strike and other trade union action with the Mexican unions so that the workers on both sides of the border, "legal" and "illegal," can fight together to win jobs. □



Mexican migrant workers wait for freight in Pacific northwest.

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real wages in record profits

Woodcock's hour in the first posed to be "n 9 cents come COLA and 11 ed" from the d annual wage in es in productivity cluded in ever 1948. 13-25 c trades in the this contract n the vast major

Result: The its profits for up from the each worker la making the sa 1973 with 60.0 percent produ complete rip-fraud.

COLA

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Result: Auto will decline as i

SUB

Auto workers funding. The cor sible for layoffs sponsible for m fund and ensurin In 1974-75, 250.0

Auto Workers Sold Out...

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real wages in line with the company's record profits.

Woodcock settled for: 20 cents per hour in the first year only. This is supposed to be "new money," but it isn't: 9 cents comes from unpaid back COLA and 11 cents is being "diverted" from the dental plan. A 3 percent annual wage increase to match increases in productivity, which has been included in every UAW contract since 1948. 13-25 cents extra for skilled trades in the first year only. In fact, this contract means no new money for the vast majority of auto workers.

Result: The company will increase its profits for each worker employed, up from the \$13,000 they made for each worker last year. The industry is making the same number of cars as in 1973 with 60,000 fewer workers. The 3 percent productivity increase is a complete rip-off; the 20 cents is a fraud.

COLA

Auto workers need: Full cost of living protection to keep up with inflation. An escalator clause which automatically adjusts wages to fully meet every rise in the cost of living.

Woodcock settled for: No improvement over the '73 contract. Auto workers currently receive a penny for every

laid off. SUB funds ran out at GM and Chrysler.

Woodcock settled for: Boosting SUB payments by a few cents and dividing the fund into separate accounts for low- and high-seniority workers, to ensure continued payments for older workers.

Result: Major benefit is to high-seniority workers, at the expense of low-seniority workers. For low-seniority workers, the SUB fund will run out sooner than before. Reduction in the workforce through layoffs will mean decreased payments for the companies.

Retirees

Auto workers need: A decent retirement income which keeps up with inflation after sacrificing life and health to the assembly line.

Woodcock settled for: No improvement in current rates. To "make up" for past inflation, retirees get a \$400 cash grant for 20 years' "service" and \$600 for 30 years. The money is spread out over three years (or \$4.00 extra per week, enough to buy a couple of six packs to ease the pain of inflation). The money will come from the COLA of working UAW members.

Result: Retirees get small subsidies from active workers—at no cost to the company.

The above is what Woodcock "won" on wages and benefits. The



Ford's top negotiators announce terms of contract.

safe place to work, including the right to strike over any unsafe conditions.

Woodcock settled for: No change. **Result:** Increasing number of deaths and crippling injuries for workforce.

Racism and Discrimination

Auto workers need: Full equality for all sections of the workforce. An end to all racism and sexism in hiring and promotions. Full and open access for all workers to training programs and skilled jobs. Fire all racist and sexist foremen.

Woodcock settled for: No change. **Result:** Increasing attacks on Black, other minority and women workers. Increasing divisions within the workforce making collective resistance more difficult.

The contract is a complete sellout on wages, benefits and working conditions. On the question of job security—which Woodcock called the key question—it is a disaster.

Job Security

Auto workers need: Full employment through reduced work time. Auto workers faced massive layoffs during the last contract. In Detroit alone, unemployment among some sections of the population is 50 percent. The UAW must fight for jobs for all through dividing up the work among all those willing to work. 30 hours' work for full pay!

Woodcock settled for: A few more days off with pay. None in the first year of the contract. A total of 13 over the next three years. No guarantee of new hiring.

Result: Minimal cost to company, no increased job security, no new jobs.

SHORTER WORK WEEK FRAUD

Woodcock is calling these 13 days a "shorter work week." He describes them as a monumental gain: "This is most definitely a step toward the four-day work week." The bosses' newspapers have joined the chorus, claiming that the UAW has come up with, "the first major innovation in collective bargaining agreements since the 1950s."

The facts are different. If the entire industry accepted this clause and if replacement workers were hired to fill in the days off (they won't be), this would only increase the workforce by a maximum of 1.5 percent. That would still leave the workforce in auto with 50,000 fewer workers than in 1973. It would barely make a dent in Detroit unemployment if all the new jobs were in Detroit.

In reality, the proposal is much worse. Christmas vacation time has been reduced from seven or eight days (depending on when Christmas falls) to six days—a net loss of one to two days per year. This means that three

to six days must be subtracted from the 13, leaving a total of only seven to 10 "new days" over the next three years!

The companies can easily counteract the effects of these days off by speeding up the workforce. Local plant managers will handle the scheduling, so the days off will be spread out and will have very little impact on production. If they have any problems, they can simply increase the overtime. (Woodcock made concessions to Ford which make it easier for the company to force overtime on auto workers.) Thus, there will be no new hiring in auto as a result of this "historic gain." In fact, with another economic recession around the corner, thousands of auto workers are likely to be laid off before any of the 13 days can even be used!

Woodcock knows all this. The bluster about a "shorter work week" and "thousands of new jobs" was simply designed to put a pretty face on the worst UAW contract in many years. The settlement gains next to nothing on wages, benefits, SUB, working conditions or jobs.

The Woodcock settlement is a complete sellout. When all the fancy words are stripped away, there's nothing in the contract. Ford workers struck for four weeks and got... nothing! Further, the impact of the contract will hit production workers the hardest. The small improvements which were won for older workers, skilled workers and retirees come directly at the expense of production workers. This will further divide production workers from skilled tradesmen and weaken the union.

A far better settlement could have been won. In the last quarter, Ford made the highest profits in its entire history—\$442 million. There was plenty of money to provide substantial gains for all sections of the workforce. But, while auto workers were prepared to fight for these gains, Woodcock refused to organize and lead the ranks in this struggle.

Although the national Ford contract has been ratified, many local agreements have not yet been settled. Auto workers must use this opening to build a fight for what they need. National contracts must still be ratified at GM, Chrysler and AMC. The workers at these companies should call for a rejection of the sellout.

Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy will never fight to defend auto workers. That task falls to the auto workers themselves. Militants in the UAW must begin to build a movement that can organize the fight for more jobs, higher wages and better working conditions.

Such a movement must fight to throw out the reactionary hacks who sit on top of the union. It must put the union firmly in the hands of a revolutionary leadership with strong roots in the rank and file. □



Auto workers demonstrate for shorter work week. Woodcock sold this struggle out.

3 rise in the Consumer Price Index. This does not keep up with inflation. In the last contract, 10 cents per hour from COLA was diverted into the dental plan. This money is lost forever; it cost each auto worker \$150 over the last year alone and saved the corporations millions. The new contract diverts even more money from COLA to cover a special payment to retirees.

Result: Auto workers' real wages will decline as inflation continues.

SUB

Auto workers need: Improved SUB funding. The corporations are responsible for layoffs; they should be responsible for maintaining the SUB fund and ensuring full SUB payments. In 1974-75, 250,000 auto workers were

contract is even worse on working conditions inside the plants. Auto workers spend 40, 50, or even 60 hours a week breaking their backs in the companies' hell-holes. What improvements did Woodcock win?

Speedup

Auto workers need: Protection against merciless speedup, including the right to control line speed. Right to strike over production standards.

Woodcock settled for: No change. **Result:** Increasing speedup for auto workers; increasing harassment and firings.

Health and Safety

Auto workers need: A decent and

inery, lay off workers out of the others. In production is cut as more workers are work.

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Canadian Workers Call General Strike

The 2.2 million member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) has set October 14 as a nationwide "day of protest" against the government-imposed wage controls. The Quebec Federation of Labor, the Quebec Teachers Federation and other independent unions will join in the one day general strike. The CLC has called on the unemployed,

the unorganized, pensioners and students to support the struggle against the government.

Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau instituted the wage controls in October of 1975. Since that time the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) has consistently cut the wage settlements won by workers in their strikes against the



Canadian unions march to build support for general strike.

**The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught,**

WE SHALL BE ALL!

Arbitration: A Defeat for 1199

On September 14, a government-appointed arbitrator handed down her decision on the contract covering 40,000 hospital workers in New York City. The workers are members of District 1199—National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

When the contract expired in July, these workers struck New York City's voluntary hospitals for 11 days. The union's leadership ended the strike after hospital management agreed to submit the contract to binding arbitration. Leon Davis, president of 1199, claimed that this was a victory and that the arbitrator would deliver a "fair and impartial" decision.

The new contract is a defeat for hospital workers. The cost of living allowance is lost. The Training and Upgrading Fund has been suspended for one year and the money saved will be used to pay a 4.5 percent wage increase and a 1 percent Benefit Fund increase. The wage increase does not start until January 1, 1977, and will not cover workers hired after that date. The probationary period is lengthened and, since hospital management pays no money into the Benefit Fund on "probationary employees," the bosses save a huge amount of money. Newly hired, part-time employees working less than 19.2 hours per week have lost all benefit and pension rights.

Davis and the rest of the 1199 bureaucrats sold hospital workers down the river. They preferred defeat to waging a hard struggle for victory. Hospital workers must organize their forces now and prepare to strike for what they need when the contract is reopened in July.

UE Refuses to Endorse Carter

At its recent convention in September, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) took positions of importance to the American working class. Reaffirming a resolution passed at its 1975 convention, the UE refused to support either Ford or Carter in the upcoming Presidential election. Instead, the union called for "independent political action on a community and state level."

The UE also announced gains in its efforts to organize unorganized workers and reaffirmed its support for this crucial task for the labor movement. Overall, the union doubled the number of newly organized workers compared to last year.

At a time when many unions (the UAW in particular) are losing elections in the South or not even attempting to organize there, the UE has won some victories in this anti-union stronghold. The most important was at General Electric's turbine plant in Charleston, South Carolina, where 730 workers voted in the UE.

bosses. The AIB recently slashed a 36 percent wage gain won by steelworkers in the Yukon to 9.1 percent. Wage increases averaged 18.7 percent in the quarter before the wage controls; they are now averaging 11.5 percent, and in the next year the government has pledged to cut them even further to 6 percent.

Through the wage controls, the government has increased its overall control of the labor movement. The AIB is attempting to enforce "compulsory national arbitration" in major collective bargaining agreements, has used back-to-work laws against major strikes and has outlawed strikes in "essential" industries. While labor has taken a beating, the bosses' profits have been on the rise. Every wage cut enforced by the AIB means increased profits for the capitalists.

In the U.S., labor misleaders like Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons sat on Nixon's wage board in 1971 and gave credibility to the government's wage cutting. This has not happened in Canada. The Canadian labor leaders have refused to sit on the AIB and are now being forced—by angry workers across Canada—to call a general strike.

Workers in the U.S. should fully support the general strike in Canada. Most important, they should recognize that the general strike is a weapon which they must use against the capitalist offensive. □

Kokomo Plan Set Aside; Greater Speedup Coming

"The Kokomo Plan is dead."

This was the announcement made by the president of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), James Rademacher, as the NALC convention opened on August 9. Arbitrator Sylvester Garret had just ruled that the Kokomo Plan was "unfair, unreasonable and inequitable." The plan, one of the most brutal in a whole series of management speedup schemes, was in effect in Kokomo, Indiana and Portland, Oregon. Under the plan, letter carriers were constantly harassed by postal inspectors and forced to do 12-14 hours' work in 8-10 hours.

Militant letter carriers had shown their determination to fight against further implementation of the plan. They forced through strike resolutions against the Kokomo Plan at the 1974 NALC convention and in many local branches of the union. The leaders of the union consistently refused to carry out these decisions and never organized any kind of fight against the plan. Instead they preached reliance on the arbitrator, but the union tops were having a hard time maintaining their control over angry rank and file letter carriers. The ruling class and its arbitrator realized this and decided that the Kokomo Plan was more trouble than it was worth. They were willing to dump this particular plan, but they will use the same methods under a different name.

Thus, as a part of the Kokomo Plan decision, the arbitrator accepted postal management's right "to devise new work and time standards for letter



James Rademacher of NALC (top) and Francis Filbey of APWU (bottom) preach trust in arbitrators, "vigils" at White House. Says Filbey: "Whatever you do, don't strike."



The UE convention also called for full cost of living protection and a 35-hour work week with no loss in pay.

The UE's left-wing traditions (and the beating it took during the 1950s at the hands of the Meany-Reuther forces and the government) make it more sensitive to the pressure of the working class than are the more conservative leaders of the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters. But the UE leadership is by no means revolutionary, and has no intention of waging an aggressive campaign among the ranks of the labor movement for independent political action and for mass campaigns to organize the unorganized. Nonetheless, even "for-the-record" positions in favor of these important tasks represent a small but important opening for militant workers.

UPS Strike Hits Eastern States

Seventeen thousand Teamsters are continuing their strike against United Parcel Service (UPS) in 15 Eastern states. UPS management wants to replace all full-time inside workers with part-timers who get low wages and almost no benefits. This would be a major defeat for UPS workers.

Management also wants the unlimited right to suspend and fire workers for "low production." UPS already has one of the most brutal speedup systems in the country, and they are trying to take away any defense the workers have against company production standards.

The strike began on September 15 and has shut down UPS terminals from Maine to South Carolina. UPS is the nation's largest hauler of Christmas goods, and October is their biggest month. Packages are now piling up in the terminals. Many customers are taking their business to other companies.

The U.S. Postal Service (USPS) has hired thousands of new casuals in Philadelphia and New York to handle the additional parcels. USPS is also forcing full-time regulars to work 10-12 hour shifts, seven days a week.

The strike is hurting UPS, but the bosses are determined to press their attacks. Management hopes to "wait out" the strikers. The Teamsters must pull out all the stops to shut UPS down tight!

The union leadership refuses to do everything necessary to make the strike effective. Teamsters at UPS in New York City (the major center) have a separate contract and are still working. New York City should be shut down immediately.

UPS supervisors are trying to move scab trucks out of the Eastern terminals to working terminals in the Midwest. East coast Teamsters need mass picketing to stop the scab trucks. Teamsters in the Midwest should refuse to handle the scab goods.

—BA

carriers." In other words, USPS management has the go-ahead to implement the rest of its plans. MIP-SOP, the Norwalk Plan and others are now being tested on the West Coast; some are worse than the original Kokomo Plan.

Postmaster General Bailar decided months ago to cut the postal workforce by 100,000. He has already succeeded, through trip cuts and speedup, in driving 20,000 postal workers out of their jobs. Postal management will now "rework" the Kokomo Plan and proceed with the others, all of which are designed to get the same result: more work out of fewer workers.

The leaders of the major postal unions responded to the Kokomo ruling in a typically bureaucratic fashion. Rademacher, at the NALC convention in August, claimed the

(Continued on page 18)

Plan Set Greater Coming

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James Rade- macher of NALC (top) and Francis Filbey of APWU (bot- tom) preach trust in arbit- rators, "vigils" at White House. Says Filbey: "What- ever you do, don't strike."

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WHO IS ED SADLOWSKI?

By Bob Anderson

A serious fight has developed in the bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) over who will succeed I. W. Abel as president. The 1.3 million member union elects new national officers in February 1977. It is currently the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, and the struggle going on within the USWA will have a powerful impact on the direction of the labor movement as a whole.

Abel has reached the mandatory retirement age, and the various sections of the bureaucracy are now lining up behind the two main candidates to replace him: Ed Sadlowski and Lloyd McBride.

Sadlowski, who formally announced his candidacy on September 13, is the Director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary region)—the largest district in the union. McBride, Director of District 34 (St. Louis), is the hand-picked candidate of Abel and an important member of the USWA's "official family."

ABEL— ARCHITECT OF THE ENA

Abel has been president of the union since 1965. During these years steelworkers have taken a beating and have become increasingly dissatisfied with the national leadership.

Abel is the architect of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which he signed in 1973. The ENA gives up steelworkers' right to call a national strike until 1980. Abel claimed that the ENA would bring job security to steelworkers by eliminating the "disruption" caused by the threat of a strike. The companies always stockpiled materials prior to the expiration of the contract to counteract the effects of a possible strike. When a strike didn't occur—and it never did under Abel—heavy layoffs followed. Abel argued that the ENA, by taking away the threat of a strike, would keep steelworkers on the job. But in the past two years over 100,000 steelworkers have been on layoff. Some job security!

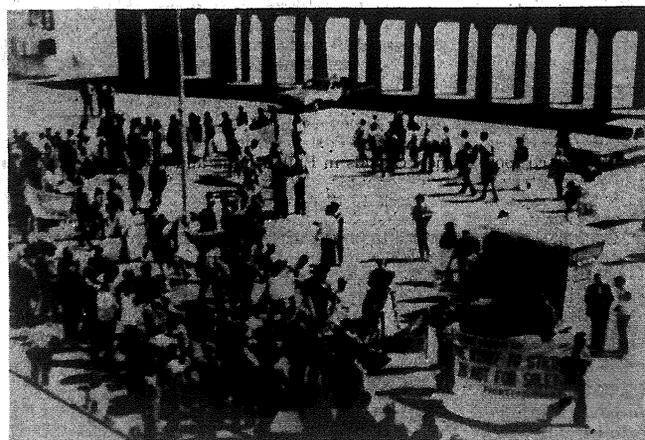
Abel was also a proud participant in U.S. Steel's infamous productivity campaign. Abel appeared everywhere in U.S. Steel advertisements, telling

steelworkers to work harder! The pent-up anger of steelworkers broke through in the local union elections last spring. In dozens of locals, pro-Abel incumbents were booted out of office by rank and file groupings and Sadlowski supporters.

These local elections put Abel and his friends on notice that they were in trouble and that Sadlowski would be a serious threat in the national elections. The Abel bureaucrats have responded with violent attacks on militant steelworkers and Sadlowski supporters. Ben Corum was shot in the neck while handing out Sadlowski literature in Houston. Another Sadlowski supporter, Cliff Mezo, was beaten by Abel's thugs at the union's recent convention. The Abel machine is running scared in the face of the Sadlowski challenge, and they have closed ranks behind their candidate, Lloyd McBride.

WHO IS ED SADLOWSKI?

Sadlowski is an up and comer in the labor movement, described by many as a genuine "insurgent from the ranks." Thousands of steelworkers are supporting him because they are disgusted with the sellouts of the Abel machine. These steelworkers believe that Sadlowski must be better than what they've got. As well, most of the



Steelworkers protest Abel's no-strike agreement (ENA) at 1974 USWA convention.

left is supporting Sadlowski, backing up his claim to be the leader of a rank and file rebellion in the USWA. Sadlowski tries to portray himself as this kind of leader and as a real alternative to the Abel bureaucracy. The facts, however, tell a different story.

Sadlowski started building his reputation when he ran for Director of District 31 in 1973 against Sam Evett—the Abel candidate. Evett won in an obviously rigged election, and Sadlowski went to the U.S. Labor Department demanding a rerun. The National Labor Relations Board finally ruled in his favor and sent in 300 government officials to oversee the new election in November of 1974. Sadlowski defeated the Abel candidate the second time around by a 2 to 1 margin.

During this period, Sadlowski came into contact and developed close ties with a number of influential liberals in Washington. The most important was Joseph Rauh, Jr., a wealthy corporation lawyer with friends in the Labor Department.

Rauh is Vice-Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action (a cold war liberal grouping), worked closely with Walter Reuther and was instrumental in Arnold Miller's campaign in the United Mine Workers. According to Sadlowski, "I was getting nowhere until Joseph Rauh took up the case." (It was Rauh who convinced the Secretary of Labor to overturn the results of the first election in District 31. The secretary has the power to do this under the Landrum-Griffin Act, a law designed to weaken the unions through increasing the government's control.)

Sadlowski's victory over the Abel machine and his ties with powerful liberals brought him into national prominence. Victor Reuther, Studs Terkel and a variety of liberals from the "reform wing" of the Democratic Party have now jumped on the Sadlowski bandwagon along with Rauh.

WHY ARE THE LIBERALS BEHIND SADLOWSKI?

Joseph Rauh specializes in preventing independent movements of the working class. He comes into a reform struggle and ties it to the government, the courts and the Democratic Party. Reformers like Rauh understand that reactionary labor leaders such as I. W. Abel, Frank Fitzsimmons, Tony Boyle and George Meany will not be able to keep union members in line as the economic crisis deepens and the class struggle heats up. Thus these types support reform candidates like Sadlowski in order to keep the militancy of the rank and file in safe channels. This is the liberal plan for defending capitalism: give the appearance of reforms in order to avoid revolution.

Under the guise of "fair elections," the liberals increase the state's intervention in the unions. This gives the government more and more control over the labor movement. Further, the liberals want to encourage the illusion that the bosses' government is neutral between management and the workers, and that the workers can rely on the government in the struggle against the union bureaucrats.

This liberal strategy is designed to keep steelworkers passive and under the thumb of the ruling class. A labor alliance with the government is directly counterposed to what steelworkers need: a mass mobilization, independent of the liberals and the government. Real union democracy (fair elections are but one aspect) will be achieved only if rank and file steelworkers rely on their own strength to throw out the union bureaucrats and take control of the unions.

Ed Sadlowski is the latest hero of the liberals. And for good reason. He, too, wishes to prevent a militant rank and file takeover of the USWA.

THE SADLOWSKI CAMPAIGN

Sadlowski has refused to organize steelworkers for the fight against Abel and his pro-company policies. He has been the Director of District 31 for two years—the largest and strongest district in the union. The director of this district is one of the most powerful labor leaders in the country.



Cliff Mezo, beaten by Abel's goons.

Sadlowski is sitting on top of incredible resources: a full union staff, plenty of money, printing facilities—and a base of 140,000 steelworkers. But he has done nothing to fight the ENA, the layoffs or the unsafe working conditions:

A demonstration, for example, by just one-tenth of the USWA members in this district against the ENA and the layoffs could seriously launch a fight against the steel bosses. Steelworkers are ready and determined to fight the companies—they would respond to this kind of call in force. Organized actions like this would open the way to strikes and slowdowns against the layoffs and speedup. A movement of steelworkers, starting in District 31, could drive Abel and his friends out of the union—and begin to reclaim the right to strike in practice.

Sadlowski and his supporters went to the union's convention and did more of the same—nothing. He put forward one motion on lower dues, which the assembled bureaucrats defeated by a 10 to 1 margin. Far from fighting against the ENA, Sadlowski has refused to take a clearcut stand on it. This is the single most important issue facing steelworkers, but Sadlowski never mentioned it at the USWA convention. He will say only that the members of the union should have the

(Continued on page 18)

FIGHT RACIST TERROR!

A Statement by the Executive Committee of the Chicago Branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League

Black people living in the city of Chicago have been victims of a growing wave of racist terror. While racism is not new to Chicago, racist attacks have increased alarmingly in the last couple of years. In recent months in particular, the racists have grown more bold, and their activity more organized.

Scum from the American Nazi Party have been coming out of the wood-work, whipping up anti-Black sentiment among whites. The Nazis have posterized several Chicago neighborhoods with placards that read: "NIGGER BEWARE!" Blacks who attempt to move into these neighborhoods have been met with fire-bombs, burning crosses and other attempts at intimidation.

In streets alone at night or traveling to and from work, at the beach or on an errand—anywhere in Chicago today—a Black person may be the victim of a racist assault.

In response to this terror, ministers of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement initiated a series of marches to protest the racist attacks and to demand open housing in Chicago. The struggle has broadened and a coalition of left, labor, church and community groups is now working in alliance with the King Movement.

The coalition has repeatedly attempted to march to Marquette Park, one of the chief centers of racist activity and the home of the Chicago headquarters of the Nazi Party. March after march has been broken up by Chicago cops. On-duty cops in uniform have halted the marches before they reached the Marquette Park neighborhood. March leaders have been arrested time and again. Meanwhile, numerous off-duty cops were identified in photographs as being part of the mob which attacked the King Movement march of July 17.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has been active in building the anti-racist coalition and has worked to mobilize contingents for the King Movement marches. Trade union supporters of the RSL have played a prominent role in the recently formed Trade Unionists Committee to Fight Racism and Secure Democratic Rights. These RSL supporters have waged campaigns inside the unions and the plants to build the anti-racist struggle.

Below, the Torch prints a statement by the Executive Committee of the Chicago Branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The statement analyzes racism in the working class and its danger to the workers' movement, and presents a strategy for isolating and defeating the racist terrorists. The first part of this statement appears in this issue of the Torch; the second part will appear in the next issue—Editor.

Racist Ideology: Bosses' Weapon

White racists are not born racists—even in America. They are made racists by the society they live in. They are made racists by the deliberate creation of distinct layers in the working class, by bourgeois propaganda, by their own oppression and by a mistaken notion of who their enemies are.

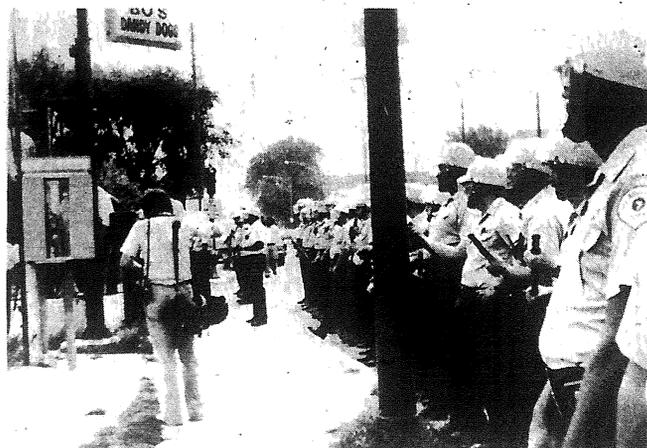
We expect racism from the ruling class. For them it is very profitable; it justifies slavery, share-cropping, poverty level wages, high unemployment and starvation. CAPITALISM AND CAPITALIST PROFITS explain racism. European and American capitalism would hardly exist if not for the profits of the slave trade and the back-breaking labor of slaves who built America.

In order to justify their greed, and their system, the capitalists developed an ideology and spread propaganda about the superiority of whites and the inferiority of Blacks.

The capitalists found it necessary to infect white workers with racism in order to maintain their rule. For example, after the Civil War in the United States, the greatest danger the capitalists faced was the increase of solidarity among Black and white toilers. The system of Jim Crow (violence and segregation against Black people) was used to break the back of the Populist movement in which Blacks and white farmers had fought side by side. This strategy, combined with pitting different immigrant groups against each other, worked so well that the bourgeoisie was able to prevent industrial unions

from forming until the late 1930s. Many strikes were lost, many union organizing drives were broken, and wages and working conditions were kept down until the great depression forced white workers to form widespread alliances with Blacks.

Capitalism survives by dividing and conquering the working class—the working class can overthrow capitalism only by uniting against the bourgeoisie. The ruling class conducts an intensive effort to stratify workers and confuse them as to who their real enemies are. White workers, in general, have better jobs, less unemployment and better living conditions. The reserve army of labor (unemployed workers who are used to keep wages and conditions down) is a role "assigned" to Blacks. Huge numbers



Cops line Chicago street to block anti-Nazi march.

of Black workers are kept out of jobs. Meanwhile the bourgeois propaganda machine tells white workers that 1) Blacks are too lazy to work and 2) Blacks can get jobs only at the expense of whites.

However, capitalism is the real source of the lack of jobs. It constantly tries to replace workers with machines to boost its profits. As capitalism continues to decay, unemployment will only get greater unless all workers unite to force the bourgeoisie to provide more jobs.

Those sections of the working class that accept a "dog eat dog" competition over too few jobs and too little housing play into the hands of the rulers. When workers blame each other for their problems instead of the bourgeoisie it is a sign of demoralization in the workers' movement. It shows that the bourgeoisie has succeeded in stratifying the working class and setting it against itself. Thus white workers who side with the racists are cutting their own throats.

One reason this strategy has worked as well as it has is the tremendous wealth of U.S. imperialism. By exploiting other countries the U.S. ruling class has accumulated enough wealth to make concessions to some workers (mainly white) and thus delude them into thinking that capitalism will provide them with a stable economic future.

System Decays; Blacks Blamed

Economic conditions have deteriorated throughout the 1970s. The bourgeoisie has been able to maintain or increase its profits only by sharpening attacks on workers. Inflation and unemployment along with increased speedup and deteriorating safety conditions have been the prime methods of attack.

Inflation has been particularly hard hitting—both for workers and sections of the lower middle class. Reports in a Chicago paper put the cost of a newly built but modest home at \$45,000 (\$100,000 when financing is

included). Further, food, utility, medical and other costs are soaring. Large sections of regularly employed workers and the lower middle class are finding it impossible to make ends meet.

The "American dream"—a steady job and a slowly rising income, one's own home, better education and job opportunities for one's children—is collapsing for the better off sections of the working class and the lower middle class. These are people who were lulled by the temporary prosperity of post World War II capitalism. Now the prosperity is over—never to return—and their world is threatened with collapse.

As their illusions are shattered, workers and others are naturally becoming embittered. Unfortunately, too many white workers are still trapped by bourgeois ideology. They want to regain the "American dream." And they see those who never shared in it—especially Blacks and other minorities—as the enemy. As Lenin put it, such workers have become "bourgeoisified"—their aspirations and outlook are based on the false hope of sharing in capitalist wealth rather than on a struggle to overthrow capitalism through workers' revolution.

The racist outlook of these "bourgeoisified" workers is reinforced by the labor bureaucracy. The labor bureaucracy is a thoroughly bourgeoisified section of the workers' movement. Instead of leading workers in struggle against the economic attacks, the bureaucrats, who control the unions, have prevented workers from struggling. This leads to fragmentation of the workers' ranks and demoralization of the working class. When workers are fragmented it is easier for them to swallow bourgeois ideology—which tells workers to look for an individual solution rather than unified struggle. It is this context which leads white workers to see Blacks as their enemy when Blacks are demanding more jobs and better housing. If the bureaucrats prevent struggles against the system, then white workers feel threatened by Blacks with whom they appear to have no common struggle. These white workers, along with ruined sections of the middle class, become easy prey for racist demagogues. This is particularly true of the youth who don't find jobs and therefore lose their social bearings.

Mayor Daley's Official Racism

In Chicago there is an additional factor which has meant that attacks on Blacks are particularly sharp. The Daley machine bases its power on relatively cloistered white ethnic neighborhoods. It does out patronage jobs in these voting strongholds, keeping whites from leaving the city by strictly limiting where Blacks can live. The machine works through real estate interests, the school board and the police force. And it ignores racist attacks in order to maintain segre-

KKK in action.

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KKK in action.

gation. An army of patronage workers are foot soldiers for the Democratic Party in exchange for jobs, better city services and an iron-clad barrier against Blacks moving into these neighborhoods.

Patronage represents a special type of corruption, of "bourgeoisification" of a section of workers. These workers depend directly on the Daley machine and not the labor movement for their income and working conditions. In exchange, they become direct agents for bourgeois politicians. Since they view all questions in terms of privileges, they tend to view the struggle of Blacks for equality in jobs and housing as a major threat.

Marquette Park is one of the Daley machine's white preserves. Its largely Lithuanian ethnic character has remained intact. Large numbers of cops

live there. The streets are kept clean. The schools operate under capacity. Meanwhile, "across the border" in West Englewood, the schools are crowded and there is a marked difference in other city services. West Englewood's Black students, of course, must go extra miles to get to school so that Marquette Park schools can be kept lily white. Blacks are also being driven away from Holy Cross Hospital in Marquette Park, though this is done through the terror of "unofficial" agencies.

Dozens and dozens of racist incidents have occurred in this general area without any arrests—the cops simply permit white terrorists to do what the city can't do openly. It is in Marquette Park that the Nazis have set up their headquarters and have spent their time trying to mobilize youthful supporters.

Attacks on Steelworkers

Another area of racist attacks is Chicago's southeast side. Here we can most clearly see the dangers that racism presents for the labor movement.

Black Republic steelworkers who work on the southeast side have been major victims of racist attacks. This is because these Black workers have to pass through another "all-white" area in order to get to and from the mill.

The neighborhood near Republic Steel has fewer patronage workers than Marquette Park and large numbers of steelworkers. These workers should be among the most conscious of the need to ally with Black workers since they work together in the same mills. These workers should recognize that if the communities in which the workers live become completely polarized then steelworkers will be

easy victims of company attacks on wages and conditions. Unfortunately, white steelworkers tend to be extremely racist. This is not just true at Republic Steel.

One of the reasons that racism among white steelworkers is so strong is that the steel union has a very limited history of struggle. The union is very weak on the shop floor, conditions are extremely poor and there hasn't been a strike since 1959—17 years in the face of chronic inflation. Worse yet, the steel union bureaucrats agreed not to strike before 1980, which gives the company a free hand. Quite naturally, then, real wages and working conditions have eroded for steelworkers. In addition, steelworkers living in Gary, Indiana, have suffered from the destruction of that city through the incredible pollution—which the companies refuse to end—and the lack of taxes—which the companies refuse to pay.

These conditions are the direct result of the no-struggle policy of the Steelworkers bureaucracy. It has refused to unite Black and white workers in a struggle against the companies. As a result, many white workers have come to view Black workers as the source of their problems.

As long as the workers are divided, they will be crippled in their efforts to resist the companies' attacks. A struggle against racism, and against the trade union bureaucracy which helps maintain it, is essential if the

workers are even to begin to fight back against the Steel giants. Racism is a sign of the demoralization of the working class. It dooms the workers before the fight begins.

Defeat Racist Terror!

Racism is a part of American culture that must be consciously fought by the labor movement before organized racists come to dominate public opinion and make joint struggle impossible. Racism corrupts and disarms the workers' movement, it ties white workers to the bourgeoisie on the false basis of skin color and a false sense of racial superiority in the face of ever-greater economic attacks. Racism is a tool by which the bourgeoisie manipulates sections of the working class and sets all workers up for the slaughter.

Today, the active thugs and organized racists are only a few. But they can count on the police for help, and draw strength from the pervasive racism of the entire society. Most important, if they are not fought now, their strength will grow as the working class retreats, disunited, before the capitalists' attack. □

(The concluding part of this statement will appear in the next issue of the Torch.)



Toby Harris: Killed by Racism

CHICAGO, October 7—The Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement Coalition today marched on Englewood Hospital to protest the hospital's negligence in the September 28 death of King Movement brother Reginald "Toby" Harris.

Harris, an organizer for the King Movement, had marched in the forefront of both the July 17 and the August 21 marches to Marquette Park.

Harris was admitted to the Englewood Hospital Emergency Room with a high fever at 7:00 a.m. on September 28. For three hours, his mother vainly tried to get a doctor or nurse to examine him, although he was visibly extremely ill and was finding it more and more difficult to breathe. At 10 a.m. Toby Harris died—without receiving any medical attention.

The King Movement's October 7 march demanded that the Englewood Hospital administrators appear before "a committee of professional health workers, community residents, clergy, and other concerned citizens to account for its negligent and racist actions." The Movement is also starting "a systematic investigation into

health care services in the inner city of Chicago."

King Movement spokesman Reverend Edgar Jackson stated:

"... We are equally appalled by the subtle racism of the hospitals, schools and other institutions of our communities as we are by the overt racism of people like the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

"We shall continue to march. We are marching today to demand that Englewood Hospital explain its murderous neglect and callous disregard for the lives and feelings of Black people.

"Our march against Nazism must now be incorporated into our protest against criminal negligence in medical care in Chicago's inner city. The criminal neglect of doctors and inner city hospital administrators is the smiling equivalent of the Nazis' assaults on our people in Marquette Park. . . .

"We shall continue to assault the citadels of racism such as City Hall and the White House and all the houses of racism in this country until the American people can be free of apartheid forever. . . ."

A Report From St. Louis:

Defense Guards Formed

For the past five years, North St. Louis County has been plagued by racist violence—cross burnings, threats, shootings and mob attacks on Black families moving into the area. Last year, a Black family moving into the Castle Point area was attacked by a mob of racists and driven from their home.

On Labor Day a mob of 15 to 20 bat and bottle wielding racists attacked and beat a Black family three blocks from their new home. The Rigdon family had been in the area for about a week. Two members of the family suffered severe head wounds and the couple's 12-year-old son was held down by two "adult" racists while another child beat him with a baseball bat. Though badly outnumbered, the Rigdons fought back, sending three racist punks to the hospital. On the night of September 19, someone fired several shots through the front window of the family's home.

In both of these cases, the police have informed the news media that these were not "racial incidents," but simply a feud between two families. St. Louis TV stations and newspapers have parroted this police lie, fearing that the truth would anger Blacks and concerned whites. After years of such incidents, no evidence can be found of even one arrest of any racist hoodlum. By denying the racist nature of these attacks, the police and capitalist press encourage escalation of racist activity in the area.

In response to these repeated attacks on Black working people, a number of community people and left organizations have organized the Black and White Defense Guard. The primary purpose of the Defense Guard is the physical defense of Black families in North County against attacks by racist hoodlums.

The Defense Guard is a united front effort, involving the Revolutionary Socialist League, Workers Party Organizing Committee, Socialist League, Workers Unity Organization and International Socialists, as well as a number of people from all over St. Louis.

Members of the Defense Guard have been canvassing the area recruiting neighbors and building a fund-raising event to cover the expenses incurred by the Rigdons in the attack on their home. Labor union members in the Defense Guard are going to their locals calling for resolutions of support.

The racist insanity in St. Louis County must be stopped. A united front of community residents, union members and left organizations can do what the police will not do—put a muzzle on mad dog racists bent on destroying the lives of Black workers.



Thai Generals Seize Power

On October 6, the military seized power from Thailand's elected coalition government. The coup came after two days of fighting between students and police and rightist forces at Thammasat University in Bangkok. The right-wing mobs launched bloody and barbaric attacks in which at least 30 leftists were killed; two were lynched and mutilated and four were burned alive.

The coup is the culmination of three years of struggle between right- and left-wing forces since the overthrow of the military dictatorship of Thanom Kittikachorn in October 1973.

The military is known to have made plans for a coup as early as last January. Things began to come to a head six weeks ago when leftist students forced the expulsion of the hated former head of the secret police who tried to return after three years in exile. Two weeks later Thanom himself returned in the guise of a Buddhist monk.

The left saw his return as a move by the right-wing military to rebuild its power and again took to the streets. After three weeks in which the students could not force his expulsion and the government could not quiet the left, the military seized power.

The military government announced the suspension of the 1974 constitution, banned all publications and rounded up over 2,000 known leftists. Thailand will be under martial law for the foreseeable future. The military aims to smash the left and reinstitute a dictatorship. Internationally, the coup will mean ending Thailand's moves toward nonalignment, made under left-wing pressure. The generals are expected to reopen close, friendly relations with the United States.

Basque Workers Lead Strike Movement

The workers of Spain's Basque country have long been in the forefront of struggle against the dictatorship of Francisco Franco and his successors. Twice in the last month, they launched general strikes against the government.

In mid-September Basque workers struck for three days to protest the murder of a demonstrator by police. Over 250,000 workers took part by official count, which means the real number was far higher. On September 27, 500,000 Basque workers (again by official figures) struck for one day to demand freedom for political prisoners and national rights for Basques, and to commemorate five revolutionaries executed by Franco one year before.

Elsewhere in Spain, thousands of Catalans successfully concluded a 10-week freedom march for Catalan autonomy in spite of repeated police attacks. In Madrid, postal workers struck for higher wages for the third time since January. Despite the arrest of strike leaders, the strike spread to eight cities and the government was forced to grant a wage increase and release the leaders. And on October 1, workers throughout Madrid struck and took other job actions to protest the murder of a student by the "Warriors of Christ the King"—a right-wing death squad tied to the police.

Political Crisis Deepens in Poland

Poland's state-capitalist ruling class is desperately maneuvering to pacify an angry and militant working class. In June, mass strikes and demonstrations smashed a 70 percent increase in basic food prices. The government then cut the planned increase to 35 percent. But this plan too was dropped on September 17 under heavy pressure from workers who were prepared to duplicate the June strikes.

Reports from Poland say that the masses are fed up with the government. Shortages of meat and other staples are common, so even with official food prices stable, workers still have to pay bloated black market prices.

The bitter complaints about food shortages and prices are only the tip of the iceberg. Beneath the surface, the Polish masses are generalizing their grievances to opposition to the ruling class that enforces their exploitation. The Communist Party has come under attack; CP headquarters were burned during last June's mass protests. The troops are widely considered to be sympathetic to the workers and therefore unreliable.

The Roman Catholic Church has appealed to the masses to have faith in the government's economic policies. Supposedly the bitter enemy of the Communist Party government, the Church actually worked out a live-and-let-live arrangement with the government a decade ago. Since then, it has become one of the pillars of Poland's state-capitalist society.

General Strike in France Protests Wage Freeze

French workers struck for 24 hours on October 7 to protest the plans of the conservative government for a wage freeze. The general strike closed down industrial production and most public services.

The French government plans to put a 6.5 percent lid on wages throughout 1977. Inflation has been running at 11 percent a year. The government's plan is to reduce this by driving down real wages.

The 24-hour protest strike was called by the two major union confederations. But these unions, allied to the Communist and Socialist parties, do not plan a full-scale fight against the freeze. They are hoping to win parliamentary elections in 1978 and do not want to rock the boat.

—JG and LR

Butz: The Real Face Of the Ruling Class

Last month, while Henry Kissinger was working overtime to convince African leaders that the U.S. is their friend, Nelson Rockefeller, Carl Albert and Earl Butz were revealing what the ruling class really thinks of Blacks—African and American.

Standing in front of what they thought was a dead microphone, Speaker of the House Albert and Vice President Rockefeller held a brief conversation as Edward Brooke, the only Black in the Senate, led President Tolbert of Liberia in to make a speech. This was part of the exchange:

Albert: Are there many Liberians that are mulattoes?

Rockefeller: Most are strictly Black.

Albert: Real Black, huh?

Rockefeller: But they've got a class system—the Blacks that went back to Liberia and took on all the characteristics of the Southern whites... Ed Brooke is a one-man receiving committee.

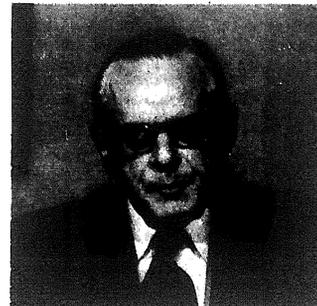
Albert: Yeah, he'd be a slave if he were over there. (Laughter.)

Only a few days later a second private conversation became public—this one involving Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz. Butz, flying home from the Republican convention, said Black voters did not support the GOP because "the coloreds only care about three things—a tight pussy, loose shoes and a warm place to shit."

These incidents reveal what the U.S. ruling class really thinks of Black people. Albert, Rockefeller and Butz are political figures from all parts of the bourgeois political spectrum—a Democrat, a liberal Republican and a conservative Republican respectively. They are representative of the capitalists and their tools who run this supposedly democratic system. In public

they are all for equality and brotherhood, sweetness and light. But when they think no one is listening, their mouths spew forth racist filth.

Nothing happened to Albert and Rockefeller as a result of their "indiscretion." Butz's remarks cost him his job. But his forced resignation was another piece of hypocrisy. Ford and the rest of them agree with Butz. They were only sorry he told his "joke" to John Dean who, after spilling the



Earl Butz.

beans on Nixon, seems to be making a living out of reporting on the ruling class's private conversations. Ford dumped Butz to help his campaign, and for no other reason.

The loudest Democratic critic was Jimmy Carter. This is the man who told white voters last spring to preserve "ethnic purity." The whole bourgeois press and politicians of both parties echoed Butz's own description of the incident as an "indiscretion"—in other words, something said in the wrong place. They don't object to blatant racism—they just want to preserve appearances. □



"Don't let American racism be 'legalized' by American dollarism."

—MALCOLM X

"... We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check now by American dollarism. Don't let American racism be 'legalized' by American dollarism.

"America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she also is deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

"South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile towards black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

"The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity; both are canine; both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods. ...

"One last word, my beloved brothers at this African summit:

"No one knows the master better than his servant.' We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself 'Uncle Sam.' Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, 'friendly' American dollarism."

Zimbabwe

(Continued)

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ALCOLM X

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Imperialists Maneuver in Africa . . .



Zimbabwe liberation soldier.

(Continued from page 1)

the Black members of the govern-
ment. Moreover, the proposal guaran-
tees that the ministers in charge of the
police and of the army will be white.

This is the clincher. The real power
lies in the army and the police. If
the Blacks take steps the whites
don't like, or if the agreement breaks
down, the white racists will have the
police and the army at their disposal.

To make doubly sure that real
power remains in the hands of the
whites, this proposal also provides for
the disarming of the guerrillas. But if
the Blacks don't have arms, and the
guerrillas are without weapons or are
demobilized, the African workers and
peasants will be at the complete mercy
of the white racists. The racists will
have the army, the police and what-
ever paramilitary organizations they
may form. This is the racists' "insur-
ance," and it tells the whole story.

Thus the specific proposals of the
Kissinger deal are primarily designed
to "peacefully" liquidate the armed
struggle in exchange for an extremely
gradual transition to neo-colonialist
Black rule. If successful, the imperi-
alists would eliminate the guerrillas and
create a Black-led government which
would police the area for U.S. imperi-
alism. The provisions guaranteeing
white control mean that imperialism
will remain fully in control throughout
the whole transition period.

Once the real nature of the propo-
sals is understood, the underlying
purpose of Kissinger's maneuvering
becomes clear. At stake is not just
Zimbabwe, but all of southern Africa—
Azania (South Africa) in particu-
lar. The growing mass struggle in
southern Africa threatens to upset the
imperialist apple cart in the area and
weaken imperialism generally.

The victories of the national libera-
tion movements in Angola and Moz-
ambique and the growing struggles in
Namibia and Zimbabwe have put imperi-
alism on the defensive. Moreover,



Demonstration by Zimbabwe nationalists.

they have inspired the masses of
Azania to a truly heroic struggle
against the fascist-like South African
regime. This latter struggle, based in
the Azanian working class, has the
potential to become a mighty proletari-
an revolution which will not only
eliminate apartheid and kick out
imperialism, but also overthrow the
entire capitalist system in the area.

Kissinger's maneuvering is part of a
desperate effort to block this develop-
ment. Kissinger, Vorster and all the
Western imperialists are hoping that
if they can defuse the struggle in Zim-
babwe, they can gain time to save
South Africa, the real bulwark of
imperialism in southern Africa.

Kissinger and Vorster know that it
is only a matter of time before the
guerrillas overthrow the racist rulers
in Zimbabwe. They also know that
victory in Zimbabwe will give a
tremendous boost to the struggle in
Azania. Most important, they know
that the days are past when openly
racist dictatorships can hold back the
African people's struggle for land and
freedom. The imperialists and their
puppets know that unless changes are
made, all of southern Africa will
explode in powerful, militant and
armed struggle against imperialism
and capitalism. The Kissinger-Vor-
ster-Smith deal is designed to make
some minimal changes in the hopes of
preventing such an outcome.

AFRICAN SOCIALISTS?

If the deal is to go through it must
be agreed to by the five presidents of
the Black regimes in the area. What is
their role?

Despite some objections, the Black
African presidents accept the idea of a
"peaceful" transition to a neo-colonial
government in Zimbabwe. They, too,
fear an escalation of the struggle in
southern Africa and the possibility of
proletarian revolution in Azania.

The regimes in Tanzania, Mozam-
bique, Angola, Botswana and Zambia

are, despite their claims, capitalist.
They are based on the exploitation of
the workers and peasants. Moreover,
these regimes depend on a careful
balancing act between African work-
ers and peasants, the U.S. imperi-
alism-South Africa axis, and the
Russians. The African presidents
want to increase their influence
through the creation of more Black
regimes, but they do not want to sig-
nificantly alter the fundamental bal-
ance of forces in southern Africa. A
long, drawn-out, guerrilla struggle in
Zimbabwe will mean increased Rus-
sian influence in the area since the
guerrillas will need arms and materiel
from outside sources. The African
presidents would like to avoid this.

Most important, they too would like
to avoid proletarian revolution in
Azania—which would not only sweep
away the white supremacists, but the
moderate neo-colonial regimes as well.
Thus, the African presidents also
want a peaceful solution to the whole
southern African "question"—a solu-
tion which can only be negotiated
through the auspices of U.S. imperi-
alism. Their differences with Kissinger
are not fundamental. Aware that the
Black masses will not readily accept a
slightly remodeled Rhodesian regime,
they are bargaining with Kissinger for
more concessions. But it is crucial to
understand that they do no disagree
in principle with what Kissinger is try-
ing to do.

The whole idea of the Kissinger deal
is a colossal insult to the people of
southern Africa. This entire territory,
the land and all of its resources,
belong to the Black Africans. The
whites have absolutely no right to
anything at all. They invaded the
area, conquered the Blacks by force
and then enslaved them. They forced
Black Africans to work and die in
poverty so that whites could live in
wealth and comfort.

Now, after decades of oppression
and sharp struggle against it, the
masses are on the verge of destroying
the entire racist structure. They are
about to throw the whites out and
establish control over what is right-
fully theirs. And, in the face of this
imminent victory, Kissinger, Vorster
and other—long-time supporters of
white supremacist rule now pose as
the friends of Black people in order to
maneuver the masses out of their land
and freedom! This is hypocrisy, fraud
and insult. But it is more.

The deal represents a deadly threat
to the masses. While it is doubtful
that Vorster and the U.S. can hold
back African liberation forever, no
matter how slick they are, they can
derail it and set it back for years.

Today, the imperialists are on the
run. To even consider slowing up the
struggle, let alone "disarming the

guerrillas, would be a deadly error.

It would mean giving the imperi-
alists the maneuvering room they seek,
since the armed struggle has been
primarily responsible for the masses'
victories to date. If the guerrillas lay
down their arms and the masses cease
pressing their struggle, the imperi-
alists will no longer have the slightest
reason to live up to any deal they
agree to. At the first opportunity,
these connivers will break every
promise they ever made. Even if the
struggle is halted only temporarily it
will lose momentum and will be set
back. The result will be additional
years of struggle and thousands of
lives of Black people lost. Since
delaying or dismantling the armed
struggle will be part of any imperialist
sponsored deal, all such deals can only
be a defeat or setback for the struggle.

STOP THE IMPERIALISTS!

It is not only the African masses
who must fight the imperialist sellout
in southern Africa. South Africa is the
defender of U.S. imperialist interests
throughout the area. The Western
imperialists have nearly \$30 billion
invested in South Africa alone.

South Africa is the world's domi-
nant supplier of gold, uranium and



Zimbabweans demand independence.

diamonds. Along with Zimbabwe, it is
the only non-Russian supplier of
chrome—an essential ingredient in
making certain kinds of steel.

Moreover, South Africa's strategic
position makes it crucial in defending
U.S. control over the shipping lanes
for Middle Eastern oil and in main-
taining U.S. military supremacy in
the Indian Ocean.

If South Africa's white supremacist
regime is destroyed, U.S. imperialism
will be tremendously weakened. And
this means weakening the ability of
U.S. imperialism to oppress abroad
and at home.

A victory of the South African
masses will give a tremendous boost
to the struggle against imperialism
and capitalism in the U.S. and all over
the world.

Thus, working and oppressed peo-
ple throughout the world must give
support to the struggles in southern
Africa. We must begin by working to
expose and defeat the Kissinger-led
imperialist maneuvers.□

the imperialist firms and the CIA, more is at hand in Jamaica itself. The question involves the stability of the U.S.'s whole Caribbean empire. In Haiti, in the Dominican Republic, the masses hate U.S. imperialism and are for a way to struggle against it. A national movement in Jamaica that even looks anti-American would be an inspiration to them.

Although Manley genuinely wants good relations with the capitalists and imperialists, they have a different view. The imperialists believe that they can get a better deal from the JLP. In their view, Manley cannot control the masses, he is dependent on imperialist stability in the Caribbean. So they have decided that he must go.

The CIA, and its allies in the JLP, are working to bring about a coup in three ways. First, they are spreading stories about Manley's "pro-Communist" policies to create a favorable climate in the country for a coup. Second, they are trying to "destabilize" Jamaica—to create political chaos, drive out of the country and paralyze the government. Finally, they are building a secret military organization to carry out the coup in collaboration with sections of the army and police.

Preparations for a Coup

What have the conspirators done so far? In the first half of 1975, the CIA gave \$18 million to JLP

operatives have been active in Jamaica. Kingston news conference September 16, CIA agent Philip Agee revealed the names of CIA agents now working in Jamaica. They used the CIA money to finance armed members of the PNP Youth and other organizations supporting the PNP by thugs armed with guns. As of June, 120 persons had been

capitalists have been closing down their businesses and illegally sending tens of millions of dollars abroad. Some aluminum firms have closed down despite near-record demand for aluminum. Scare stories have been planted in the press to cut the tourist trade, forcing hotels and businesses to close. All these measures are part of the economic sabotage used by the CIA and its allies to topple the Allende regime in Chile in 1973.

Capitalists have created the "Private Securitization" (an organization representing the biggest Jamaican and foreign firms), the "Jamaica Freedom League," the "Save Jamaica League" and the "Christian Women Agitators for their purpose is to spread stories of the imperialist threat" at home and abroad.

Paramilitary bands have been established to help carry out the coup. When Manley declared a state of emergency in June, hand-written lists were found in the briefcase of a JLP member arrested by the security police. In one, Manley had jotted: "St. Ann's Area 22 men; 100 ideologically indoctrinated; 300 rifles. Supplies 200 rifles; 100 sub-machine

guns; 2 barrels of gunpowder. 50,000 anti-government pamphlets." In addition, tapes of secret transmissions by the security forces were found in the home of a second detainee. These prove that there are ties between the plotters and elements within the security police.

The timing of the rightist-CIA coup plans is not yet clear. Elections are scheduled for June 1977 at the latest. Manley has said they will be held as scheduled. If the JLP feels it can win the elections, it may wait. If not—which is more likely—it will move sooner.

What Is Manley Doing About This?

Manley is responding to the crisis by attacking the masses. He is trying to prove his reliability to the capitalists and the CIA. In January, he banned demonstrations. This affects only the workers and oppressed—they are the ones who need to hold marches and rallies to mobilize their strength. It does not stop the Private Sector Organization from holding anti-Manley meetings in the plush Jamaica Pegasus Hotel.

On June 19, Manley proclaimed a state of emergency. Although he arrested some prominent JLP members, including Deputy Leader Parnell Charles, the state of emergency is really an attack on the masses and the left. Open agitation by left-wing organizations is banned under a provision of the emergency law forbidding statements "prejudicial to the public safety... whether true or false." Further, the government has charged five members of a community organization with criminal libel for publishing a leaflet demanding Parnell Charles's arrest.

In the meantime, the JLP is free to hold mass meetings all over the island, billed as JLP pre-election rallies. At these meetings, JLP leaders whip up the crowds with lurid tales of "forced atheism" in Cuba and Manley's ruination of the economy.

Manley has beefed up the security forces and is recruiting an auxiliary "Home Guard," to be controlled by the security forces. These forces are loyal to the JLP, not Manley. During a university strike last fall, an army detachment complete with tanks moved to the campus without Manley's knowledge. Last month a detainee accused of murder mysteriously "escaped" under the eyes of the security police.

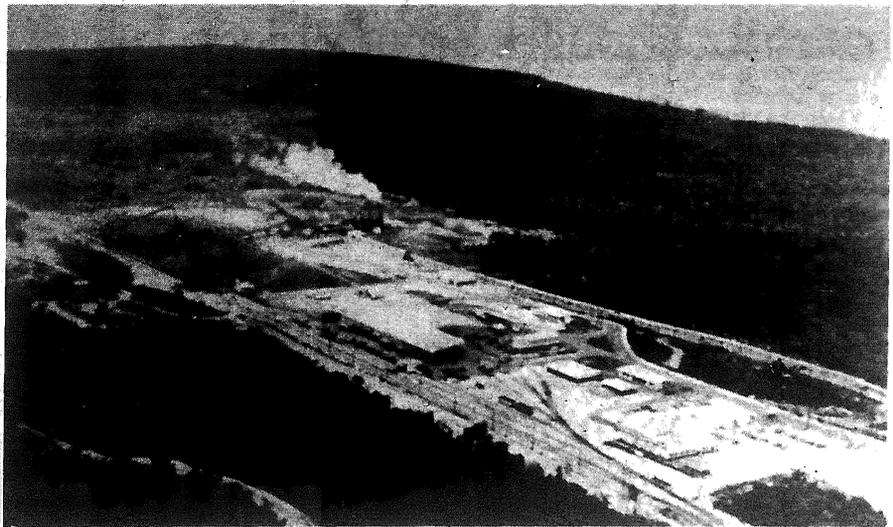
The army, police and security forces are part of the capitalist state apparatus. Whatever government may be elected, the real state power—the government bureaucracy, the police, the security forces and the army remain tied by a thousand threads to the capitalists and the imperialists.

Manley will not and cannot defend the country against a coup. With the capitalists and the armed forces opposed to him, Manley has no way to fight the coup except by mobilizing the masses. But the masses are already fighting the Manley government. If Manley aroused and armed them to fight the JLP and the imperialists, they might just turn on him after they got through with the rightists. And, of course, this is the last thing he wants.

For all his socialist words, Manley is pro-capitalist.

He wants a better deal from the imperialists, not the overthrow of capitalism. To protect Jamaican capitalism he must hold down the masses, who are the only ones with a real interest in fighting the imperialists to the finish. His strategy for beating the coup is to prove he can control the masses better than the JLP. But in weakening the masses, he is destroying the only forces which could defeat the rightists.

What has happened in Jamaica since January is an almost exact replay of the last months of Allende in Chile. There too the CIA was in up to its ears while denying any involvement. There too the government in power was a capitalist government calling itself socialist and supported by most of the left-wing organizations. There too increasingly bold right-wing forces sabotaged the economy and organized, while the government attacked and weakened the workers and peasants. There too the



Kaiser bauxite mine in Jamaica.

president, Allende, preached "trust the army" while the left preached "trust Allende." While the masses were disoriented and disorganized by the government attacks, the right wing attacked.

Today Chile is ruled by a military dictatorship. Thousands are dead and tens of thousands in concentration camps. Will the same thing happen in Jamaica?

The Jamaican workers and oppressed masses have shown many times in the last year that they are strong and ready to struggle for a better future. But this very fact increases the desperation of the JLP and CIA. What the workers are lacking is a mass-based revolutionary party capable of leading them to victory.

However, the nucleus of such a Jamaican revolutionary party does exist. This is the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). Despite its

small size and relative newness, the RML is implementing a Leninist approach to the crisis in Jamaica.

Today the workers and oppressed masses in Jamaica are only beginning to awaken to their revolutionary tasks. They do not yet have the strength, organization and consciousness to make a socialist revolution—to sweep aside both the open reactionaries and Manley. Accordingly, the most immediate task is to warn the workers of the impending coup and to mobilize them to fight it. In doing this, they can be organized and prepared for the struggle against the entire capitalist class, including Manley. This is the policy of the RML.

The RML has struggled to warn the workers of the danger of a coup. It calls on them to defend their gains, class organizations and democratic rights by making a temporary tactical bloc with Manley in order to beat back the rightist threat.

Most important, the RML is struggling to organize and arm the workers independent of Manley. This means that the RML has fought to expose Manley in the eyes of the workers. Pointing to Manley's anti-working class record and warning that he has not changed, the RML tells the workers that the JLP and CIA are only the most immediate threat. They point out that Manley, too, is pro-capitalist and therefore the workers' enemy.

Above all, the RML is teaching the workers and the rural masses that the culmination of this struggle and the only real guarantee of their rights, organizations and livelihoods is the socialist revolution. This cannot be accomplished by looking to Manley. The workers must organize independently to fight for a government of workers and small farmers.

Through this Leninist policy, the RML is fighting to defend the Jamaican masses and to build a revolutionary party which can lead them to victory.

We Must Act

There is danger that the working class and oppressed masses and the Jamaican left may be crushed before a revolutionary party is built. A movement in the U.S. can prevent such a defeat by gaining time for the workers and small farmers in Jamaica.

In the United States, the heartland of imperialism, the CIA plans must be exposed. It is the U.S. government which will give the plotters the signal to act. The rightists have not yet moved, in part because some of their plotting has already been exposed. Publicity has forced the CIA and JLP to tread more softly.

This publicity must be increased a thousandfold. The whole plot must be exposed. Demonstrations must be organized to call attention to the threat. Militant workers must raise the issue in unions in this country, some of which have historic ties to Jamaican unions.

It is crucial that no one be lulled into thinking that the CIA will not repeat the Chilean blood bath. Failure to expose the plot, illusions in the U.S.'s claims of "non-intervention," or trust in Manley's conciliation of the capitalists can only lead to a new Chile. We must give all possible support to the Jamaican masses to help prevent this from happening. □



Michael Manley (left) speaking at annual PNP convention (right).



"La Migra" Railroads Mario Cantu

On September 9, Mario Cantu was found guilty of "shielding aliens." Cantu is a Chicano activist and restaurant owner who refused to let agents of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization ("La Migra") enter his San Antonio restaurant to harass Mexican workers. For his actions Cantu now faces a maximum of fifteen years in prison.

In June, Cantu blocked the doorway of his restaurant, refusing to allow Immigration Service agents to enter. Cantu was then called before a federal grand jury. He refused to tell them anything. On July 13, Cantu was arrested. But Mario Cantu continued to fight. Cantu fasted for 20 days, beginning six days after his arrest, to protest his trial.

When the ruling class saw that it could not intimidate Cantu, the harassment intensified. On July 23, Ignacio "Nacho" Perez was arrested, charged with escorting "aliens" past Immigration agents still lurking outside of Cantu's restaurant. Perez states that his arrest came "because the U.S. attorney wants to coerce me to testify against Mario Cantu."

On September 10, the San Antonio Express reported that Cantu was wanted in Mexico on "gun running" charges. Cantu denied this, claiming the charges were made to create an atmosphere of fear.

Many organizations and unions have lent support to Mario Cantu. A rally of 1,500 people was held on August 29 demanding Cantu be freed.

The struggle has won wide support because the struggle is just. As Mario Cantu said: "The crime that I am accused of is that I did not cooperate with La Migra, the Immigration Service, in its efforts to deport and harass undocumented workers. I did not cooperate with them because I believe undocumented workers are my brothers."

Deal Exposed in Dupree Trial

The trial of Lewis 17X Dupree continues. Dupree is charged with the murder of a cop, Phillip Cardillo, who invaded Muslim Mosque Number 7 in New York on April 14, 1972.

To railroad Dupree, the ruling class made a deal with a police agent and underworld thug, Foster 2X Thomas. During the trial, Thomas, who is the prosecution's main witness against Dupree, reminded the prosecutor: "You said you would speak to the DA in the Bronx about my case after I testified."

Under questioning, Thomas admitted to having been, since March 23, 1973, a paid police agent. He also testified that he had been indicted for larceny and forgery. This discredited his claims to have seen Dupree shoot Cardillo. Further, the bullet which killed Cardillo has not been presented as evidence.

The ruling class needs to scrape the sewers to find witnesses in a case like this. The state cannot find one legitimate witness from the Black community around the Mosque to support its story. The Black community knew that what occurred was a criminal invasion of the Mosque. Saad El-Amin, Dupree's attorney, has publicly stated that he suspects FBI involvement in this attack on a place of worship.

Under these circumstances, the ruling class needed some lies. So it bought some. Its use of a paid police agent liar only further exposes the racism that disguises itself as "justice."

Prisoner Briefs . . .

H. Rap Brown is to be paroled from Greenhaven prison on October 21. The New Orleans U.S. Circuit Court reversed another conviction on carrying a firearm while under indictment. The firearms charge was a frame-up. Brown did not even know he was under indictment at the time of his arrest. The former head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) may soon be free.

The state is continuing its attack on William and Emily Harris. On September 29, they were indicted in the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

AIM militant Darelle "Dino" Butler's 1975 conviction for "possession of a weapon by a convicted felon" has been overturned. After serving one year of the five-year sentence, he was released from Leavenworth.

Earlier this year, Butler and Robert Robideau won acquittal of murder charges stemming from the FBI attack on the Pine Ridge Reservation on June 26, 1975.

The government, however, is going all-out to convict another AIM member, Leonard Peltier, on the same charge. This despite the fact that the trial of Butler and Robideau proved that the AIM members fired at FBI agents in self-defense. Peltier has been in Canada, fighting extradition to the U.S.

On September 30, three of the San Quentin Six received sentencing for their "crimes" of self-defense during the state's assassination of George Jackson.

David Johnson received probation. He may soon be eligible for parole on his 1968 conviction. Johnny Larry Spain has been sentenced to seven years to life on two counts of murder. Hugo Pinell, who conducted his own defense during the trial and whose defense was the most political, received the stiffest sentence of all—nine years to life for assaulting two prison guards.

—FH

Victim of Southern "Justice"

Free Johnny Ross!

Johnny Ross is being held in the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. Only 16 years old, he was convicted last year of raping a white woman and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

Johnny Ross is innocent. He is the victim of racist Southern "justice."

Two years ago last July, a 25-year-old white federal law enforcement officer was reportedly raped by two Black men in the warehouse district of New Orleans. According to newspaper descriptions, one of the men was 19 or 20, 5'7" tall, and weighed 145 pounds; the other was 20 or 21, 5'9" tall and weighed 160 pounds. Both escaped after a shootout with the cops immediately following the incident.

Over a week later, Johnny Ross was taken from his home in the New Orleans ghetto by the cops. Placed in a line-up, he was not identified as being involved in the rape. Still, after being

beaten severely by the cops, he was forced to sign a confession they had written.

At his trial (which took one day) he was represented by a lawyer who he had met with only once. After 90 minutes of deliberation, the jury found him guilty. He was found guilty despite numerous contradictions in the testimony of the cops and the woman, who had not been able to identify him in the earlier line-up.

The pillars of Southern "justice" were hardly bothered that, in contradiction to the earlier descriptions, Ross was 15 years old at the time, stands 5'4" tall and weighs about 130 pounds!

Johnny Ross was sentenced to die because he is Black and poor. The history of the South is splattered with the blood of innocent Blacks lynched for so much as looking at a white woman. The report of a white woman having been raped meant that some Black, any Black, must pay. In the past, a racist mob would have dragged off the victim. Now, the courts serve the same purpose.

Out of 455 men "legally" executed for rape since 1930, 405 have been Black. All but two have been executed in Southern states. The ruling class wants us to believe that the South has changed. That Black people have achieved equality. But the legal lynching of Johnny Ross proves the same old system of racist terror exists just below the surface of the "New South's" liberal image.

FREE JOHNNY ROSS!

Ross is currently waiting for an appeal for a new trial. Money is needed for his defense. Send contributions to:

Johnny Ross
The Southern Poverty Law Center
1001 South Hull Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36101



Johnny Ross in Death Row cell.

Trial of Anti-War Activist Susan Saxe Begins in Boston

The trial of Susan Saxe began last month in Boston. Saxe, a feminist-lesbian, is charged with murder and bank robbery.

On September 23, 1970, five people robbed Boston's State Street Bank and Trust Company, to obtain money to finance revolutionary activities. In the course of the robbery, a cop was shot and killed. The state wants to convict Saxe of this crime.

The robbery occurred during a time of mass opposition to the U.S. imperialists' war in Vietnam. Saxe was a part of that movement.

The ruling class understood the robbery and its purpose very well, and responded to it brutally. Shortly after the robbery, the state arrested three men: William Gilday, Robert Valeri and Stanley Bond. The three were ex-prisoners.

Valeri helped the state convict Gilday and Bond. Later, prison authorities killed Bond and constructed a story that they were not responsible for his death because he was making a bomb. Gilday remains in prison.

After the robbery, Susan Saxe and Katherine Power disappeared. The state launched an intensive search for them. The search was used to harass

women's collectives, feminists and lesbians. Grand juries were set up to carry out this policy of intimidation. Women who refused to testify were imprisoned. Last year Saxe was captured in Philadelphia.

The ruling class is going all-out to convict Saxe. As in the Harris case, Saxe is not really being tried for the criminal charges against her. She is being tried because she fought U.S. imperialism, and because she is a lesbian and a feminist. The press is being used to belittle her stand against the Vietnam war and her feminist politics. The state is whipping up anti-lesbian prejudice in order to convict her.

The ruling class has no right to try Susan Saxe. The corrupt rulers of this country committed mass murder in Vietnam. They commit murder daily in the U.S. and throughout the world. Now they try to pretend that Saxe, who stood against these crimes, is the real criminal.

The trial of Susan Saxe is another front of the ruling class's war on the working class and the left.

FREE SUSAN SAXE!

Young Launches "Law and Order" Campaign

Detroit: Police Terrorize Black Community

DETROIT—Mayor Coleman Young and the Detroit ruling class are preparing the Motor City for a return to blackjack rule by the police. Unable to provide necessary jobs, education and social services, they are beefing up the police instead. The recent recall of nearly 1,000 cops on layoff, the shake-up in the department's leadership and the expansion of police powers is their answer to the growing crisis gripping the city.

For the working class and poor people of Detroit, especially Blacks, it is no solution at all. Mayor Young's "law and order" campaign will result in increased repression, intimidation and harassment. This is already becoming clear.

On August 18, Detroit's City Council authorized Young's request for a 10:00 p.m. curfew for all youth under 18 years old. By the end of August, 325 youths had been arrested for curfew violations. In the following two weeks, 162 more young people were busted.

The new curfew has given the cops unlimited freedom to run roughshod



Detroit cops frisk Black teenagers in "anti-gang" crackdown.

over the city's Black youth, the major victims. One cop warned: "If your kids aren't off the streets, we are gonna beat some heads."

The curfew is part of a summer-long campaign against youth gangs on the East Side. Beginning last May after an increase in crime in the downtown area, small businessmen threatened to

close up shop unless the streets were made "safe." The news media focused on the youth gangs, making them the scapegoat for the fact that Detroit has the highest crime rate of any major city in the country.

At first, Young claimed that gang activity was no worse than usual. But after Henry Ford II and other members of Detroit's ruling class jumped on the bandwagon demanding an end to crime, Young was forced to change his tune. As long as the gangs stayed in the East Side Black community, nothing was done. But the shift downtown threatened the success of multi-million-dollar plans to renovate the riverfront area around the new Renaissance Center. Young quickly responded with an anti-crime crusade.

POLICE FORCE STRENGTHENED

Young's strategy has been to strengthen the police force. This has proceeded along two lines. First, the police department was brought back to full strength. The recall of laid-off cops came directly at the expense of

unemployed workers in Detroit.

On July 1, 970 cops were dropped from the force due to the city's financial difficulties. However, pressure from the Detroit bosses sent Young scurrying to Washington to secure federal money for jobs. On July 23, Young announced that \$19.2 million had been allocated for a new jobs program. Instead, every cent was used to put over 500 cops back on the force.

Another 224 cops were rehired by using federal Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds. Initially, this move was blocked by a CETA official who claimed that the funds had to be used to hire and train "hard core unemployed." But with the gang hysteria whipped to a fever pitch, President Ford intervened and permitted the use of CETA funds to call back the cops.

While Young was successfully restoring the police to full strength, several thousand city workers remain on layoff. Consequently, social services are still stripped to the bare essentials. Over 1,000 teachers have been dropped from the payroll and all after-school athletic programs have been scrapped. All this has taken place in a city where the official unemployment rate is near 15 percent, which means 30 percent in the Black community and over 50 percent among Black youth. Obviously, the capitalists are more interested in protecting their property than in the welfare of Detroit workers and youths.

The second part of Young's strategy was to reorganize the leadership of the Police Department. Young decided to shake up the leadership that was responsible for some of the divisions that existed within the department. On September 28, Police Chief Tannian was fired. Tannian was hated by the white cops due to his

(Continued on page 18)

Louisiana Steps Up Campaign To Murder Gary Tyler

In September, the state of Louisiana stepped up its campaign to murder Gary Tyler. In response to a defense appeal that Tyler be set free, six Louisiana state assistant attorneys filed a 70-page brief calling for a special jury to be convened.

The special jury is not being called to retry Tyler but to "legally" lynch him. It would only have the power to decide between life imprisonment and the death penalty. The plan is for the jury to debate Gary Tyler's fate—and then sentence him to die. In this way the state hopes to get around the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision stating that Louisiana's mandatory death penalty is "arbitrary" and therefore unconstitutional.

The Louisiana ruling class has attempted to murder Gary Tyler before. While at Angola State Prison, Tyler received death threats. Guards tear-gassed him in his cell. Further, the racists of the Ku Klux Klan have been used to harass and murder Tyler supporters.

Gary Tyler is a victim of U.S. racism. In October 1974, racist whites attacked a New Orleans bus carrying Black students from school. During

the attack a 13-year-old white racist was shot and killed. Cops tore the bus apart, looking for anything that resembled a weapon. Gary Tyler protested when a cop held a gun to a Black student's head. For protesting the actions of a racist pig, Tyler was arrested for "obstructing justice." Later, the state decided to pin the murder of the racist on Tyler.

This is Southern racism in its most outrageous form. White racists attack a school bus of Black students and the cops stand aside. But when a racist is shot (most likely by one of his gun-toting friends in the crowd) the pigs use this as an excuse to attack the Black students. And when Tyler protests the "traditional" solution to racial violence—smashing all Black resistance—he is an "uppity nigger" who "needs to be taught a lesson."

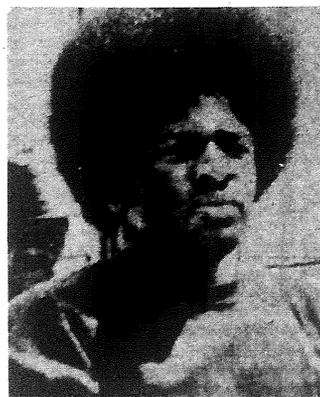
Tyler has appealed for a retrial. His appeal will be heard by the Louisiana Supreme Court. In response, the state has decided to "shore up" its case. The prosecution now claims that two Black students on the bus were pointing a gun out the window. This revised version of the incident also claims that the Black students were stoning the racists. Nobody ever witnessed either of these new "facts."

In the past the campaign to free Gary Tyler has attracted widespread support. This support continues to grow. The fight for Tyler's freedom is a part of our fight against organized racist thuggery. But the fight for Tyler's freedom is also a part of our fight against the racist oppression upon which the ruling class builds its entire society.

FREE GARY TYLER!

Send contributions and letters of support to:

Gary Tyler Defense Fund
in care of Ms. Juanita Tyler
736 Mockingbird Lane
Destrehan, Louisiana 70047



Gary Tyler.

Ross!

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Death Penalty Reinstated

On October 4, the Supreme Court refused to reconsider its decision upholding the death penalty in murder cases. The Court lifted a stay of execution, thus giving states the go-ahead to begin executions.

Last July 2 the Supreme Court reviewed the death penalty statutes of five states. It struck down the mandatory death penalties of Louisiana and North Carolina as "arbitrary," but found death penalties in Florida, Georgia and Texas constitutional.

The Court's action opens the way for the execution of 200 Death Row prisoners. The disproportionate majority of these prisoners are Black and Latin. They are the victims of a brutally racist economic system, legal system and penal system. The ruling class will call their execution "justice"; in reality it will be murder.

The reinstatement of the death penalty is but one of a number of measures being taken to step-up the repressive apparatus of the state.

The Supreme Court has "reinterpreted" the U.S. Constitution to fit its needs. In 1972, the Court declared the death penalty unconstitutional, citing the Eighth Amendment ban on cruel and unusual punishment. Now it has apparently decided that executions are not so cruel.

A prisoner on Death Row at Lucasville, Ohio, sees it differently. He wrote the Torch:

"Many people are under the impression that death is immediate when someone is put in the electric chair, gas chamber or whatever. This is far from the truth! A good example of this is the execution of Ethel Rosenberg. She was given the regular amount of two minutes of high voltage, but when the doctor examined her, he found she was still alive. She was given two more minutes of electric shock. This time she was dead....

"Over four minutes of thousands of volts of electricity rushing through someone is a frightening thought. Some people actually burn when they are electrocuted. If the person is a heavy perspirer, they will catch fire. Some people's eyes have actually popped out of their head."

The justices of the Supreme Court and the class they represent are not the ones who will be sentenced to die. Our task is to build a movement which will pass the death sentence on their system—the institutionalized murder that is capitalism.

EDITORIALS

'76 Elections: Ruling Class Fraud

This year is a presidential election year, and as election day approaches the campaign carnival is picking up steam. The ruling class would like workers and other oppressed people to believe that they are actually choosing the political leadership of the country. This is a fraud. As in every election, the bourgeoisie will merely allow the workers to express an opinion as to which one of the two capitalist flunkies is least objectionable to them.

Aside from direct repression at the hands of the army, police, courts and prisons, the U.S. political system is one of the key weapons of the capitalists to maintain the workers in oppression. The "genius" of the political system is not that it allows the "majority to rule," but that it divides the people in order to rule them.

How does this work?

On one level, bourgeois democracy allows the capitalists to decide their tactical approach to the class struggle, how to maintain their control at home and abroad. In the U.S. the two-party system also provides a smooth way for the different sections of the capitalist class to bargain for their special interests.

It is not just the capitalists who are involved in this process, however. U.S. capitalism is tremendously wealthy, largely as the result of super-profits reaped from its imperialist world "empire." The capitalists use these resources to buy the loyalty of the middle classes and the upper layers of the working class. Most of these "plums" are distributed through the political system. The middle classes in particular get drawn into the political structure where they use their limited social weight to bargain for their specific interests. Under the

domination of the labor bureaucrats and other pro-capitalist "leaders of the people," the working class is also sucked into the system.

When the workers are sucked into the present two-party electoral system, they do not fight as a class, with interests opposed to those of the capitalists. They participate as passive voting cattle, giving their votes to one or another capitalist candidate in return for some crumbs. As a result, the working class is politically dissolved into various "interest groups" which join with middle class forces to fight each other for some handouts. Instead of uniting and using their power for a fight against the capitalists, the workers give up their unity, the real source of their power, and thus are limited to begging for alms from the bourgeoisie.

In an election year, in particular, workers are drawn into this trap by voting for the "lesser evil," the supposed "better" capitalist candidate. This year the "lesser evil" is Jimmy Carter, and many workers will probably end up voting for him.

Those who advocate voting for the "lesser evil" ignore or hide some important facts. In the first place, the real power in society does not lie in the elections. The elections by themselves don't decide anything important. Power decides. Before, during and after elections, those who have the power decide what gets done. The ruling class, through its control of the means of production, has the power and makes the decision.

The workers have potential power in their position in the economy. To the degree that they organize and use their common muscle, they can force a better deal out of the capitalists, and eventually overthrow them altogether. If they are organized, the workers can

use the elections as a secondary tactic in their struggle. But generally, the mistaken belief that the elections actually decide things stands in the way of the workers actually organizing independently of the capitalists, and using their own power.

Secondly, the workers must realize that when they vote for the "lesser evil" they are still voting for evil. Both parties fight to defend capitalism. All their candidates believe in capitalism. Carter, for example, is a capitalist farmer, a racist, a war-monger and a liar. As a capitalist and a politician, his interests and his career mean fooling, oppressing and exploiting the workers and oppressed people.

In this he is no different than Ford. Ford and Carter only disagree (and not very much) over exactly how to beat the workers down, not whether to beat them down. In voting for Carter, or any other "lesser evil," the workers are in fact voting to continue their oppression. They are voting to support capitalism.

Some workers may think that since there is no alternative, a vote for Carter will make things somewhat better, or at least slow down how fast things get worse. But this is false. When the workers vote for the "lesser evil," this tells the capitalists that the workers can't see the trick that is being played on them. It tells the capitalists that the workers are not united and do not see their real interests, their class interests. And this assures the capitalists that they do not have to worry very much about the workers—they're too caught in the bourgeois trap.

The more the workers are united and conscious of their class interests, the more the capitalists will be

worried about them, and the more they will feel the pressure to grant concessions to try to buy the workers off. If the workers stuck together and refused to vote for either Carter or Ford, they would have more influence on the elections than if every last worker voted for Carter. By uniting their forces and showing the capitalists that they understood their real interests, bourgeois politics would be forced to the left—even if Ford were re-elected. This is further proof that the "lesser evil" theory is false. Ford and the entire ruling class would be forced by a mass boycott to grant more concessions to the workers than if the "best" capitalist liberal in the world were elected.

Today, the working class as a whole is not united or conscious enough to organize a mass boycott of the elections. But there is a tremendous suspiciousness about the elections and the whole political process on the part of the workers and other oppressed people. It is likely that a majority of the working class will not even vote in the November elections. This largely reflects political apathy and not class consciousness. But even this worries the ruling class. The capitalists are frightened that the workers may become more aware, more angry and more radical.

Although the elections are secondary to what happens in the factories, prisons and streets, the elections can be a test of working class consciousness. Revolutionaries, radicals and class conscious militants should boycott the elections and persuade other workers and oppressed people to do the same. The task is to turn the workers' apathy and distrust into an active and conscious hatred for capitalism and all it stands for. □

Assad: Hangman for U.S. Imperialism

On September 26, four Palestinian guerrillas occupied the Semiramis Hotel in Damascus, Syria, and took numerous hostages. They were trying to focus world attention on Syria's bloody suppression of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses in Lebanon.

Syrian strongman Assad called in the army to settle the matter with arms. When the shooting was over, the Syrian army had murdered four hostages and one Palestinian; thirty-four people were wounded and three guerrillas were captured.

The Syrian rulers proceeded to charge the three surviving commandos with the carnage that the Syrian army had created. Said Assad: "We will never go easy on such crimes. We shall hit back very hard."

Assad then gave the world another vivid example of "justice" as administered by the lackeys of imperialism. Within a few short hours, the three captive fighters were charged, tried and executed. Their bodies were left dangling all day in front of the hotel they had seized. This was meant as an example to all Palestinians of the fate that awaits any who dare raise their fist against the Syrian regime.

This threat is the real motive behind the swift executions, and not any supposed concern for the "inno-

cent victims of terrorism." Assad, the hangman of the Palestinian refugees, has demonstrated the extent of his concern for innocent victims—his regime is responsible for the wholesale slaughter of thousands of Palestinians in Lebanon. By hanging the three Palestinian guerrillas, Assad was saying, in effect: "Ruthless and brutal suppression awaits you, Palestinians, unless you cease struggling for your land and freedom."

Assad conveyed yet another message by these events. The brutality of the Syrian rulers betrayed their extremely weak hold over the Syrian working class. They live in terror that the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses will crack Syria wide open (as it has Lebanon) and send them to their graves.

Unfortunately, commando raids involving civilians will not help split the working class from the Assad regime. On the contrary, they will reinforce the hold of the regime over the masses. Assad tied this commando action to a wave of bombings in Damascus (which he attributed to the Palestinians) and appeared to have gained the support of a segment of the Syrian population.

Clearly visible in these events is the hand of U.S. imperialism. The recent

brutality in Damascus is the direct consequence of Syria's new-found role of stalking horse for U.S. imperialism in Lebanon. These events strengthen our resolve to hang U.S. imperialism, the leading hangman of the world. There is a tremendous blood debt to be paid—not only in the Middle East, but also here at home. We are determined that the lives of these Palestinian freedom fighters will be avenged!

In spite of our strategic and tactical differences with the Palestinian commandos, we stand with them in their resolute struggle against imperialism and its Syrian lackeys. Those leftists who, citing differences of "principle," refuse to defend the martyred guerrillas, are guilty of a base capitulation to U.S. imperialism. Those who remain silent in the face of these crimes display, in addition, a monumental political cowardice. □

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Brazil: A "Miracle" Built on Misery

By Darryl Clark

The "Brazilian miracle" is sputtering out. After several years of substantial economic growth, the brutal military dictators of Brazil face deep problems that are undermining their regime and laying the basis for a revolutionary upsurge of the Brazilian people.

The present military regime in Brazil dates back to 1964, when President Joao Goulart was overthrown in a coup. The new rulers, in the name of "order," replaced Goulart's mild leftist rhetoric and restraints on workers with an all-out assault on the working class. The workers' organizations and political parties were outlawed and smashed. The right to strike was abolished. The generals instituted massive torture of political prisoners, with assistance from U.S. government experts. Hundreds of people have been tortured to death.

These men were a tool to assault the living standards of the Brazilian people, particularly the working class.

By clubbing the Brazilian people into passivity and poverty, the generals created a relatively prosperous economy for themselves, the Brazilian capitalists and foreign imperialists. Two or three years of "austerity" brought the runaway inflation down to a manageable level. Then the economy began to expand about 1967, fueled by cheap labor, huge foreign investments and increased state control of the economy. The Gross National Product grew at about 10 percent a year, while industrial production shot up at about 15 percent a year.

The result was the "Brazilian miracle." Brazil was held up by U.S. im-



Victim of Brazilian torture squad.

perialism as proof that "free enterprise" capitalism could overcome economic backwardness and initiate industrial growth. Brazil became the U.S.'s answer to Cuba and other leftist regimes, such as the Peruvian junta.

The "miracle" had other advantages for the imperialists. As Brazil grew faster than surrounding countries, it began to throw its weight around. Brazil is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists use the economic and military power of Brazil as a club to maintain U.S. control over Latin America.

Despite the imperialist propaganda, Brazil's economic "miracle" did not develop the country. It only created islands of development, aimed at the export of raw materials and some manufactured goods, and the manu-



facture of some durable consumer goods for the richer layers of Brazilian society. The biggest investments have been in mining and agriculture for export, in processing plants for minerals, and in railroads and highways planned as "export corridors."

Huge areas of Brazil remain untouched by even surface prosperity. The biggest and poorest is the Northeast, where over 30 million people scratch out a living on the land.

Under the surface prosperity, the boom has ravaged the country and its people. The exploitation of the Brazilian workers has been increased tremendously. Since the coup, wages of Brazilian workers have been driven down to less than half of their earlier low level. According to official statistics, a worker now has to work 151 hours per month just to buy enough food to survive. In 1965 it was 87 hours. Today, tens of millions of Brazilians live on the thin edge of survival.

The boom is also destroying the environment. Clouds of dangerous pollutants are common in the cities. Attempts to clear and farm the jungle have failed, lush vegetation being replaced by caked and sterile soil. A new titanium dioxide plant in Salvador dumps untreated sulphuric acid wastes into Salvador Bay, destroying the entire fishing industry of the region and polluting the drinking water of many thousands of people.

The Brazilian people, who can barely afford to eat, face increasing threats of disease. Meningitis epidemics in Sao Paulo are frequent. Cholera is growing and tuberculosis kills 30,000 a year. Schistosomiasis, a snail-carried disease spread through unclean water supplies, is advancing down the coast from the Northeast to the "prosperous" South.

Today, the economic "miracle," as superficial as it was, has come to a halt. The Gross National Product will grow this year by well under 4 percent compared to 10 percent just two years ago. Inflation, which had been "under control" at 15-20 percent a year, is now soaring beyond the government's projection of 30 percent.

Because of the recent world recession, Brazilian manufactured goods and minerals piled up without buyers. The jump in oil prices hit especially hard. It dried up foreign investment,

especially from Japan, which had to scramble to pay for its oil. The oil price hike also stifled domestic investment since Brazil imports 70-80 percent of its oil and pays billions per year for it.

The faltering economy has produced cracks in the regime. There are two official parties, the government party, ARENA (National Alliance of Renovation), and the "loyal opposition," Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). The MDB tends to represent the smaller and less powerful Brazilian capitalists, particularly those who produce consumer goods such as clothing. For these sectors, the starvation wages of the Brazilian workers are a problem since the workers cannot buy their products. As a result, these sectors have staggered along for years. The MDB has a "left" appearance because it favors higher wages and minimal democratic rights.

In 1974, the MDB began to attract the votes of discontented Brazilians. In the elections in the fall of that year, the MDB won over 60 percent of the vote, though it received only a large minority in Congress.

The MDB is more afraid of the workers than the generals. It is basically loyal to the regime and will never fight for the Brazilian masses. But its recent growth and slight shift to the left reflect the feelings of the Brazilian people. After years of terror their level of organization and fighting spirit is increasing.

Students and middle class liberals have stepped up resistance in the last year. University students staged a "Human Rights Week" last November, and thousands have protested the police assassinations of political opponents of the regime.

In late August 60,000 people marching in the streets of Brasilia in the funeral procession for ex-President Kubitschek chanted slogans calling for the end of the military dictatorship. There were similar, but smaller, demonstrations in other cities.

CLASS STRUGGLE SHARPENS

Most important, the workers are intensifying their struggle. In June, the bus drivers of Cuiaba, the capital of Mato Grosso, struck for a day, paralyzing traffic. In late June, over 1,000 building workers in Curitiba, the capital of Parana, struck for promised raises. The workers repelled police attacks on their demonstrations. The government had to bring in the troops. Bank workers have won unscheduled raises and auto workers have staged slowdowns.

These actions are important. Organizing an illegal strike is punishable by four to 10 years in prison, and there had been no major strike since 1968. The recent strikes are therefore a big step forward in the struggle against the dictatorship.

As the struggle in Brazil intensifies, it will have a profound effect on the masses throughout Latin America. Today, capitalist rule is increasingly based on naked and brutal repression. To preserve their rule, the Latin American capitalists, backed up by imperialism, have called on "gorilla" military dictatorships to keep the masses down. The dictatorships in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay are only part of the list. The heart of the whole system is the Brazilian junta, the U.S. policeman on the continent. As the Brazilian junta begins to retreat under the masses' blows, the dictatorships throughout Latin America will shake.

The end of the Brazilian "miracle" proves once again that capitalism cannot overcome economic stagnation. Capitalism is the problem; it is the cause of the underdevelopment. It is the cause of the misery of the workers and oppressed people the world over. The goal of the struggle in Latin America, as elsewhere, cannot be to place a democratic mask over a brutal and rotten social system. Liberal democratic regimes can only be a brief pause before a new onset of dictatorship. The goal of the mass struggle, the outcome of the popular resistance, must be to overthrow capitalism altogether and replace it with socialism. □

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Workers Make Dodge Truck Back Down

Dear Torch,

I work at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan, just outside Detroit. Last Monday the company tried to take our lunch break away, but enough people stuck together and made them back down.

Just before 10:30 there was a breakdown on the Trim, Motor, Light, and Medium lines. The company told us to eat lunch from 10:30 to 11:00 while the line was down. But if the line breaks down that's the company's problem—it's even in the contract. People were getting upset about it, and the union steward finally came around and told us we could take our regular 11:00 lunch. He didn't stick around to organize it, he just told us we could do it and left. But the steward's ok was enough for many of us to go ahead and stand up for our rights.

At 11:00, they tried to start the line again. Some workers were still in the parking lot. Some stayed by the line but refused to work. In some places they managed to get most people back to work but in other places practically nobody was working. They started my line but had to stop it because the jobs weren't getting done. They started it again but still got no results.

So they tried to intimidate us by picking out a few people to make "examples" of. They tried to fire two workers in the pit on the Light line who are members of Auto Workers United to Fight. They brought over security guards and they even brought out the plant manager. But instead of scaring us, this brought people together. Even people who had gone back to work during lunch got angry. A crowd gathered around and booed the security guards. The company was afraid to push its luck. They were afraid that if they fired anybody there might be a walkout (this has hap-

pened in similar situations before). A walkout is the last thing they wanted, especially around contract time.

We won a victory when we made them back down. They must have believed what they read in the papers about how happy autoworkers are this year. They thought they could push us around, take away our lunch break and fire our brothers. But they found out different.

The company is still trying to scare and punish people. They're giving the militants they tried to fire a day off for supposedly missing some operations later in the week. Right now, there's nothing we can do about this. But people will remember what happened last week. We ate lunch and watched the trucks roll by—and there was nothing the company could do about it. When we stick together, we can whip their asses.

In struggle,
A Dodge Truck worker,
Detroit

Thousands Protest Sterilization in India

Dear Torch,

Indira Gandhi's dictatorial regime is moving to brutal measures to limit Indian families—including jailing people for having children. Already the state is cutting off pay raises, government housing, free medical care and other measures to enforce a limit of three children. Since April, more than two million Indians have been forced into sterilizations. "Sure I was sterilized," said a New Delhi taxi driver with two children. "When I went to

Reader Calls for "No" Vote on ERA

Dear Torch,

In November, Massachusetts residents are going to be able to vote on the ERA. For that reason I felt it necessary to write to encourage a "No" vote on their ballots.

For the life of the working class, we have been fighting to make gains: better wages, benefits, working conditions. Part of this fight has been for protective legislation, i.e., laws that would force the ruling class to obey certain health and safety regulations regarding especially women and children.

After years and years of struggle some gains were made—not by lobbying, writing to Congresspeople, or petitioning the government, but through strong, mass movements that forced concessions from the bosses. Working women won minimum work standards such as laws governing hours, break-time, loads lifted, work-age for children, air and light necessary in a factory and safety from fire.

These minimal, tiny (compared to what we need), easy-to-take-for-granted (by some people), gains were fought for, tooth and nail, because they are basic to survival under wage slavery.

But if the ERA is ratified—they could all be wiped out.

One "small" example of protective laws being dropped and bad conditions being added is from Fiberboard in California. Women were forced to work double shifts (that is, 16 hours at a crack) and without overtime pay—all because of Title VII (another "equality bill"). They also then had to lift three 50-pound lifts per minute off a conveyor and, at one mill, the lunch break was eliminated—exchanged for only three 10-minute breaks throughout the day.

All fights against special oppression are important. Every possible arena must be used as a battleground to win the needs of every oppressed group. But fighting for the ERA is just the opposite—"winning" the ERA will be a defeat for women and for everyone. An example of this in the Torch (Volume 3, Number 6) was perfect—as soon as the hour limit for women at a Dodge plant was ended, everyone had to work a 12-hour shift. That was a real loss.

The gains that the bosses have been forced to grant working women should be extended to everyone. Most men (and the rest of the women not covered by any laws) work under incredibly dangerous and unhealthy conditions—in auto, it's extreme speedup, in steel, it's heat and pollution. So why shouldn't we fight to extend the minimums applied to some women to all workers?

It's a gain for us (the whole working class, in fact) from the bosses that it's "constitutional" and "legal" for women to have the "privilege" of only a 10 or 8 hour day. It's great that part of the workforce has been conceded the fact that it shouldn't have to lift, carry or push inhuman amounts of weight. It is terrific that part of the working class gets time considerations (sometimes) for health reasons, such as pregnancy. So why the hell not fight for more and better things for everyone—keep what we have and get more?

Why are supporters of the ERA trying to give up things that make our run on the treadmill a bit easier? The working class has so little to make life easier, why give back anything? A simple way to see what's going on is just by noting who some of the ERA's supporters are—Pat and Richard Nixon, Betty and Gerald Ford. Do these people of the bourgeoisie really care about women's rights? Or are they trying to get us to hand over what we've taken from them? I think the answer's pretty clear.

The ERA is nothing but a disguised attack on the working class. As such, it should be dealt what it deserves—a quick death. And that means a "No" in November.

For socialism,
against the ERA,
M.E.,
New York

Another Racist Lie From Jimmy Carter

To the Editor:

Jimmy Carter does his best to look like a person Blacks can trust because he understands their problems. But in a recent article in the Chicago Defender, Carter shows what a disgusting and arrogant racist he is.

Carter actually says that the U.S. has eliminated racism. In fact, he says we have done so well that we can teach the rest of the world how to do the same.

Here it is, in his own words:

"Our country has established, through its own experience, particularly in the South, an understanding of this very sensitive issue in how to deal with black and white people within the same community so both blacks and whites will be well served.

"There's no doubt in my mind that in the South, although we feared the elimination of segregation or apartheid, the results of this elimination of

racism, of racial separation, has been good for both blacks and whites. With this special knowledge, we might be a help in South Africa in the resolution of that question."

The truth is that racism is as deep in the U.S. as ever.

The truth is that U.S. imperialism is the main prop for the vicious racism of apartheid in South Africa.

It is a lie that both Blacks and whites are "well served" by how racial problems are handled here—Blacks are the victims. And it is a lie that the U.S. will help Blacks in South Africa. If the U.S. imperialists have their way in South Africa, white supremacy will grow deeper and stronger.

The Jimmy Carter who serves up these lies will serve up racism and hypocrisy as President.

D.C.
Chicago

get my driver's license renewed, I was told I first had to produce a sterilization certificate. If I can't drive I can't make a living."

An unemployed carpenter with six children said he needed a stomach operation but when he went to the hospital he was told he would have to pay for it unless he got a vasectomy first. He got it.

In September, a bill was passed in Maharashtra state, providing jail terms of up to two years for one spouse of most couples not stopping at three children. At least three other states—Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab—are considering similar legislation.

Despite the severely repressive conditions they face, Indian workers and peasants are fighting back against this attack on their freedom to determine the size of their families and control their bodies. On August 2, in the town of Khatauli, 80 miles northeast of Delhi in the state of Uttar Pradesh, more than 1,000 people demonstrated against the region's family planning program.

Bourgeois "experts" have been urging population limitation as the "solution" for India for some time. Now Gandhi is using the dictatorial "state of emergency" to enforce it. These apologists for capitalism maintain that the poverty and misery of India's masses is their own fault, the result of being too ignorant and superstitious to plan their families. The truth is that India has been systematically looted by imperialism, her development stifled and burdened with a corrupt landlord class. Forced sterilization is an additional misery that solves nothing.

E.S.,
Chicago

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LETTERS

Racism at U.S. Steel— Black Worker Speaks Out

The following letter is reprinted from Revolutionary Steelworker, a publication of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus.

Dear Friends:

I have been employed at South Works steadily since 1959; I was originally hired in 1952 when I worked for six months and then quit. Since 1959 I have been troubled with deteriorating vision to the point where I am now virtually blind. It is hard for me to read and I often wake up with headaches so bad it feels like someone is hammering my eyes out from inside with an icepick.

Now I am trying to retire. The insurance company owes me over \$1,000 in money due me for my disability, and they are trying to cheat me of my money. They are giving me

all sorts of run-around about the doctors I see, but the basic fact is that this is one more in a long run of efforts to fire me and cheat me because I am Black, because I am politically active, because I am a Muslim.

From 1959 to 1962 I was what the company calls a "model worker." I put in double shifts, and six days, and many times I would be home knocked out and they would call me up to come in special, and I would drag myself in. I was working myself to death for US Steel. But in 1962 my situation changed. My wife was pregnant and went to a Dr. King demonstration; she was clubbed and arrested. I tried to get money from the Goodfellows Club to get her out. The man was all smiles when I came in, but when I told him what I needed it for you could see

his blood pressure rising. I only needed \$200, but they would not give it to me.

Racism is heavy in the mills today, but nothing like it was then before the Civil Rights movement became so strong. To give you an idea with a small example: where I worked, I was a clerk. In the office, all the cups had Confederate Flags on them. I would go in, have a cup of coffee, and somebody would always drop my cup on the floor to break it. This was a small case of the racist crap all Blacks in the mills had to put up with daily then. When I became known as politically active, things got much worse, and the company made regular attempts to fire me.

In 1967 my eyesight was getting real bad, and I called in sick and saw a doctor several times. The company took this opportunity to fire me. Not for the disability, but for what they called "constructive quit." I had called in sick and was out for nineteen days. But only one of those was company time, because after the first day I was on vacation. When I got back they told me my job was gone, that because I had not called in every day they assumed I was gone for good! The union was slow in doing anything, so I filed a complaint with the FEPC for discrimination. The FEPC dropped my complaint late in the year, and the union sat on the grievance. They didn't even take it to arbitration until over a year later!

I finally won the case—two years later—and was reinstated with back pay, but because of the poverty I was thrown into I had already lost my wife and family. No amount of back pay could cover that loss.

I guess the union considered me an embarrassment or something, because this crap continued. I had been bidding on better jobs that I was qualified for, but did not get because the company could be completely arbitrary about awarding jobs. I passed the apprenticeship for brick-layer, and was passed over. With the union doing nothing, I tried going to FEPC again. I filed a complaint on discrimination in 1971.

Two days after I filed the complaint, I started getting disciplines all over the place. I was given a 20 day suspension for not painting lines fast enough. I was disciplined for putting up stickers for a Progressive Labor Party rally. I asked about the

apprenticeship and was first told "we'll let you know when there is an opening," and then was told I had to take the test again. I went to the union again, and they talked like Amos and Andy's lawyer and I didn't get any results from them.

I look at this history and what I see is that you can make it fine in the company if you want to smile and put up with the shit and not try and do anything to fight it. You become known as a "troublemaker" and the company will go to work on you and the bureaucrats, every slick-talking one of them, won't do a damn thing to help if they can. The harassment has continued to this day.

Now I am being given all this trouble over my disability and retirement. US Steel says that I am not productive, that no money is due me. They take a person and work you to death and then toss you off like you were nothing. The Consent Decree is a racist fraud: the company gives us a few bucks on the side and wants Black and Latin workers to forget the years of racism and discrimination, to say nothing of the fact that the racism is just as bad today as it ever was. And the union leaders we have now don't want to do a damn thing to fight this.

I agree with what the Revolutionary Steelworkers are doing. (A rank-and-file caucus which the Torch politically supports—Ed.) You are pointing out the truth about the basic nature of what US Steel is doing, and what workers have to do if we are going to fight back and win. And one thing I want to say from my heart is: I believe that a government must be able to represent the needs of the people, and when it does not do so the people have the right to abolish it. All my experience shows that this government only works in the interest of big business; the time has come for working people to stand up and change it to meet our needs. Whatever we can do to build a union that fights for the workers and build a movement to get rid of capitalism I am all for. Revolutionary Steelworker is fighting for that, and I support your work. I am out of the mills now, but I am committed to doing all I can to see that workers learn all about this rotten system and how to get themselves together to change it.

Yours in Struggle,
A South Works Plate Mill Worker

Women Steelworkers Organize at Gary Works

Dear Torch:

Your readers might like to know about a rank-and-file women's committee formed at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

Under pressure from the government, Gary Works has hired women in relatively large numbers in the last six months. For the first time, the company is letting women into the skilled trades.

The racism that has always characterized the trades continues: newly hired white women go into the crafts, and newly hired Black women into general labor.

The company did not prepare for the large influx of women that it never really wanted to hire. Soon, deplorable conditions in the washhouses sparked the formation of the women's committee. A group of women went down to the local newspaper and got an article printed about the condition of women in the mill. We called a meeting, and 30 women came, most of them Black.

Through discussion, the group concluded that: (1) women in the mill were encountering particular problems; (2) we had to organize women to go to union meetings and force the union leadership to act, and (3) the union ought to form an elected women's committee. As we talked about the washhouse issue, deciding to circulate a petition, some of us saw that we had to take on the discriminatory firings immediately.

We went to two union meetings and had quite a vocal presence. We got the union to put pressure on management, and several washhouses were patched up—a partial victory.

We said that the fight around discriminatory firings would be much harder. There we were challenging the company's power to hire and fire.

As we earned a reputation as fighters, people told us about women, almost all Black, who had been fired during their probation. We brought our problems to the grievors, with little result. For example, one woman was fired in a blatant case of discrimination. It took pressure from 10 men who worked with her to get a grievor to fight the case. The woman's job was won back. She would still be out

on the street without our help and her co-workers' support.

The committee had a burst of day-to-day activity around the washhouses and the firings. But we floundered when we got stalled in the grievance procedure.

Political differences have arisen. One group wants to focus exclusively on women, while others of us have fought to generalize the problems to all workers, while pointing out the particular effect on women and minorities. For example, on the firings. We fought for the group to come out for union protection from the date of hire—no probationary period. We argued that all new hires get the shaft, and the company uses probation especially to get rid of women. We need the active support of men, which we can win only by raising issues which affect all workers.

Other women want the support of men, but only in fighting around the problems of women alone. These women thought raising an end to the probationary period was "unrealistic." But when we raised it, more workers, men and women, came to see us as a fighting group.

The group is now discussing its future. Some of us are urging that we need a broader opposition in the union, based on a program which speaks to the needs of all workers. We need an opposition that links the day-to-day shop floor struggle with what will meet workers' needs in the long run.

For example, layoffs are hitting the mill. Women, the last hired, are the first laid off. To fight layoffs we need jobs for all, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, SUB benefits and recall rights for all employees, and a plant-wide seniority list. Immediately, we must demand that the union post a list of laid-off employees so we can make sure that they are called back in proper order.

This program fights the discriminatory practices that keep women out of the industry.

A friend of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, USWA Local 1014

PAC Continues Fight At Chicago Main PO

Dear Torch,

The struggle that started at Chicago's Main Post Office in June (reported in the Torch, Vol. 3, No. 7—Editor) has continued. We formed an on-going organization, the Committee for Job Security and Protection, open to all postal workers. The Committee's first activity was to rally support for a militant steward who was removed from office by local APWU President Briscoe for participating in the demonstration for an all-regular, full-time workforce. Petitions were circulated and a delegation sent to Briscoe demanding reinstatement of the steward. Briscoe refused to bow to this demand but the fight continues.

At the September meeting of our APWU local, Committee members fought to introduce an amendment to the local's constitution to provide for

the election of stewards. As the Committee stated in a leaflet mobilizing for this meeting: "With responsive, elected stewards we'll be able to strengthen the union, build the membership and have a stronger defense against management."

The fight was on a motion to overturn President Briscoe's ruling that the amendment was out of order. The forces of the rank and file were not yet strong enough to prevail, and the motion lost, 31 to 53. But our forces were strong enough to scare Briscoe off from introducing his amendment which would have reduced democracy in the union by making trustees and some officers appointed by him instead of elected.

A supporter of the Postal Action Committee, Chicago

N.Y. 10036

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