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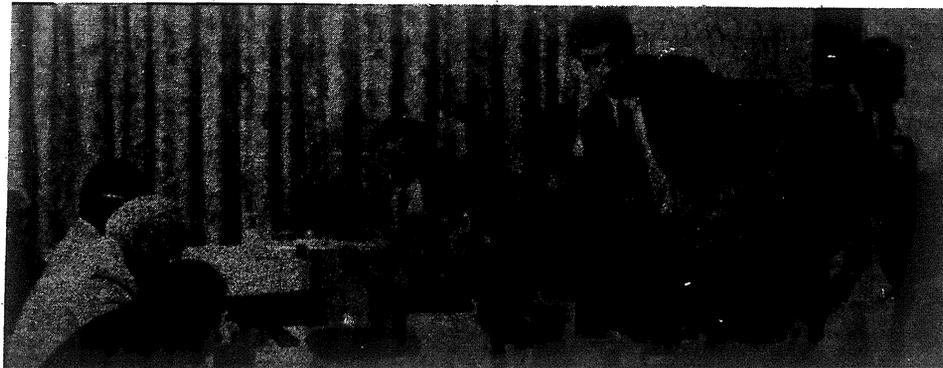
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Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

FORD MOVES RIGHT FOR '76

CRUSH N.Y. UNION BUSTING



Mayor Gotbaum of AFSCME [standing] and UFT head Albert Shanker [seated at Gotbaum's right] lead municipal union hacks' sellout of ranks. Here they scheme with NY Deputy Mayor Cavanagh and Big Mac director Elish.

Gerald Ford's October 29 speech refusing federal aid to crumbling New York City revealed a major split running right through the heart of the Republican Party. Ford's speech was roundly denounced by bankers from New York to San Francisco and throughout Europe. Within days, Nelson Rockefeller refused to run on Ford's ticket in 1976, making it clear that from now on he would make his differences with Ford public.

The Republicans agree on the need to continue a frontal assault on the public employee unions and on the poorer

sections of the working class, especially blacks and Latins. All agree that New York workers must continue to bear the brunt of this attack, paying with tens of thousands more layoffs and still more severe cuts in essential services. There's no split here.

The rupture is over Ford's willingness to slice into the profits of the financial establishment and risk an international economic collapse. Ford is attempting to build an electoral base on the model of Richard Nixon's "Southern Strategy," orienting towards sweeping the South, the Southwest and the Great



JERRY DEPRESSION: Ruling class has organized an anti-Ford blitz to teach president not to play brinkmanship with default and risk economic collapse.

Plains-Rocky Mountain states. Like Nixon, Ford hopes to line up southern and southwestern capitalist interests, especially in defense-related sectors, who can pull behind them grass-roots support in a movement with demagogic rhetoric directed at 'big cities,' "Big Government" and the Eastern establishment.

Ford's intent to push New York over the brink and into default breaks from the common ruling class strategy over the past ten months. As Business Week said back in

July, "What is the price of labor peace when militant unions confront the nation's bankrupt cities? In most cities, it's not as high as it is in the 'union town' called New York City." New York was chosen as the target in a union-busting campaign. From January to October, 32,211 city jobs were cut—an 11 percent drop. In early November, 3,374 more jobs were eliminated by Democratic Mayor Abe Beame, with further layoffs in the works.

New York's transit fare was
Cont'd. p. 12

Long Live the Spanish Revolution!

As we go to press, Francisco Franco, the butcher of the Spanish working class, lies dying. The regime he founded will not long outlive him. While at first there will undoubtedly be some weeks or months in which the workers and their enemies test their strength, the period which is opening is a revolutionary one, in which the question of which class rules will inevitably be posed.

The events of the past 18 months in Portugal prove this. All classes at first hoped for social peace and democ-

cracy. The workers advanced their interests within this framework. But it took only a few months for the workers to learn that even their minimal demands threatened the capitalists' rule. Today the entire bourgeoisie and the most advanced workers know that the only alternatives in Portugal are a new regime of bourgeois strongman rule, smashing the workers' gains, or the class rule of the proletariat.

Bourgeois commentators claim that Spain's more developed economy opens a

third road. But Spain's recent economic boom has been reversed by the European economic decline, and the position of Spanish capitalism will only be worsened if Spain's workers, now paid a third to half the wage rates of Western Europe, make major gains.

Even under the dictatorship, 700,000 Spanish workers took part in strikes in 1974, and in 1975 two political general strikes alone involved 400,000 workers. The Basque people are in revolt; Cata-

Cont'd. p. 3



JURY HUNG IN LIVERNOS FIVE TRIAL; NEW TRIAL STARTS JAN. 26. Above, Paul Aldridge of RSL condemns capitalist system's racist brutality against blacks and explains why Livernois Five have been framed.

**Free the
Livernois 5! p.3**

Editorials

Zionism and Racism

For weeks the newspapers and TV have bombarded their audiences with several tons of impressive verbiage denouncing the proposed United Nations resolution on Zionism and racism as "anti-Semitic." Danial Moynihan, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, said the proposed resolution would be an "obscene act," and when Uganda's President Idi Amin spoke at the UN on behalf of the Organization of African Unity and took an anti-Israel position, the New York Times with Moynihan's endorsement denounced this as the speech of a "racist murderer." Most of the U.S. Jewish organizations have jumped on the bandwagon; for example, tens of thousands of people mobilized for a "Rally Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" in New York Nov. 11, although the announcements for the rally mentioned no other form of "racism" than anti-Zionism.

The issues behind this barrage of propaganda are simple. The UN resolution (passed Nov. 10) states that Zionism is "a form of racism and racial discrimination." The New York Times, Moynihan, the pro-Israel imperialists in general, and most Jewish organizations obscure this simple truth by equating anti-Zionism, i.e., opposition to the policy of establishing a Jewish state, with anti-Semitism, that is, racist suppression of the Jewish people, their rights, organizations, etc.

The Zionist claim to establish a Jewish state is not a claim made in the abstract. Marxists could support such a right (whether for or against carrying it out in practice) if it were not simultaneously a claim to suppress weaker peoples and less industrialized states. When this is involved, Zionism is a form of imperialism, and therefore also racism.

The Zionist claim to establish a state in Palestine necessarily involved throwing off the land all those who lived there before. All but a small minority of Jewish Israelis came to Palestine to steal lands which were already occupied or to colonize vacant lands in order to create a Jewish majority and a Jewish armed force and deny the Arab Palestinians their right to their own state in their own homeland. From the nineteenth century onward, the Zionist leaders appealed to the imperialists to recognize Zionist occupation of Palestine as part of imperialism's "civilizing mission" in the Middle East. From the beginning, Zionism referred not to a Jewish state in the abstract, but to an exclusionary state.

However sincere their hatred of anti-Semitism, however barbaric the conditions they escaped from, the Jews who came to Palestine to steal it from the Arabs were tools of imperialism. They became an oppressor nationality, ruling Israel and dominating the Middle East by dint of superior technology and serving as an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East. Today the U.S. uses Israel as its pawn in the Middle East. By keeping Arab states divided and under constant military threat, Israel serves as a direct imperialist policeman; indirectly, it serves as

justification for an imperialist presence in the Middle East.

Zionism is racially discriminatory to this day. For example, the Israeli government is now planning to "Judaicize" the Galilee region, one of the few remaining areas in Israel with an Arab majority. The Arab Israelis in Galilee, who have always lived peacefully and submitted to the law, are to have their land stolen by government requisition (with compensation, if you please!). This, an Israeli-Arab journalist commented, is "part of a gradual process of taking over our land. In the 27-year history of this state, land transactions have gone in only one direction: from Arabs to Jews. Never the other way around."

As the New York Times blandly reported, "During the 1950's and 1960's it was government policy, undeclared but undeniably, to take over Arab land wherever possible." The Times adds that Arabs for some reason "still regard themselves as second-class citizens."

This testimony by the righteous Times, which condemns "racist murderers" who are black, of course only tells part of the truth. It does not mention the wholesale expulsion of Arabs from their land during and after the 1948 war, nor the fact that discrimination exists today against Arabs in jobs, housing, and every other phase of Israeli life. And it does not mention that the basis for all this is Zionism, the barbaric doctrine which defines Israel as a state based on the suppression of non-Jews. When an Israeli official says, "It is a simple fact that Arabs are a minority in Israel and are going to remain so," he means that Arabs must be a minority so that they can be suppressed.

What else is this but "a form of racism and racial discrimination"? What is "obscene" is that this is denied. What is obscene is that official representatives of the United States, the power which destroyed the villages and cities of Vietnam, the state which lubricates South African apartheid with billions in loans and investments, the state which arms the Shah and Pinochet, Balaguer and Park Chung Hee to keep the "natives" sweating in the sun; the state which shoots its own black citizens in the streets and in their beds—that this state's representatives can describe any African chief of state, even a bloody dictator like Amin, as a "racist murderer" shows a contempt for reality which is truly obscene.

The U.S. never opened its own doors to the survivors of Hitler's death camps. Its pious hypocrisy protects not the Jews of Israel but the flow of oil. It is the Palestinian masses and the anti-imperialist workers and peasant masses of the Arab states who are fighting racism by fighting to expel imperialism and regain their homeland. They will succeed when they overthrow the Zionist state and their own bourgeois and semi-feudal rulers and create a United Socialist States of the Middle East, in which Jews can live with Arabs as equals and not as oppressors.

It is obscene that representatives of the United States, the state which arms the Shah and Pinochet, Balaguer and Park Chung Hee to keep the 'natives' sweating in the sun, can describe any African chief of state as a 'racist murderer.'

League Mounts Fall Fund Drive

The Revolutionary Socialist League is presently carrying out its second fund drive of 1975, with a goal of \$9,000. The drive ends December 15.

The League's needs for funds is increasing as a result of increasing direct involvement in the struggles of the working class and the oppressed. The purchase of a printing press, the publication of labor bulletins and a major defense case all involve major new expenditures.

Once again the League appeals to the readers of *The Torch* to support our work. Send check or money order payable to RSL or *The Torch*, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, New York 10036

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Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Derek Hirst

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Jury

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Jury Hung; Free the Livernois Five!

After a trial in which the prosecution resorted to the dirtiest tricks because of its blatant lack of a case, the murder trial of James Henderson, Raymond Peoples and Ronald Jordan ended on November 12 in a hung jury. After nearly three days of deliberation, the jury announced that it could not agree on a verdict for the three young Detroit black men framed by police following last July's street confrontations in the Livernois-Fenkell area of Detroit's black Northwest side.

Henderson, Peoples and Jordan will be tried again. Their new trial starts on January 25. Butch Young and Douglas Lang still await separate trial as juveniles on the same charges. The Livernois Five Defense Committee is increasing its work to spread the facts of the case to the workers and oppressed of Detroit and throughout the country. It is mainly because of the Defense Committee's efforts that the defendants weren't convicted despite the state's nonexistent case—typical in trials of young blacks.

As last month's *Torch* explained in detail, the events leading to the frame-up began when racist bar owner Andrew Chinarian murdered black teenager Obie Wynn in cold blood behind his bar. Trigger-happy Chinarian had been involved in several previous shooting incidents, and the racist exclusion of blacks from his bar stuck in the throats of the black community. Chinarian's claim of self-defense from Wynn's supposed attack on him with a screwdriver is a transparent lie: no screwdriver has ever been found in the vicinity of the murder.

The street confrontations broke out as soon as word of the racist murder got out, and the participants' rage increased when Chinarian was smuggled out of the bar in a police shirt and then released. In the course of the demonstrations, a white motorist, Marion Pyszko, was killed.

The Livernois Five are charged with Pyszko's murder. They were pulled in by a typical racist dragnet that arrested every young black that moved. 51 black youths were hauled in on July 28, dozens more the next day.

STATE HAS NO CASE

The cops and the prosecution have absolutely no case. Their performance at the murder trial was a farce. The state called over 20 witnesses, not one of whom could make a positive identification that any of the defendants were involved in Pyszko's death.

The state's two star witnesses, James Bates and Buster Young, both admitted in court that they were forced to testify after having been given the choice of testifying or being brought up on the murder rap themselves. The cops confirmed this coercion in court, saying that the only way they could get anyone to testify was through threats.

Buster Young admitted at the trial that he wasn't even there when Pyszko was killed. Bates said that he couldn't see anything—he could place people near the scene, but couldn't see who was involved. And these were the state's best witnesses!

Because the prosecution knows it has no case, the state pulled every trick in the book to try to railroad Henderson, Peoples and Jordan. The state successfully maneuvered jury selection to keep young blacks off the jury. Although five of the jurors were black, none are under 30 and most are over 50. This move was made to play on the feelings of many older blacks that the defendants are young punk hoodlums who would rather steal and kill than work. In fact, except for

Young and Lang, who are high school students, all the defendants are workers fired or on layoff because of Detroit's 20 percent plus unemployment rate (more like 50 to 60 percent for young blacks).

Jury selection was only one of the state's maneuvers. When the defense asked for more time to prepare the case, it was denied; making it impossible for the defense to subpoena several witnesses. The jury was not kept in isolation throughout the case—standard procedure in murder trials—but was sent home every night. This means that every juror was subject to the racist propaganda of the bourgeois media during the course of the trial.

This led directly to the most cynical and disgusting move of them all. On the night of November 10, the Young home was shot at. This is the home of both defendant Butch Young and state's witness Buster Young—the Buster Young who was forced to testify on threat of being charged with murder. On the following night, the home of state's witness James Bates was shot up.

PROVOCATEURS AT WORK

It's obvious what's at work here. The state put on a performance for the jurors who were sent home every night even during deliberations. The shootings took place while the jury was out deciding its verdict. Because its case was shot full of holes, it is almost certain that the state decided to try to sway the jury by making it look like the defendants' friends were going after key witnesses, banking on the

jurors' reading the press or watching television to find out about the incidents. They hoped for either of two conclusions: that the defendants were part of a pack of gun-crazy murderers, or that the Livernois Five Defense Committee, initiated by supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, was a group of terrorists and that they could throw in red-baiting for good measure.

This whole fraud must be exposed. Only the prosecution and its friends had reason to stage the shootings. The defendants' supporters all knew that the state's case was shown up as totally worthless in court. The shootings could only hurt the defense and help the prosecution. It's obvious that the Livernois Five's enemies were behind them.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE'S WORK

The prosecution's weakness and the defense's strength were greatly aided by the efforts of the Livernois Five Defense Committee. The Defense Committee worked in the trade unions, in the community and in the neighborhood high schools to mass distribute the truth about the case and to build support to free the Livernois Five.

The Defense Committee established Students United to Free the Livernois Five to organize in the local high school, and set up Family and Friends to Free the Livernois Five to work in the community. Support was built not only through leafletting, but also through tireless efforts to discuss the case individually with as many neighborhood residents as possible.

The Defense Committee raised the

importance of support for the case directly in the trade unions. The Postal Action Committee and the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee were especially active in raising the case in their publications and in their locals.

A kick-off rally was staged by the committee on October 26, just before the trial opened. Over 75 people heard Paul Aldridge of the Revolutionary Socialist League explain: "Who is responsible for the death of Marion Pyszko? The black youths? Or the police for the racist treatment given to blacks in the community and the brutality which even (Mayor) Coleman Young admitted... and the capitalist system as a whole which breeds the anger that was expressed after Obie Wynn's death, anger over not having a decent job, a decent place to live and opportunities for a decent life!"

JOAN LITTLE TO SPEAK FOR LIVERNOIS FIVE

With a new trial looming, the Livernois Five Defense Committee faces greater tasks. It is throwing all the resources it can muster into combatting the heavily-financed and coordinated frame-up efforts of the state. The committee is actively building for a mass rally on November 15 at which Joan Little will speak out for the Livernois Five.

The Joan Little case is the best example of the power of a mass defense campaign. The Livernois Five's fight is the same struggle as Joan Little's. The tens of thousands whose support won Joan Little's freedom must do the same for these five young black men being railroaded by the racist capitalist system.

To free the Livernois Five, the Defense Committee must expand its organizing. To do this, the Livernois Five Defense Committee needs your support. It needs funds for publicity. And it needs the material support of individuals who can help build support for the case. Build the Livernois Five Defense Committee! FREE THE LIVERNOIS FIVE!

PLEASE SEND FUNDS AND REQUESTS FOR FURTHER INFORMATION TO: LIVERNOIS FIVE DEFENSE COMMITTEE, PO BOX 503, DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48221

Spartacists Slur Livernois Five

The Revolutionary Socialist League has approached nearly every left organization proposing joint actions to free the Livernois Five. A few have participated; most have not. The most disgusting reaction has been the Spartacist League's and its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League.

When the RSL approached the SL, we received such responses as "They're guilty. I read it in the newspaper." One SL supporter called the five young blacks "punks and murderers." When we pressed one of the leaders of the Detroit SL, she cited the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press*—the two mass-circulation bourgeois dailies in the city—as evidence. This SLer argued that she had read in the bourgeois press "that the police got one kid to turn state's evidence and he had fingered the five as the murderers."

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Spanish Revolution

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lonia, especially the Barcelona proletariat, promises again to lead the Spanish Revolution. Major battles are looming.

The bourgeoisie faces extraordinary immediate difficulties. To stabilize the regime they wish to preserve the monarchy against the will of the workers. All major sections of the bourgeoisie know some liberalization is unavoidable, but they cannot agree on how much. They cannot agree whether to legalize the Communist Party, with the risk that it will make major gains, or keep it suppressed, with the risk of a major explosion. They cannot agree on how to deal with the presently illegal Workers' Commissions, or on the form of government for Spain. And the workers will not grant them much time before acting on their own.

The main question facing Spain is the creation of a revolutionary party. Leon Trotsky, continuator of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, fought to build such a party in Spain 45 years ago. Though the fascist victory smashed his efforts, the Leninist theory and strategy, and even many demands and tactics, which Trotsky fought for must be advanced today in Spain as part of the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International.

The first lesson to be driven home is that there will be no "two stage" revolution in Spain. By seeking to hold the revolution to a "democratic stage," those who advocate or adapt to this theory deprive the proletariat of clear leadership and allow the bourgeoisie to prepare its counter-revolution. This was the lesson of the CP's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution of the 1930's. The Portuguese

workers of today have had the same bitter experience. There must be no illusions in the "progressive" nature of the bourgeoisie or its army.

Revolutionaries must advance the most radical democratic demands, including division of the land, credit to the peasants, complete political freedom, abolition of the monarchy, equality of all languages and nationalities, the right of self-determination for the Basque country, and a revolutionary constituent Cortes. But these democratic needs will only be won through the proletarian conquest of power.

Therefore, the key revolutionary demands are for a national network of Workers' Commissions, for workers' control of industry and the banks, for the formation of Soviets, for arming the workers and peasants to fight for a workers' and peasants' government in a Socialist Federation of Iberia.

Forty years ago, the Spanish Socialist and Communist parties, the anarcho-syndicalists and the centrists of the POUM, played a tragic role in preventing the proletarian revolution which alone could have defeated Franco. As a result World War II became inevitable and capitalism gained 40 years of bloody, wasteful life. Today these forces, now joined by Maoists and pseudo-Trotskyists, must not be allowed a repeat performance. Nor can the United States be allowed to choke the Spanish Revolution with the millions it is already pouring into Social-Democratic bank accounts.

A revolutionary party, the Spanish section of the reconstructed Fourth International, must be built! U.S. workers must halt the CIA! If these tasks are carried out, victory is assured. With complete confidence we salute the Spanish Revolution.

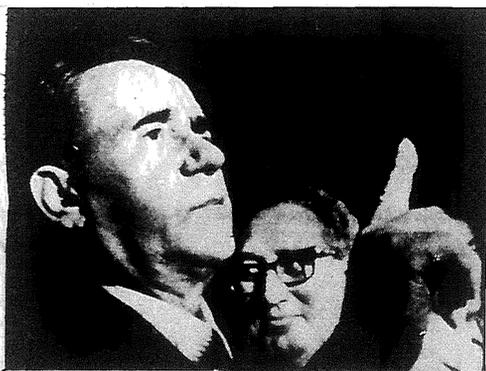
Imperialist Victory

US Annexes Sadat

On October 27 Egypt's President Sadat arrived in Washington to bargain for arms, economic aid and the "goodwill of the American people" (by "people" Sadat means the American bourgeoisie). By that evening, Sadat was already telling a Washington audience that the "solution to the Palestine problem will depend on the next generation"—i.e., that Sadat himself will rest content with the tiny slice of Egyptian soil he has regained from Israel if the price in arms and investments is right.

IMPERIALIST VICTORY

Sadat went home two weeks later with much less than he wanted. He did not get the \$5 billion, 10-year U.S. arms deal he sought to replace the Soviet arms no longer available to Egypt. He did get a \$2 billion nuclear power plant, and on his way home, he



Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger. Sinai pact is part of imperialist deal between the super-powers.

swung a \$2 billion arms deal with Britain. But overall, the last several months of diplomacy have cost Egypt far more than it has gained.

Sadat's arrival in Washington was a victory for U.S. imperialism. The U.S. has been maneuvering for several years, and especially for the last nine months, for a Middle Eastern settlement which would recognize the U.S. as the dominant power in the region. This has been the purpose of the negotiations with Egypt from the September Sinai pact until Sadat's Washington visit.

This was made clear by a thinly veiled presentation of Kissinger's views in the form of a New York Times "backgrounder" a few days before the Sinai pact was signed. According to the "American officials" quoted in the story, the U.S. would emerge from the Sinai deal as "the major outside power in the Middle East." The pact would protect the flow of oil to the West, enlarge American "political, economic and military influence" throughout the region, and "allow the United States to penetrate the Arab countries." All these imperialist aims are now much closer to fulfillment.

"DETENTE" RIVALRY

The background to this U.S. victory lies in the mutual imperialist maneuvering of the U.S. and Russia within the framework of "detente." Detente is ballyhooed as a measure to bring world peace, relaxation of international tensions, and so forth. Actually

it is only a temporarily peaceful framework within which the imperialist giants continue to maneuver for diplomatic hegemony, control of markets and resources, and strategic positions. Since Russia's state capitalism remains backward and inefficient relative to U.S. imperialist monopoly capitalism, the U.S. holds the strongest cards.

For the last two years, detente has meant an implicit deal in which Russia obtained continued trade and good relations with the U.S. and U.S. recognition of Southeast Asia as a Russian sphere of influence in return for giving the U.S. free rein in consolidating its dominant position in the Middle East. Russia has asked only that it be recognized as one of the "interested" powers in the Middle East and that its own right to make economic deals, military sales and engage in traditional diplomatic horse-trading should not be hampered.

The morning that Sadat arrived in the U.S., Russia concluded a new arms sale to Syria, presently its most dependable Middle Eastern "friend." But U.S. imperialism nevertheless outflanked its weaker Russian rival and this shows the instability of the present detente, the fact that U.S.-Russian "peaceful competition" is a competition for domination which must inevitably

lead to war.

The U.S. has maneuvered on three fronts to secure its position in the Middle East. First, over the last ten years the U.S. has maintained its traditional Middle Eastern alliances with Israel and the conservative monarchies, Saudi Arabia and Iran. This involved another implicit deal, in which the U.S. recognized the OPEC countries' right to jack up oil prices in return for a pledge by the latter to

keep the increases relatively moderate. The U.S. does not at present have the leverage to force the prices down, and it values its traditional allies too much to want a head-on confrontation.

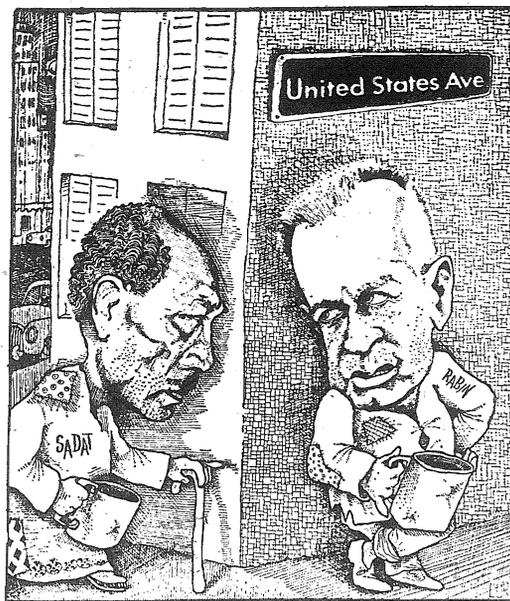
Second, the U.S. has worked to divide and contain the Palestinian movement by dangling before it the bait of a Palestinian mini-state. When Yasir Arafat snapped at the bait, imperialist diplomacy succeeded in further dividing the Palestinian movement, further isolating the more militant nationalists and putting pressure on Arafat for further compromises to achieve a Palestinian state in the short run rather than through revolutionary struggle.

Finally, the U.S. recognized the possibility of a right turn in Egypt after Nasser's death, but especially after the 1973 war, and made this the cornerstone of its Middle Eastern policy. The key to this effort has been President Sadat.

FROM FRYING PAN TO FIRE

From Nasser, Sadat inherited a Russian alliance which was an enormous burden to Egypt—at present, well over half of Egypt's payments to Russia go for debt service rather than goods and services. Moreover, U.S. investments, if available, would offer an infusion of quick money into Egypt's stagnant economy, a temporary stimulant leading to greater underdevelopment in the future. The price, of course, was an even greater foreign dependence and a reversal of the mainly demagogic improvements for the masses under Nasser's Bonapartist "Arab Socialism."

In the last three years, Sadat has taken off many of Nasser's controls on foreign and private capital. He has fostered the uninhibited enrichment of the new Egyptian bourgeoisie—which had been encouraged but also kept



"SHOVE OFF, BUSTER, THIS IS MY CORNER."

within limits under Nasser. The incomes of this largely unproductive, parasitic sector reach \$80,000 a year—in a country whose per-capita annual income is below \$100. Trade and aid from the U.S. is the material basis for the privileges of this sector, which, along with the military, provides Sadat's backing.

SINAI PACT

In order to carry through its Middle Eastern strategy, the U.S. has had to create Arab regimes with a stake in the continued existence in Israel. The gambit of quietly backing the Palestinian mini-state was one half of this strategy; the other half was the "shuttle diplomacy" of the last year in which Kissinger sought minimal Israeli concessions on territory in return for a de facto recognition by Egypt of Israel's legitimacy.

In this context Kissinger, Sadat and Yitzhak Rabin signed the interim Sinai peace agreement on September 1. In effect, the agreement recognizes Israel's annexation of thousands of square miles of Egyptian territory in the Sinai in return for Israel's withdrawal from a strip 10 to 25 miles wide including the strategic Gidi and Mitla passes. The passes, however, do not revert to Egypt, but to the United Nations—which acts as a policeman helping the robber to get away. Finally, at the insistence of both Egypt and Israel, the U.S. steps in directly to man the "early warning" system in the two passes. The U.S. is

Cont'd. p. 11



Beirut, Lebanon following rocket attack. U.S.-Israeli attempt to maintain stronghold on Lebanese Moslem workers through minority Christian regime is behind months of street-fighting.

United Front Halts Chicago Nazi March

OCTOBER 12—200 militant demonstrators prevented the American Nazis (National White People's Socialist Party) from invading a black neighborhood on Chicago's southwest side. The anti-fascist demonstrators were joined in a united front initiated by the Concerned Black Fathers of America and the Communist Labor Party and joined by several other organizations, including the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The Nazi march was part of an ongoing fascist terror campaign in the Marquette Park neighborhood. For some time, blacks have been moving into this formerly white neighborhood, and racist demagogues have played on the fears of many working-class whites to stir up resentment. The Nazis have moved in to try to channel racist sentiment into an organized terror campaign.

While most white workers detest the Nazis' real program, smashing all democratic rights and annihilating the trade unions, the racist demagoguery of the fascists has appealed to some white workers and led them to support the fascist scam.

Nazi headquarters in Marquette Park has the slogan "Stop the Niggers" in sprawling letters. The fascists have a standing offer of \$500 to anyone who can prove that they killed a black person. They have led or instigated several beatings and nighttime raids on black people and their homes.

The Nazi marches provide organized opportunities for larger gangs of thugs to attack blacks in broad daylight. Following a march in August bands of thugs roamed the neighborhood attacking any small group of blacks they could find. The October 12 march was advertised as a march through "coon-town," and the fascists assembled a mob of 1,000 to hear their speeches. 400 white youths, many armed with chains and bricks supplied by the Nazi Party, started on the march.

They were turned back at the edge of the black community by the police, who feared a battle between the Nazi and the anti-fascist united front. When the cops turned the right-wing thugs back, they broke into roving terror bands, hunting for black homes to attack and black people to beat up.

The cops didn't stop the Nazi march because the police are friends of black people, although Chicago Mayor Daley, the NAACP and other black and white liberals are now making this claim. Actually, the anti-Nazi demonstrators were much better organized than the fascists, and the intervention by the cops probably saved the Nazis from a defeat—especially since many black residents would have joined in a fight against the racists. By stepping in, the cops gave the liberals more opportunity to preach pacifism and attempt to prevent blacks from realizing that if they organize now for self-defense, they can smash the small but growing fascist bands.

The true nature of the cops, many of whom openly sympathize with the Nazi scam, came through clearly. When one group of thugs attacked a home, the cops did nothing until the black homeowner reportedly fired a warning shot into the air. Then the cops moved into action—to arrest the black man who acted in self-defense! As the Revolutionary Socialist League warned in its leaflet to the demonstration, illusions in "police neutrality"

will be paid for in blood in the future.

Not the cops, but the militant united front demonstrators were responsible for dealing this setback to the Nazi terror campaign. The success of the demonstration was based in its united front character. Militant unity against fascist terror today will deal a body blow to the right-wing thugs—black and white workers and unemployed will quickly see the cowardice of the Nazi goons if these hooligans are forced to face organized opponents prepared to fight, and the Nazi terror will be smashed if workers' organizations use their force to crush these cowards.

Unfortunately, the misleaders of the working class and the black community refuse to throw their weight behind a united defense against fascism. The trade union bureaucrats do not lift a finger in defense, constantly downplaying the danger. Black liberal organizations play an equally disgusting role. The NAACP, the Urban League and the Daily Defender all threw their support behind a scabbing campaign by a group called the West Englewood Community Organization (WECO). WECO leafletted the community urging residents to hide in their homes instead of coming out to fight the fascists. WECO combined the greatest terror of the cops (they will jail us all) with the greatest

fighters and the workers' misleaders as cowards), the reformists then urged the workers to rely on the police and the state for protection. Their failure to fight paved the way for Hitler's march to power and his crushing of the most powerful and best organized working class in Europe.

Although the fascist forces are still fairly small in this country, they must be taken seriously if we are to prevent American Nazis from repeating Hitler's successful strategy. A few years ago the National White People's Socialist Party couldn't get more than a few stragglers to a street-corner rally. Now they can carry on a mass terror campaign in Chicago. Left unopposed, their forces will grow and their threat will rapidly increase, especially under the impact of the social crisis.

That is why the united front demonstration in Chicago was such an important step. The strength of the united front was reflected in the number of groups participating, including Postal Action Committee, Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, the International Socialists and the Spartacist League. The Revolutionary Socialist League not only brought one of the largest contingents, but also played an aggressive role in trying to draw in other left and trade union organizations. As a speaker from the

the struggle by holding their own demonstration across the street from the united front's. This made it impossible to have any joint tactical decisions if an emergency arose. The PL leadership decided that it was more important to keep their supporters away from other organizations, in sectarian fashion, than to build a united struggle against the Nazis. The views of the entire demonstration were summed up in chants initiated by the RSL: PL Join Us! Take a Stand! and Don't be Splitters, Don't be Pools; Division is the Bosses' Tool!

This, too, had its precedent in Germany. The Communist Party, despite the urgent warnings of Leon Trotsky, refused to offer a united front with the Social Democratic workers against Hitler's bands. This split the workers and prevented the united defense that could have crushed the Nazis. PL is repeating this disastrous course.

The Communist Labor Party used to take this same approach, refusing to engage in joint action with "Trotskyites." The united front demonstration was a move away from this, and it is important for the defense of the working class and the black community that the CLP continue on this course. For the October 12 demonstration, each participating organization had equal voice in the planning meetings, each was given a speaker at the rally and had the right to distribute their own literature. A common tactical leadership was accepted without any demands for organizations to unprincipledly drop their independent slogans and leaflets as the price. This is the way a united front should be run, and it is nothing like the typical "united fronts" set up by the Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party), the October League and other Maoist

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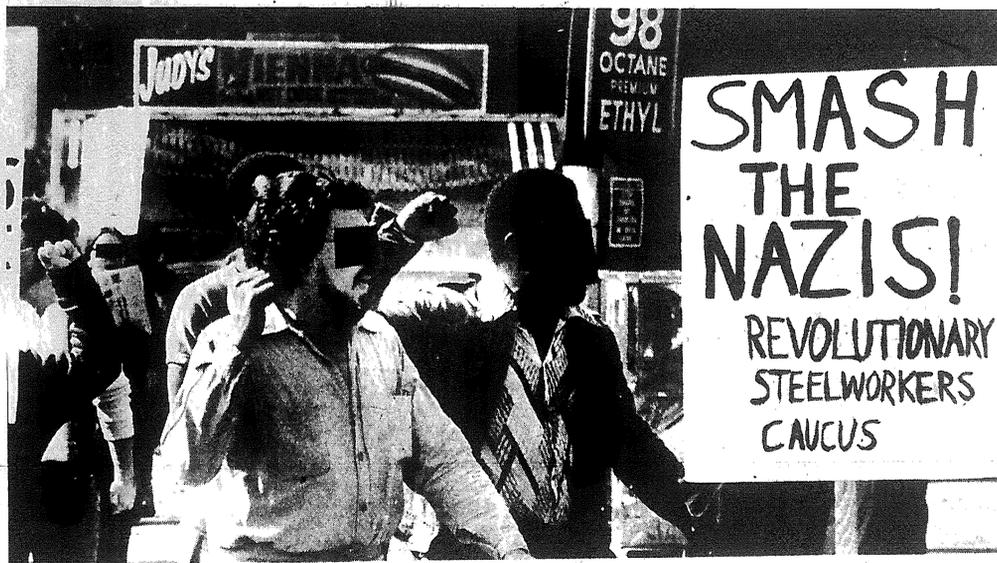
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workers through minority



Militant workers demonstrate against Nazi march in Chicago. United front march was key in preventing march of Nazi-racists through black community.

illusions (the police will defend the law). The American Civil Liberties Union reached even greater heights of scabbing. The ACLU actually went to court to guarantee the Nazis' right to march through the black community. Under the cover of civil rights for all, the ACLU helped the Nazis organize thug attacks.

The bureaucrats and the liberals are only repeating the roles of their predecessors in Germany nearly 50 years ago. German Social Democrats had mass support in the trade unions, but at first said that Hitler was no real threat, the fascists in Germany were too small to worry about, etc. Then, when the German Nazis grew (largely by attracting people who saw them as

Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus explained, the key to smashing the Nazis is the mobilization of the trade union ranks into organized defense guards. The united front adopted as central slogans those put forward by the RSL: Smash the Klan and Nazi Party! Build Workers' Defense Guards!

PL SOWS DISUNITY

Then, on the other hand, there were the actions of Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the Committee Against Racism, a group influenced by PL. Progressive Labor couldn't decide whether it was part of the united front or not. PL took part in planning meetings, but then decided to disunify

organizations, who exclude Trotskyists and demand that any who disagree with them shut up.

The united front demonstrations against the Nazis must be continued. Their effectiveness has been proved in practice, and to abandon this approach now means splitting the left's forces and giving the fascists a tremendous advantage. It would snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. Rank-and-file members of the CLP who realize the effectiveness of the united front must demand that it be maintained, that the struggle against fascism must move forward, not be crippled through division and splitting. The blood of the workers is at stake.

Smash Kokomo! Fight Capitalist Attacks!

The article below is reprinted from a New York edition of "Postal Action," bulletin of the Postal Action Committee

The Kokomo plan is part of a general campaign by management to increase workers' productivity at the expense of working conditions. The \$8 billion debt of USPS has forced management to try to drive working conditions down to the level of the '30's. In Postmaster Bailor's own words, "Last February, I served notice that strong steps would have to be taken to achieve the needed cost reductions and that many of those steps would be controversial." Bailor stepped into office declaring he would cut 55,000 jobs in a year. USPS is out for blood!

The Kokomo Plan, the productivity schemes, the campaign against the militants at the Bulk and the contract defeat are not just isolated incidents. A concerted campaign is being waged, not just against postal workers, but against all workers. In the face of a deepening economic crisis, the corporations, the banks and the politicians are stepping up a campaign to weaken the unions in order to maintain high unemployment, drive down wages, increase productivity, and cut back on essential services. The financial rulers are bent on boosting their profits by putting the squeeze on us. These attacks will intensify if we do not organize to fight back.

While the overwhelming majority of union bureaucrats have willingly bowed down before the bosses' attacks, the ranks have struggled to fight back. 60,000 mineworkers defied attempts by the courts, the coal barons, and the UMW leadership in their fight against the horrendously dangerous working conditions in the mines. The miners' wildcat demanded the right to strike, the right to use their only weapon capable of enforcing safe standards in the mines. UMW President Miller refused to use the power of the UMW to back up the miners' demands. He pleaded with them to rely on the contract. The miners ignored Miller's warnings, continued the walkout, but remained isolated and unable to carry through the struggle.

CITY UNIONS SOLD OUT

The New York City public employee unions saw similar developments. In the face of thousands of layoffs and a severe attack on working conditions, the major union leaders, DeLury, Shanker and Gotbaum sold out their ranks. The sanitation workers wildcatted, but DeLury derailed their struggle into the bourgeois courts. The UFT mobilized a very militant, popular strike against the cutbacks, but Shanker ripped the unity to shreds by accepting a sellout contract that left both the UFT ranks and the children of New York City's working class defeated. Gotbaum, too, as head of DC 37, rolled over and played dead while his workers lost their jobs by the thousands.

In Wilmington, Delaware, striking teachers have been bombarded with every union-busting law the courts can dig up. In a strong display of union solidarity, 105 unions in the area held a one-day work stoppage throughout the state in support of the striking teachers. Yet despite this overwhelming show of solidarity and strength, the striking teachers are losing ground in their battle against the Board of Education. The bureaucrats succeeded

in allowing the ranks to "blow off steam" and have failed to lead an unflinching campaign in support of the striking teachers. The situation could be turned around if the bureaucrats actually mobilized to carry the struggle through.

Across the country, the working class has demonstrated its willingness to fight the bosses' attacks. At every step the union hacks have derailed the struggle. Each strike and job action has remained isolated and open to defeat. The trade unions and the entire working class need a strategy to



1970-71 workers cheer decision to strike USPS. Today, a national strike against USPS attacks are needed even more.

defend themselves and to move forward.

Instead of isolated strikes that get picked off one by one, we need united action. If all public employee unions struck together against the layoffs and cutbacks, they would have the strength to win. If the entire labor movement backed up these strikes through mass demonstrations, work stoppages, and a campaign to call all workers out to assure victory, the attacks could be smashed. This is the kind of strategy we need.

Strike action is necessary, but it is not enough. The corporations have the government to back up their attacks. Both the Democrats and the Republicans put forward the bosses' programs loud and clear, and the police, National Guard and the courts work together to provide the muscle against the unions. We need a political vehicle that can put forward the program of the workers just as clearly, that can organize and lead our struggle. The working class needs its own political party.

LABOR PARTY

A mass revolutionary party is needed to confront and beat back the capitalist offensive by fighting to mobilize the entire working class. But today there is no mass revolutionary party, and it won't be formed overnight. At the same time as

revolutionary workers fight today to build such a party, we must also pose immediate steps that can be taken to defend the interests of the working class.

We must demand that the trade unions take the lead in immediately creating a mass party of the entire working class, a labor party. The struggle for a labor party is both a way to defend the workers' interests in practice, by demonstrating the need for political struggle and showing that a vehicle exists to carry it out, and at the same time a way to fight in practice for a revolutionary party.

We must call for a labor party that will fight to unite the working class by fusing economic and political struggle. Tens of thousands of New York workers now can see the real role of the Democratic Party—O'Dwyer Beame showed their true colors when Big Mac demanded blood from city workers. These are the colors of union busters. We must put forward an immediate alternative.

PROGRAM TO UNITE

In the face of mounting layoffs and cutbacks of essential services we need a labor party that can launch a campaign for a massive public works program to employ the jobless at union wages—

Jobs for All—and provide vital public services. The profits of the banks and corporations must be used to pay for this program—we must not be forced to continue shouldering the burden of the economic crisis. The demand for a massive public works program—paid for by the capitalists—could not only unite all the trade unions, it could unite all employed and unemployed workers in a determined fight. We have the power to wage this fight, but we do not have the leadership which is willing. Our union leaders are "for" a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, but they don't fight for it. This demand could also unite employed and unemployed workers in a fight for a shorter work week and more jobs. But it must be fought for, not just talked about.

We must fight for a labor party that will fight to unite the working class by actively taking up the defense of blacks, Latins and other oppressed minorities against racist attacks and discrimination. A labor party that fought in the interests of the oppressed could have organized mass labor demonstrations in defense of Joan Little. A mass party of the working class must also demonstrate its international solidarity. We would demand full rights for foreign workers and an immediate end to the deportation of undocumented workers.

PROGRAM TO UNITE

We struggle for a labor party that can lead the mass, united strike action that is needed today to defend our interests. We call for a party that will pose a clear alternative to the continued rule of the corporations and its political hacks, a labor party that will fight for the rule of the working class. This kind of party, by aggressively fighting for a workers' government, could appeal to the tens of thousands of workers who are not yet ready to accept socialism but have seen through Big Mac and the government of the banks and corporations.

The trade union movement can't withstand defeat after defeat indefinitely. If the trade unions can't even hold the line on wages and working conditions, their size and strength will shrink. Unemployment lines will grow and many still working will leave the unions, saying, "Why pay dues for nothing?" If the unions are to fight back successfully, they must combine strike action with political struggle through a labor party.

needs of blacks. When we scratched the surface of these petty-bourgeois moralists by demanding that they join the Defense Committee, the dirty racism came right to the surface.

The Spartacist League's refusal to join the defense of the Livorno Five is criminal, and their statements are downright racist. The SL is afraid of the black masses. When they're confronted with a racist frame-up of three laid-off workers and two high school students, they call them "a bunch of lumpen street punks" and ask us if we "defend pimps, dope pushers, etc." They accuse us of "fomenting race war" for fighting for the needs of the most oppressed.

The SL does not want to dirty its petty-bourgeois nose by defending the five black youths who have been victims of capitalist racist brutality all their lives and are now on trial for their lives in a gross frame-up. That gives a good idea of the SL leadership's idea of Bolshevism.

We challenge the Spartacist League to retract the racist slurs of its supporters. We call on supporters and members of the Spartacist League to join the Livorno Five Defense Committee as part of the elementary revolutionary task of defending capitalism's victims against the capitalist state.

Spartacists

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This is pure and simple racism. Of course the bourgeois press calls the Livorno Five "punks and murderers" and pronounces them guilty. The instinct of any genuine revolutionary is to believe that the bourgeois press is lying on any incident like this. If the SL had bothered to find out one damn thing about the case, they'd know that it's a racist frame-up. "Guilty until proven innocent," says the Spartacist League to blacks attacked by the racist state. Instead of struggling with and leading the black masses, the SL joins the attack on black people with the same racist line that the bourgeoisie uses.

In Workers Vanguard (no. 75) the SL wrote that the treatment of the five black youths clearly demonstrates the "class and race bias of capitalist justice." If the Spartacist League believed that, they would throw their resources into the defense effort. But they don't believe it. That's all for public consumption and to convince decent elements in and around the SL that the Spartacists do champion the

On October 23 Unites President I.W. Abel announced running for re-election in February, 1977. This election over whether Abel would constitute so that he could now will most likely be a self-proclaimed union flunky.

This announcement is an extreme and deepening capitalism. The election who will lead one of the the U.S. labor movement consequences for the entire working class.

Abel's candidate has not to be a surprise, however, on Abel's record, vowing Sadlowski, on the other reformer, out to build a overthrow Abel and or a former local officer in Gary, Indiana), the large became District Director Abel's man, Sam Evers Sadlowski tried to further initiating a call for a Special the 1974 dues increase. When it failed to get the one-third of Steelworker Sadlowski is tied to J leading light of the li recently the behind-the-

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I.W. ABEL and the CRISIS IN STEEL



On October 23 United Steelworkers of America President I.W. Abel announced that he will not be running for re-election when his term expires in February, 1977. This ends a period of uncertainty over whether Abel would try to amend the union constitution so that he could run again. The contest now will most likely be between Edward Sadlowski, a self-proclaimed union reformer, and some Abel flunky.

This announcement comes during a period of extreme and deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism. The election campaign, a contest over who will lead one of the most important unions of the U.S. labor movement, thus has enormous consequences for the entire U.S. and international working class.

Abel's candidate has not been announced. He will be no surprise, however, and will inevitably stand on Abel's record, vowing to continue his policies. Sadlowski, on the other hand, claims to be a union reformer, out to build a rank and file movement to overthrow Abel and/or his henchmen. Sadlowski is a former local officer in District 31 (Chicago and Gary, Indiana), the largest district in the union. He became District Director in late 1974 by beating Abel's man, Sam Evett, by a 2-to-1 landslide. Sadlowski tried to further his "reformer" image by initiating a call for a Special Convention to rescind the 1974 dues increase. This effort ground to a halt when it failed to get the needed endorsement from one-third of Steelworker locals.

Sادلowski is tied to Joseph Rauh, Jr.—lawyer, leading light of the liberal establishment, and recently the behind-the-scenes promoter of other

union reformers (such as Arnold Miller in the UMW and James Morrissey in the NMU). Despite his image, Sadlowski has put forward no program counterposed to Abel. While he is "personally opposed" to Abel's anti-strike deal, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, Sadlowski has not made the ENA an issue in any of his campaigns. Instead, he focuses on an anti-dues campaign to avoid the crucial issues facing steelworkers. His only real claim to fame is that he rose from the ranks and likes to make a big show out of not living like fat cat bureaucrats (when he went to the recent AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco, he slept in a rundown motel and got the liberal Village Voice to turn this one act into a two-page hero-building spread).

Sادلowski has no basic disagreements with Abel's approach. He wants to change the image, the better to hold steelworkers in check. By opposing the most blatantly undemocratic aspects of the Abel machine and by orienting the bureaucracy towards Rauh and his other liberal friends in Washington, Sadlowski is trying to prop up the steel industry and the capitalist class.

Periodically, reformers have come along in the Steelworkers opposing "the regime." Before Sadlowski, the last one was Abel himself, who successfully unseated David McDonald before rising to heights of class collaboration beyond McDonald's dreams. Like Abel before him, Sadlowski (if elected) will sit down at the table with the steel bosses and work out some equitable arrangement for exploiting the ranks more efficiently. Like Abel, he will have to come to grips

with the economic crisis of the steel industry. There is no long-term solution to this crisis on a capitalist basis that is in the interest of the working class. Solution is only possible on a revolutionary socialist basis—Sادلowski's reformist approach will necessarily mean joining with the bosses to attack the workers.

Crisis in Steel

An examination of the state of the steel industry will demonstrate in graphic terms the depths of the crisis, and why any perspective for reform must betray the working class.

Since steelmaking is the backbone of the modern economy, the health of the steel industry is crucial to economic prosperity. Particularly important is investment in plant and equipment since it helps to determine steelmaking capacity. Until the 1960's steelmaking capacity had substantially increased in every decade of the 20th century. In the 1950's, for example, \$11.3 billion (an average of \$1.1 billion a year) was spent for new plant and equipment. As a result, annual steelmaking capacity increased by one-half, or 50 million tons.

During the 1960's, however, Basic Steel was standing still. Production did not surpass the highest levels of the 1950's. Expansion of steelmaking capacity took a back seat to replacement of obsolescent steelmaking machinery.

The Ninth and Eleventh American Machinist Inventory of Metalworking Equipment surveyed the Primary Metals Industries. The surveys show how serious the problems were in Basic Steel.

Primary Metals Industries:
Average Age of All Machine Tools,
1963 and 1973

Year	Percent 10 Years Old or Older	Percent Over 20 Years
1963	69	27
1973	73	30

The 1963 Inventory commented further:
"... steel mills and non-ferrous smelting and refining plants... contribute most heavily to obsolescence: 74 percent of machine tools here are beyond the 10-year yardstick."

Demand and Competition

Demand for domestically produced steel was depressed in the years 1960-1964. Competition from foreign steel makers became a growing threat to the American steel corporations during this period. After the 116-day steel strike in 1959 many American buyers became concerned that another steel strike would disrupt their businesses and began ordering steel abroad. This was combined with the increased competitiveness of European and Japanese steel makers after economic reconstruction was completed in the mid-50's. By 1971, the fourth contract round since the 1959 strike, over 18 million net tons of steel were being imported into the United States annually.

This depressed demand for U.S. steel helped keep reinvestment below the best years of the '50's. The slowdown in the rate of reinvestment in the industry was closely tied to a fall in the rate of profit in Basic Steel. During 1958-1965, the rate of return (after taxes) on stockholders' average investment in Basic Steel ranged between 5.4 percent and 9.0 percent. This compares distinctly unfavorably to the 1947-57 period where the rate of return was above 11.0 percent in all but two years, according to Federal Trade Commission studies. During 1960-1972, profit as a percent of net worth in the steel industry was usually the lowest among principal manufacturing industries in the U.S. and always below the average for these same industries, according to the First National City Bank.

The fall in the profit rate of the steel industry meant that relatively less surplus value was produced compared to what was needed to introduce modern equipment. This dynamic was exacerbated by the fact that replacing steelmaking capacity in the '60's was more expensive than the

original installation several decades earlier. The more sophisticated steelmaking processes (basic oxygen process, Q-BOP and electric furnaces) cost much more than the older open hearth furnaces. And to this, one must add the impact of inflation.

Enter I.W. Abel

The steel barons had to put a stop to this degenerative process. Their foremost concern was to beat back the workers, to raise the rate of exploitation. To do this, they needed a close working relationship with a willing, and from their point of view, far-sighted and capable bureaucracy. Iorwith Wilbur Abel was the man for the job. He replaced David J. McDonald—a bureaucrat no less sincerely devoted to "democratic capitalism" but notably less adept at selling class collaboration to the ranks.

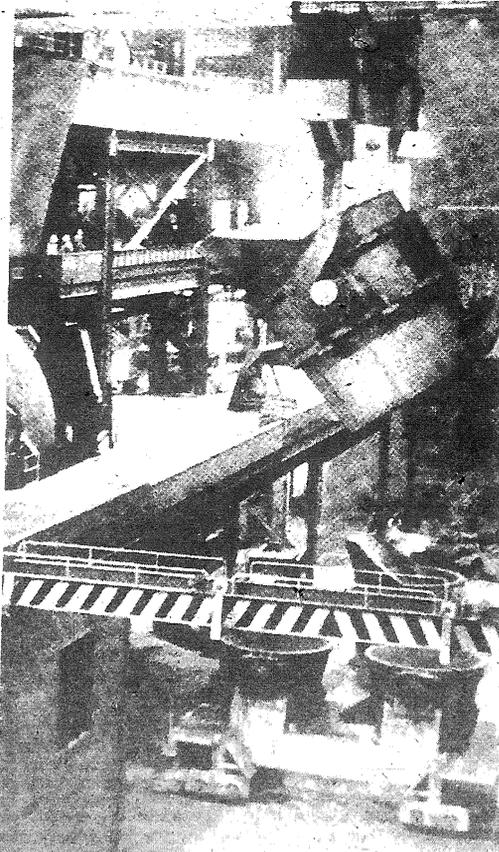
In 1973 and 1974, after nine years of Abel leadership, it appeared that everything was coming up roses for the capitalists of Basic Steel. The crisis in the industry definitely appeared to have been averted. As the U.S. skidded close to the brink of depression in late 1974, the domestic steel industry had its second best year, producing 145.5 million net tons of raw steel and shipping 109 million tons. In 1973, production totalled 150.4 million tons. This all-time record led the Western capitalists and the state capitalist countries. Net income as a percent of invested capital for the 29 largest steel companies in 1973 was 6.3 percent. Net income for the same companies in 1974 was 11.6 percent—the best performance since the '50's.

Although not the only factor, Abel's class collaborationist program was crucial in creating this situation, and Abel and Co. will be using this record to boost the Abel candidate. Abel now says employed steelworkers have never had it so good. He claims that his innovative leadership has helped eliminate job insecurity caused by the triennial "boom-bust" cycle that punctuated contract negotiations in Basic Steel following the 1959 strike. Steady work and overtime would precede the signing of the contract as buyers built up inventories in anticipation of a possible strike. After the contract was signed orders would fall off immediately. Layoffs followed, getting longer and longer every three years.

From the point of view of the working class, however, the gains won for employed steel workers since 1965 are offset by losses inflicted on other steelworkers, either in the U.S. or in other countries. And this is not to mention that the gains made by the employed steelworkers will be increasingly tenuous as the crisis deepens.

Abel's program consisted of a series of outrageous betrayals covered by three headings: 1) protectionism or "fair trade"; 2) "joint" productivity (speed-up) efforts; and 3) surrender of the right to strike in Basic Steel. Each part of this program has split and divided steelworkers from one another and left them weakened in the face of the bosses' attacks.

To meet the foreign competition mentioned above, the union under Abel's leadership reversed its earlier advocacy of "free trade" and took the lead in initiating a "joint labor-management" offensive



Oxygen process at work in steelmaking: Many obsolescent U.S. mills still haven't installed this decades-old method, let alone more modern techniques.

against the steel imports. Central to this campaign was the Joint Conference on Imports and Productivity which formally convened in December, 1972.

These efforts brought results. Steel Labor, the newspaper of the USWA bureaucracy, pointed with pride to the decrease in steel imports since 1971:

United States: Net Steel Imports, 1971-1974

Year	Net Imports (tons)
1971	15,476,582
1972	14,808,320
1973	11,097,231
1974	9,730,503



Steelworkers march for winter relief and unemployment insurance in the 1930's. If steel companies get their way steelworkers will be pushed back to Depression-level conditions.

During the 60's, expansion of steel capacity took a backseat to replacement of obsolescent machinery. The steel industry's inability to produce rapidly for the rest of the productive world weakens the whole of U.S. capitalism. The only progressive solution which will turn steel workers into slaves is revolution.

The USW pamphlet, "A 10-Year Record of Progress, 1965-1975," draws the following conclusion: "... about 50,000 members of our Union are working today because we have managed to reduce imports while the industry has been able to sell more of its products on the world market." Abel is trying to tell American steelworkers that they can save their jobs only by joining hands with the American bourgeoisie in forcing unemployment on German and Japanese steelworkers.

The second part of Abel's answer to the crisis of the steel industry has been open cooperation with the bosses to increase labor productivity. Joint labor-management-plant productivity committees were introduced in the 1971 Basic Steel contract to preside over speed-up and job elimination. Actually the productivity of production workers in Basic Steel has been steadily increasing since 1965. In 1973, output per man-hour had increased 24.4 percent, and annual output per worker had increased 26.1 percent since 1965, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But this overall eight-year increase in productivity "masks the substantial gains in productivity during 1972 and 1973—the first two full years of the August 1971 contract. Again Steel Labor took pride in the percentages.

Year	Basic Steel	Total Private Economy
1970	-3.0	0.9
1971	3.3	4.1
1972	5.9	3.8
1973	10.8	2.9
1974	xxx	-2.7

The so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and its no-strike pledge of March 1973 are the third part of Abel's answer to the problems of the steel magnates. The ENA was sold to the presidents of the 600 USW locals in the Basic Steel Industry Conference. The Steelworker ranks have never voted on it. Moreover, neither they nor the local presidents were notified before the Conference that it would be coming up for approval. As a result, the ranks have never had a chance even to discuss it. Abel said the ENA will crack the back of the "boom-bust cycle" by eliminating "hedge-buying" and discouraging imports. One year later Abel could write: "The profitability of the Steel Industry has improved greatly and this in turn improves the

ability of the industry to maintain employment. USWA members it employs.

1974 Sellout

The ENA and its no-strike pledge of March 1973 are the criminal sellout of the 1971-72 average annual pay increase bought for by a measly \$18 "bonus." Worse, the Abel leadership negotiated the 1977-1980 no-strike pledge. If Abel and his way, we know what kind of a price was paid for this program. Abel became president of the United States and Puerto Rico average of 538,000 production jobs in 1973 was 488,000—a net loss according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Using a monthly figure (rather than an average), Steel Labor says that production jobs for December, 1973 were 406,000—making a loss of 132,000 jobs in a half year. Layoffs have continued.

For example, average employment in the steel industry from 1971-74 was just over 1 million, the most recent years with fewer employees than in 1932 and 1933. The Great Depression! The 1971-72 wave of layoffs precede the recent waves of layoffs in the steel industry.

Most of the jobs eliminated in the past ten years have been unskilled jobs. Abel's class collaboration has split and divided Latin workers in the mills and in the USW.

Steelworkers lucky enough to remain employed have also paid a price for Abel's class collaboration. Management speed-up commitments on the job have increased since the 1971 USW contract. Layoffs jumped 36.8 percent from 3.8 percent in 1972 to 4.1 percent in 1974.

Abel's program of protectionism and surrender has saved damned few jobs. Instead of working class solidarity and collaboration with the bankers, Abel has disarmed and handed over the most important section of the USW to the bourgeoisie.

During the 60's, expansion of steelmaking capacity took a backseat to replacement of obsolescent machinery. The steel industry's inability to produce rapidly enough for the rest of the productive sectors weakens the whole of U.S. capitalism. The only progressive solution which will not turn steel workers into slaves is socialist revolution.

USW pamphlet, "A 10-Year Record of 1965-1975," draws the following conclusion: "About 50,000 members of our Union are unemployed today because we have managed to reduce production while the industry has been able to sell its products on the world market." Abel is proud to tell American steelworkers that they can get their jobs only by joining hands with the international bourgeoisie in forcing unemployment on the backs of American and Japanese steelworkers.

The second part of Abel's answer to the crisis of the steel industry has been open cooperation with the capitalists to increase labor productivity. Joint management-plant productivity committees were set up in the 1971 Basic Steel contract to speed-up and job elimination. Actually, productivity of production workers in Basic Steel has been steadily increasing since 1965. In 1974, output per man-hour had increased 24.4 percent and annual output per worker had increased 26.1 percent since 1965, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But this overall increase in productivity masks the fact that the gains in productivity during 1972 and 1973 were the first two full years of the August 1971 contract. Again Steel Labor took pride in the fact that productivity was up.

	Basic Steel	Total Private Economy
1965	-3.0	0.9
1966	3.3	4.1
1967	5.9	3.8
1968	10.8	2.9
1969	xxx	-2.7

so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and its no-strike pledge of March 1973. The third part of Abel's answer to the problems of the steel magnates. The ENA was sold to the rank and file of the 600 USW locals in the Basic Steel Industry Conference. The Steelworker ranks have been noted on it. Moreover, neither they nor the union presidents were notified before the Conference could be coming up for approval. As a result, the steelworkers have never had a chance even to discuss the ENA. Abel said the ENA will crack the back of the steel industry's "boom cycle" by eliminating "hedgie-buying" and encouraging imports. One year later Abel could not even say the profitability of the Steel Industry has increased greatly and this in turn improves the

segment of the U.S. working class, when the steel monopolists demanded assurances of extended "labor peace." Today, when the capitalist offensive is more vicious than ever, and shows every sign of intensifying, Abel has bartered away the precious right to strike.

The steelworkers and the entire U.S. and international working class have paid dearly for Abel's game. And the price is not worth the gains. Abel's efforts to keep the steel capitalists' "well" filled so that a minority of steelworkers can have a sip have only produced a temporary and illusory prosperity for the U.S. steel companies. The crisis of the steel industry is only one aspect of the crisis of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. Class collaborationism in the steel industry, like class collaborationism anywhere, has only managed to forestall the impact of the crisis, rendering it all the greater when it hits.

Capital Shortages

As we have noted elsewhere, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall with the existence of an organized international working class combine to produce the specific kind of world-wide crises and convulsions that characterize capitalism in the epoch of its decay. In the steel industry, as in capitalism as a whole, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall takes the form of chronic capital shortages, relative to the amount needed to repair, replace and expand steelmaking plant and equipment; that is, capital sufficient to offset the fall in the rate of profit through an increase in productivity based on modernization of plant and equipment.

The capital shortages are the cause of the observable anarchy of the steel industry. The most modern equipment often stands side by side with relics of 1909 vintage, for example, the open hearth furnaces recently shut down at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

Since 1900 there has been rapid revolutionization of the means of production in the steel industry. With insufficient capital to do wholesale, thorough-going modernization, a sickly excuse for modernization is still forced on the industry piecemeal. Successive breakdowns require immediate "band-aid" repairs of equipment until it can no longer be repaired and must be replaced.

For example, take the electric furnaces. Electric furnaces require one-sixth the energy of open hearth furnaces and one-seventh the energy of oxygen furnaces. They can also provide steelmaking capacity for as little as one-fifth the capital requirement of a blast furnace—BOF (basic oxygen furnace) complex. Despite this comparative advantage, electric steelmaking's share of total raw steel output in the U.S. has increased less than one percent a year since this process was first introduced. Although first introduced in the 1930's, in 1974 electric steelmaking accounted for only 18.1 percent of total raw steel produced—less than one-fifth of total output.

This lag in the modernization of plant and equipment in the steel industry in the epoch of imperialist decay should be compared to the rate of modernization in the previous epoch. During the 1890-1910 period in the U.S., the furnace worker's productivity tripled; the steel worker's output doubled. During 1889 to 1900, Andrew Carnegie, using only his personal resources, was able to finance the expansion of production at Carnegie Steel Company from 322,000 tons to 3,000,000 tons annually. This ninefold increase in production over 11 years is beyond the wildest dreams of the steel monopolists of the epoch of capitalist decay.

Some dimensions of the capital shortage as it pertains to steel are quite clear to the capitalists. In a 1975 study commissioned by the American Iron and Steel Institute, the Arthur D. Little, Inc. consulting firm has shown that the steel corporations need to invest \$48 to \$50 billion in modernization, replacement, expansion and pollution controls to meet the projected 25 percent increase in the domestic demand for steel. This means over \$5 billion a year is required during 1975-1983. This is triple the amount spent in 1970-73.

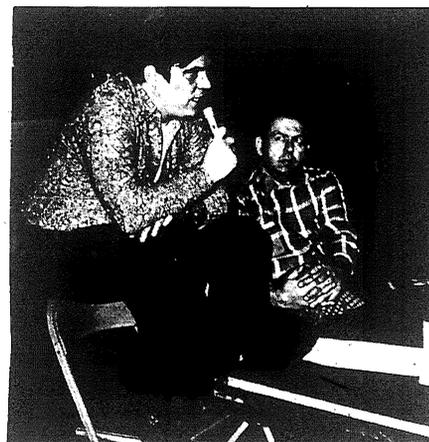
Big problems are laid at the front door of the entire U.S. bourgeoisie if Basic Steel cannot expand capability and production soon enough. The average age of plant and equipment for all sectors of U.S. capitalism is only slightly less outdated than that for Basic Steel and the other primary metals industry. (See table above.) Large tonnages of steel are needed today to build new machine tools for this decrepit economy.

What are the prospects? By 1980, some 18-20 million net tons of raw steel capacity may be added

by "rounding out" existing facilities. U.S. Steel and National Steel, for example, have announced such projects in 1975. But to get capacity for another 20 million tons, new steel plants must be built. And construction will take three to five years.

The capacity crunch—the result of a shortage of capital in steel—will come home with a vengeance. More and more unable to attract investment capital from potential stockholders, the steel companies will be forced to seek loan capital. This will cost them more than capital raised in the stock market and will, in turn, further restrict Basic Steel's ability to expand production. The steel industry's inability to produce more steel rapidly enough for the rest of the basic productive sectors of the U.S. economy further weakens U.S. capitalism.

The capitalists will not sit idly by waiting for this to happen. They will be exerting themselves to tighten the screws even more on USW ranks. To take up the slack from the capital shortage, increasingly vicious attacks will be carried out on the workers' wages, working conditions and job security. As U.S. and world capitalism continue their decline, the present attacks will turn into a full scale campaign. A "solution" to the crisis of the steel industry on a capitalist basis will mean throwing the steel workers back to the conditions of the early 1930's—long hours, atrocious working conditions and company unions.



ED SADLOWSKI tries to act like rank-and-filer, pretends to be absolutely opposed to everything Abel stands for. But his program and Abel's come down to same thing: support capitalism and steel barons first.

The only progressive solution, a resolution of the crisis of the steel industry which does not turn the steel workers into virtual slaves, is the socialist revolution. By expropriating the steel capitalists, centralizing the steel industry into one trust, instituting planning under a central council of workers' representatives, a workers' government could eliminate waste, coordinate production and modernize the industry while at the same time improving the workers' living and working conditions. Workers displaced in this process would not be thrown on the scrap heap because capitalism cannot employ them profitably. They would be retrained and put to work modernizing and reconstructing those parts of the industrial apparatus, the cities, the environment that capitalism has destroyed in its ruthless drive for private profit.

The key task, then, is the preparation of this revolution. All struggle from the shop floor to the national level must be conducted with this goal in mind. All struggles must work toward the construction of a revolutionary leadership within the Steelworkers, the U.S. and internationally. The steelworkers, indeed all workers, must recognize that the capitalist attacks they are resisting in their plants and industries are part of an international assault on the working class. In this offensive the capitalists' chief weapon is the old tenet of Roman imperialism, "divide and conquer." As long as the workers allow themselves to be divided they will lose. And it is the job of reformist bureaucrats such as Abel and Sadlowski to fight for, maintain and increase the present divisions in the working class. The struggle against these betrayers, to throw them out of the unions and replace them with revolutionary militants, tied to the rank and file, is also the struggle to unite the working class. The steel workers, central as they are to the economy, are central to this crucial task.

CIA and FBI: Tear Off the Veil!



In the year since Nixon's resignation, more skeletons have come tumbling out of the overstuffed closet of U.S. imperialism's "dirty tricks." A loose coalition of Congressional liberals, aided by the New York Times and other liberal bourgeois newspapers and by a constant stream of "leaks" from inside the State Department, CIA and FBI, has blown the lid on various secrets of the imperialists' undercover operations at home and abroad.

CIA subversion in Chile, Cuba and the Congo (Zaire) are among the more prominent "skeletons." It has been established that the CIA made two abortive attempts to sponsor a military coup to keep Chile's Popular Front President, Salvador Allende, from taking office. Once Allende was in office millions of dollars were funneled to rightist and fascist groups to speed the sabotage of the economy and mobilize the petty bourgeoisie against Allende. We can be certain that the full story of U.S. involvement in Allende's overthrow and murder is not yet known.

CIA VS. ALLENDE, CASTRO . . .

In Cuba, the CIA made at least two actual attempts to murder Fidel Castro. Robert F. Kennedy personally ordered the CIA to overthrow Castro. Again, these reports only touch on assassination attempts, not the much bigger CIA effort to subvert Castro by infiltrating exile forces into Cuba and by economic strangulation.

More recently, it has been reported that the CIA prepared special poisons in an effort to assassinate Patrice Lumumba in the newly independent Congo in 1960.

This too is only the tip of the iceberg. By focusing on the attempted assassination of Lumumba, the investigators ignore the involvement of the CIA in the military-political plotting to overthrow Lumumba and the involvement of Ralph Bunche, Andrew Cordier and other highly "respectable" citizens in the UN "peace-keeping" mission which upheld Lumumba's rivals and turned Lumumba over to the Belgian-backed Katanga separatists who killed him. All this, moreover, only foreshadows the recent revelations of CIA aid to the FNLA and UNITA in the present civil war in Angola.

Oh the domestic front, suits brought by the Socialist Workers Party under the Freedom of Information Act in 1973 revealed the FBI's surveillance and provocateur actions against the SWP under the "COINTELPRO" program, supposedly discontinued in 1971. COINTELPRO played the same game against a host of other radical and black organizations. But it has now been revealed that COINTELPRO was not discontinued in 1971, but operated until at least the end of 1973. This is all that has yet come out, but it is obvious that COINTELPRO-type actions are taking place today, under this or some other name.

Lastly, the long-smoldering question of the Warren Commission cover-up on the Kennedy Assassination has moved from the radical press into the mass-circulation dailies. It has been established that the FBI had prior warning of an assassination attempt before President Kennedy's visit to Dallas, which was later destroyed, and that Lee Harvey Oswald threatened to blow up a Dallas police station unless FBI agents left him alone. It has also been established that Jack Ruby, who killed Oswald, was a paid informant for the FBI. Still unknown is exactly what Oswald's links were with anti-Castro Cubans and CIA agents in New Orleans prior to November 1963.

PIOUS WORDS . . .

What motives have led various figures very much within the ruling class to "blow the whistle" on the actions of the ruling class's own assassination and subversion squads?

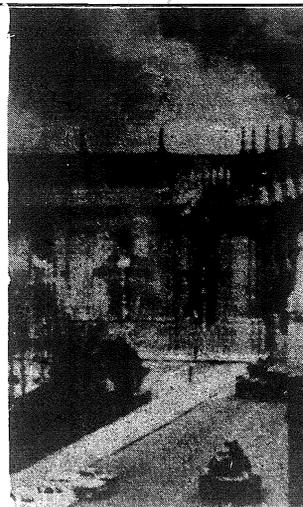
Pious statements that assassination and subversion are "unacceptable in a democracy," that the squads are not accountable to elected authority, that the public has a "right to know," etc., can be dismissed. The New York Times has never hesitated to keep secrets from the public. (During the Pentagon Papers case, to establish its patriotism, the Times boasted that it had hushed up the U-2 spy-plane story in 1960.) It doesn't disapprove of



Ex-CIA director William Colby taking oath. Colby discovered "honesty is the best policy" only after liberals exposed CIA activities to blow whistle on Ford.

assassination—the morning after Allende was killed in Chile, the Times gave the go-ahead for the generals' blood purge by editorializing that "prompt pacification and reconciliation" were impossible in the "bitterly polarized" country. And the attempts to whitewash Presidents Kennedy and Johnson by claiming that the CIA and FBI were plotting behind their noble backs are falling apart. As more facts come out it is becoming plain that these Presidents not only approved the general policies of the CIA and FBI, which has long been known, but also the specific plots as well.

The liberals' CIA and FBI exposure



Presidential palace in Santiago, Chile burns during right-wing coup. Coup climaxed years of CIA plots to murder Allende and crush workers.

campaign can be traced to some of the same motives that operated in the long campaign to pin Watergate on Nixon. Then, the liberals opposed Nixon not because his administration was imposing strongman government, but because this strongman government was not under their control, and also because Nixon's various policies (particularly his economic policies) were not working and were provoking discontent. Under the cover of a campaign to "restore democratic government" (swallowed by some centrist organizations such as the Spartacist League, which claimed the Watergate investigations were "restoring bourgeois democracy") the liberals moved to get Nixon specifically.

. . . AND REAL MOTIVES

To do so they were willing, for the first time, to publicize instead of hush up the FBI's "dirty tricks" against the SWP and other radicals. Once the lid was taken off one set of "dirty tricks," it was difficult to hush up others.

and FBI, figuring that this will hurt the incumbent administration most even if the scandals occurred under previous liberal administrations.

BANKRUPTCY

The liberals are concentrating on official repression—and thereby performing a radical-seeming exposure of the machinations of imperialism—because of their own political bankruptcy. They are incapable of a head-on attack on Ford's domestic policies. The liberals want to capitalize on Ford's economic disasters. But although they can oppose him on isolated questions like aid to New York (because here Ford flaunts the wishes of the whole international bourgeoisie) they have no overall program to propose in place of his. Hence the concentration on side issues.

Finally, the liberals hope that by bringing out part of the truth about the CIA and FBI's past actions, and repudiating some of the worst atrocities, they can restore public acceptance of the agencies and take the spotlight off. They are willing to buck the agencies and the President in order to clean house. But their strategy of limited exposure also runs foul of a few persons inside and outside the CIA and State Department (such as Philip Agee, who has exposed CIA operations in Portugal) who have become radicalized and are exposing far more than the liberals would like to have exposed.

The working class has remained somewhat indifferent to these exposures. The reasons are fairly clear. First, the Watergate campaign was aimed directly at Nixon, a man hated by millions, especially blacks, for whom Nixon's very name was a synonym for racism. Ford is not so hated, and the workers are somewhat cynical about getting rid of Ford and putting in a shopworn Democrat. In fact, many workers are cynical about politics in general and the motives of the liberals in particular. Furthermore, many militants already know that "the system" is the problem, not just "dirty tricks," and that this fact will be covered up as much as possible. And finally, the workers want not a cleaner government but solutions to the ever-growing unemployment, urban decay, whittling away of wage gains and race oppression. The liberals who are exposing the CIA cannot provide this.

RIP OFF THE VEILS

These exposures are all to the good. It is in the interest of the working class to know all this and more about the dirty mechanisms of U.S. imperialism—its repression, its subversion of governments not totally subservient to the United States, its COINTELPRO, "40 Committee" and assassination units. All the secrets should be published, all the files should be opened.

But the liberals' talk of "cleaning up" the dirty-trick agencies is a dirty trick itself. So long as capitalism exists, it, as a system in decay, will need to disrupt and subvert workers' and popular movements. All the liberals can hope to do is provide a show of concern and a facade of "public accountability." This is a total fraud—as can be seen from the fact that the heads of all the relevant committees were fully briefed in April on CIA funding of Portugal's Social Democrats, and sat on the secret until someone blew the whistle in October.

Assassinations, flogging of fascists, mass murders, destruction of whole populations by the most advanced scientific means—nothing is too rotten for a system in decay. It will go on until the system itself is destroyed. Whoever opposes "dirty tricks" and does not recognize this is engaging in either wishful thinking or deception of the people.

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Defend the Atmore-Holman Brothers!

"The Southernmost Part of Hell"

In the last month two ex-inmates of Alabama's prison system have been touring the Northeast, seeking support for the incarcerated Atmore-Holman Brothers. Mafundi and Sekou Lumpen, founding members of the Inmates for Action (IFA), spoke to enthusiastic audiences in a publicity and fund-raising tour of New York, Boston and several other cities, as well

months later, at Holman Prison, Tommy Yuke Dotson, whose name headed the warden's "death list," was clubbed to death by four guards while being led to the showers nude and handcuffed. Stabbed by one of the guards, Dotson managed to inflict a fatal wound before he died. For this four prisoners were later indicted on charges of passing Dotson

authorities despite the rope burns on his chest and ankles. It is vital to prevent similar action being taken on the other defendants during appeals. No More Lynchings in Alabama's Prisons!

The present phase of struggle focuses on appeals and on a suit against Alabama state and prison officials by George Dobbins' mother. But the struggle will continue. The IFA's program calls for concrete reforms in Alabama's prison system, such as decent food and facilities, adequate health care and the right of conjugal visits; constitutional rights including religious freedom and the right to receive the minimum wage and to form and join labor unions; a maximum sentence of ten years; and the substitution of community-based treatment centers in place of prisons.

MOBILIZE SUPPORT!

Some of these demands can be won today by a militant, unified struggle. For this it is essential to turn a floodlight of exposure on the infamous conditions of Alabama's prisons and to mobilize outside support by all organizations in the workers' movement.

But the IFA's more fundamental demands cannot be won, and even specific reforms cannot be maintained, in a society speeding toward barbaric repression and ever-sharper decay. As a direct result of the growing crisis of American capitalism, worsening the already barbaric conditions of blacks and poor whites, the population of Southern prisons has grown by 40 percent in the last four years. This fact alone shows that to win real change in

the prisons requires a revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism. This must become the goal of the prisoners' movement in the United States.



George Chagina Dobbins, IFA Chairman, after he was hacked to death while being transported to hospital.

THE ATMORE-HOLMAN BROTHERS NEED YOUR HELP!

Send checks or money orders to:

IFA Defense Committee
802 6th St., N.
Birmingham, ALA 35204

Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee
Box 1245
Mobile, ALA 36601

Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee
507 W. 111 St., Apt. 54
New York, N.Y. 10025

In Next Issue

Interview with Sekou Lumpen

FOUNDING MEMBER OF IFA, REPRESENTATIVE OF ATMORE-HOLMAN BROTHERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Atmore Prison Farm and Holman Prison are among the most barbaric prisons in the United States. 40 years ago Haywood Patterson, one of the nine "Scottsboro Boys" of the 1930's, called Atmore "the Southernmost part of Hell." Conditions have hardly changed since then. Today, as Mafundi puts it, "People at Atmore would confess to crimes committed in

the knife.

These indictments and others stemming from the January, 1974 rebellion at Atmore led to the trials of nine inmates beginning in January, 1975. These nine were the Atmore-Holman Brothers. Four were found guilty of murder (one was sentenced to death) and three of assault. Two were acquitted when the state's witnesses trapped themselves in hopeless contradictions.

The state has already carried out one execution. In April one of the defendants, Frank X. Moore, was bound and strung up, his death being passed off as "suicide" by the



Sekou Lumpen (left) and Mufundi, founders of Inmates for Action, are on national tour to publicize cause of Alabama prisoners.

California just to get extradited." Overcrowded facilities, open sewers, a lack of eating and drinking utensils, and 12 to 14-hour work days harvesting sugar cane in the Alabama sun at a "wage" of 25 cents a week are routine conditions.

In protest against these conditions and against prison officials' misappropriation of the prisoners' own welfare fund, the IFA was organized in 1971. One of its earliest actions was a work stoppage involving nearly all of Atmore's 1,200 inmates. The leaders of the action were brutally beaten and transferred to other prisons—but this only accelerated the IFA's growth. The authorities also stepped up their repression, eventually drawing up a "death list" of IFA members which a trusty found on a warden's desk in early 1974.

In January, 1974, the authorities at Atmore touched off a rebellion among part of the prison population by reporting that they had killed an IFA member, Jessie Clanzay. (In fact, Clanzay survived.) IFA Chairman George Chagina Dobbins, wounded during the guards' suppression of this outbreak, was hacked to death as he lay helpless in a van being transported to Mobile General Hospital. Two

US Annexes Sadat

Cont'd. from p. 4
the enforcer of the present imperialist status quo.

As a result of the successful annexation of Sadat, the U.S. now can count Egypt, Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia, the region's most powerful states; among its virtual dependencies. The USSR has dubious alliances with Syria and Iraq, and France retains a certain amount of influence in Algeria.

PRESSURE OF THE MASSES

The peoples of the Middle East, however, represent a factor the imperialists and their agents cannot completely control. The Palestinian masses have intervened directly in the affairs of the Arab regimes since 1967. The Egyptian masses' pressure on Sadat forced him into the October war. Now, in a different way, the masses' economic discontent forces Sadat to get aid the only way he knows—by further prostrating himself before Ford and Kissinger. The Muslim urban masses of Beirut engage in bitter struggle against the Maronite Christian middle class and bourgeoisie—another reminder that the bourgeois regimes do not play their games in a vacuum.

The Arab rulers and demagogues are forced to talk tough and even to act against U.S. interests from time to time in order to keep their hold on the masses. But the masses cannot rely on the remaining Arab "radicals" any more than on Sadat. Arafat has denounced the Sinai pact, crying out: "This American solution cannot,

cannot, cannot take place." But to the extent that Arafat seriously objects to the deal, this is because it undercuts his strategy of an Arab united front to create the Palestinian mini-state—a "solution" which is itself a sellout of the Palestinians' struggle to regain their homeland. Similarly, Syria has attacked the agreement, but at the same time is maneuvering for a deal of its own to regain part of the Golan Heights.

There is a genuine difference between Sadat and the more anti-Western leaders, but it is a difference in the degree of decomposition of Arab bourgeois nationalism which each represents. Sadat has gone furthest in recognizing neo-colonial dependence on the U.S. as the key to building up the Egyptian bourgeoisie and its military machine, holding the masses in check and winning international respectability. The others represent less complete stages of decay of the wave of bourgeois nationalism which spread across the Middle East after World War II.

Because none of these regimes and leaders has fully made his peace with imperialism, their intermittent anti-imperialist gestures represent vacillations which can be taken advantage of in order to win the masses to a revolutionary policy. Any partial measure or maneuver against the imperialists by these forces must be supported. At the same time it must be explained that the road being followed in Damascus and Baghdad is not the road of revolutionary mobili-

zation of the masses, not a road to independence of imperialism through Moscow, but the road to Sadat's Cairo. In particular it is necessary to fight alongside Arafat's Palestinian commando's while exposing Arafat's maneuvers for a deal with imperialism.

Neither Sadat, the Damascus and Baghdad regimes, nor Arafat offers a road to the Arab masses to defeat imperialism. Underneath the talk of "Ba'ath Socialism," the more militant Arab regimes are variants of Arab bourgeois nationalism. The U.S. deal with Sadat draws a balance line beneath the account of thirty years of Arab nationalism and shows that it can neither better the lot of the masses nor maintain independence from imperialism. The more militant regimes and movements are using up the last credits in the accounts the masses have extended to them.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Imperialism offers to the Middle Eastern peoples only betrayal of their national aspirations, robbery of their resources, enrichment of a parasitic bourgeois upper crust, and destruction of the approaching imperialist wars. The present leaderships offer only betrayal to imperialism.

The alternative, revolutionary forces of the proletariat and peasant masses, are beginning to take form. But to play their role in the destiny of the Middle East they need the Leninist leadership of a reconstructed world vanguard party, the Fourth International. It is this which can inspire, organize and cohere them, show them in practice that bourgeois nationalism offers no road forward, and show that only their own conquest of power can conclude the anti-imperialist fight betrayed by the Sadats.



ROCKY MEDITATES: Rockefeller split with Ford to lead Eastern establishment against Ford and Reagan.

Crush N.Y. Union Busting

Cont'd from p. 1

jumped 40 percent to 50 cents. Hospitals were closed. City construction was completely stopped. A three-year wage freeze was forced on municipal unions. Mounds of trash fill New York streets, the product of slashed garbage pick-ups. City unions have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into New York bonds in the bureaucrats' desperate effort to prop up the city at the workers' expense. Union contracts have been broken.

More is on the way. Default or not, Beame plans to lay off over 16,000 more city workers over the next two years. This is accompanied by plans for more hospital shutdowns and the threat to close six colleges of the City University and/or impose tuition. United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and NY AFSCME head Victor Gotbaum admit that their contracts are worthless, that they can and probably will be broken at will any time the Emergency Financial Control Board (non-elected combine of capitalists and politicians) wields its dictatorial powers to declare more hardships for the workers. Health care, day care, education, housing, jobs, wages, working conditions—everything goes that hasn't already gone.

And everyone was for this—Ford, Rockefeller, Beame, Governor Carey, the banks, and (despite moans and groans) the bureaucrats. Shanker explained to his Delegate Assembly, "This is a depression and in a depression the workers have to lose."

TARGET: NEW YORK

There have been cutbacks in most major cities and throughout the industrial states. But New York was hit the hardest. The public employee unions were the major obstacles to the bourgeois plan, and New York's municipal unions were the strongest of all. If they could be defeated, it would be much easier to ram it down the throats of other cities and states. And if the public employee unions could be broken, the ruling class would have driven a stake into the entire trade union movement. The capitalists have been successful so far, thanks to the cringing collaboration of New York's union bureaucrats. Their capitulations have been detailed in past issues of *The Torch*.

But the ruling class does not want default. Beame and Carey's request for federal guarantees for New York loans had the backing of the whole New York bourgeoisie. It was lobbied for heavily by Wall Street. First

National City Bank and Chase Manhattan Bank speaking through the Municipal Assistance Corporation's Felix Rohatyn. The country's biggest bank, San Francisco-based Bank of America, was strongly for loan guarantees.

Default would hurt the financial interests who had hundreds of millions sunk into city bonds. They could survive this. But there were more severe consequences. A New York City default would be quickly followed by a New York State default, which would send millions more down the drain. Other cities would likewise follow—Yonkers, a city of several hundred thousand just north of New York City, has just escaped default by a last-minute transfusion. Massachusetts gave notice just after Ford's speech that if it doesn't get help it will default by April 1. Philadelphia is in trouble. The threat of a chain reaction from a New York default is real.

On October 29, Ford broke the capitalists' solidarity. His decision to let New York default was indefensible to nearly the entire U.S. ruling class and its European allies.

Just after Ford's speech, the Bank of America published a "study" which was really an attack on Ford. Bank of America warned that "lack of confidence" following a default could trigger a reaction throughout European money markets that could rock the international monetary system and bring on depression.

If idiot Ford thought that the ruling class would let him get away with instant depression, he's learning the hard way. Even the capitalists he wants to cultivate outside the Eastern establishment (many of whom are spoken for by the Bank of America) know that they have nothing to gain from the bottom falling out of the economy. As we go to press, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns is changing his position on federal aid to New York, while House Republican leader and Arizona Congressman John Rhodes has come out for federal loan guarantees. Rockefeller says that Ford is now reconsidering his position. The dominant sectors of the ruling class are battering Ford's maneuver into the ground.

Ford's strategy is based directly on partisan politics. Ronald Reagan has been undercutting Ford's bid for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination. Reagan has a strong base of support in the South; as a Ford aide observed: "Reagan's support is hard, and Ford's is soft. A good showing in the primaries by Reagan could have

a snowball effect."

Reagan proposes "a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states—a program of creative federalism for America's third century." He wants to shift health, education and welfare to the states, which he estimates will cut federal spending by \$90 billion per year, balance the budget and cut the national debt—while allowing room to cut individual income taxes 23 percent.

REAGAN'S PHONY POPULISM

Reagan admits that the states couldn't handle most of the federal programs, but predicts that "the surviving programs" would be run better. He couples the anti-centralist theme with more explicit populist appeals, such as this demagoguery: "The simple fact is the producing class in this nation is being drained of its subsistence by the non-producers—the taxpayers are being victimized by the tax consumers."

This crap out of the mouth of one of the best friends of big business and



REAGAN CAMPAIGNING: His solid support terrifies Ford, who moves right to try to undercut ex-movie star with 18th-century politics.

worst enemies of the working class is geared to building a right-wing base among farmers and unorganized workers in the South and Southwest, among the urban petty-bourgeoisie and on the upper middle-class suburbs by attacking "Big Government," "welfare chiselers," etc. Ford's right shift in part comes from his running scared of Reagan's appeal.

Even before his October 29 speech, Ford was moving right too rapidly for Northern Republicans. In the past two months Ford has tried to cut back school lunches, food stamps, aid to education, Social Security increases and health programs, giving the Democrats a picnic for '76 in the industrial states.

More and more, Ford and his team picked up Reagan's themes. Treasury Secretary William Simon called federal spending "a classic choice between freedom and socialism. . . . It is the most important political choice of my lifetime." Simon was aiming at the right-wing grassroots base pandered to by the right-wing Hearst papers; he was almost echoing William Randolph Hearst Jr.'s recent observation: "Inevitably, our mushrooming government programs, proliferating widely, have led this country closer and closer to socialism." Ford's default message just carried the phony populist line further, drawing the banks into the line of fire: "The primary beneficiary of federal aid to New York would be the N.Y. official. . . . The secondary beneficiary would be the large investors and financial institutions who purchased these securities anticipating a high rate of tax-free return."

These hollow words can't cover the fact that the brunt of Ford's attack has been placed directly on the shoulders of working people. The banks don't like having their profits cut, and are afraid of international depression, but they are fairly secure that the government won't let them go under. It's workers and the poor who get it in the neck.

Despite Reagan, Simon, Hearst and Ford's anti-state rhetoric, the state's role in production will increase. The question is whose state is it, the workers' or the capitalists'?

The relative size of the state sector in the U.S. (and throughout the capitalist world) has increased steadily for nearly a century. Government spending has especially escalated since World War II under Keynesian policies which promised that state spending could assure permanent prosperity, end unemployment and eliminate depressions.

It wasn't government spending alone that made the post-war boom possible, though. It was mainly the dominant position of U.S. capitalism following the war, its ability to rake in imperialist super-profits, exploit cheap foreign labor and dictate trade terms to the rest of the world. The increase in the size of the state sector was necessary for the capitalists—the state directed capital to the largest corporations especially through arms spending, where cost-plus contracts meant guaranteed profits. It stepped in to bail out giant corporations on the verge of bankruptcy (Lockheed, Penn Central, etc.). These were the real aims of state spending, not aid to the working class—and they were financed by imperialism. Services benefiting the working class were drops in the bucket compared to these, and they were granted as concessions to try to coopt the working class and dampen its struggle.

G.O.P. BRAIN SHORTAGE

Reagan and Ford to the contrary, the capitalist class will not turn the clock back to the eighteenth century. Not the capitalists who fatten themselves on defense contracts, nor the truckers and railroads who get heavy federal subsidies, nor the banks who rake in huge profits by trading government securities—none of the key sections of the bourgeoisie would go for that. The few leading Republicans who take Reagan's rhetoric seriously "question whether he has the intellectual capacity to serve as President," according to *Time* magazine. But most know that the talk is jive, just like Ford's warnings of "creeping socialism" side by side with his massive expansion of federal, especially defense, spending.

The break-up of the post-war boom, caused by the falling rate of profit and marked by increased international competition, means that the U.S. no longer can spread around concessions to the workers on the scale of the sixties while still fattening corporate profits. But the state sector will not be

cut. Instead, to bail out the only cuts benefit work would hurt the why Ford is under.

Ford has a class of him: Rockefeller a cans" who Business W capitalists a right-wing N therefore mative North London Time ists, West G Schmidt and bourgeoisie, America an corporate int inroads into liberals into now that he Ford, represe Eastern fina anyone miss Senator Cha loud noises a the Republic tion. Ford ha party, deeper class which a over and unc crisis of lead

Ford will away from What will th class? Only more with game plan. E Democrats h same scheme and Burns is plan is for New York in ex complete stru workers. The banks' securi cutting the v as far as they will have fin

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One major disunity is t workers of o growth of the corporations h international k The multinatio ist enterprises of one (or occa countries whic spread through order to be cl materials, to regional market of differing v organization, Unfortunately no development organization to and flexibility v

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BRAIN SHORTAGE

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pick-up of the post-war boom, the falling rate of profit and the increased international competition, means that the U.S. no longer spread around concessions to workers on the scale of the 1950s. The still fattening corporate class at the state sector will not be

cut. Instead, it will be increased to try to bail out faltering capitalists, the only cuts being in programs that benefit workers. New York default would hurt the capitalists, and that's why Ford is being forced to knuckle under.

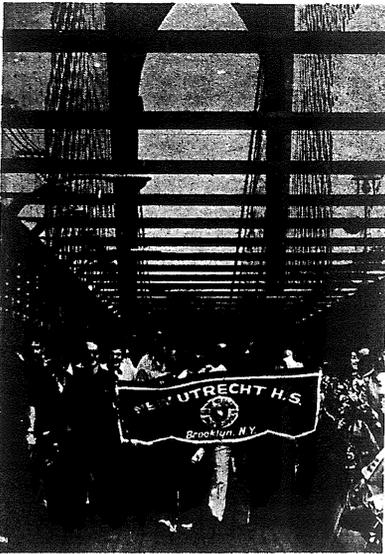
Ford has succeeded in making an ass of himself. He has alienated Rockefeller and the "liberal Republicans" who represent Wall Street, Business Week and knowledgeable capitalists across the country, the right-wing New York Daily News and therefore most grass-roots conservative Northeast Republicans, the London Times and the British capitalists, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Western European bourgeoisie, and even the Bank of America and the Western U.S. corporate interests. Without making inroads into Reagan, he has succeeded in single-handedly jelling Republican liberals into opposition. Rockefeller, now that he has openly split with Ford, represents one pole speaking for Eastern finance capital, and in case anyone missed the point Maryland Senator Charles Mathias is making loud noises about opposing Ford for the Republican presidential nomination. Ford has overnight divided his party, deepened divisions in the ruling class which are being hastily papered over and underlined the ruling class's crisis of leadership.

Ford will almost certainly shift away from his position on default. What will this mean for the working class? Only that they are faced once more with the capitalists' original game plan. For weeks, Congressional Democrats have been pushing the same scheme that Rhodes advocates and Burns is moving towards. This plan is for loan guarantees to New York in exchange for placing a complete stranglehold on New York workers. The plan guarantees the banks' security while at the same time cutting the workers' living standards as far as they can go. A federal board will have final authority over union

contracts—pension plans will be renegotiated to cut benefits in violation of existing contracts, work rules provisions eliminated, the works.

George Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy take exception to the loan-guarantee plans. They argue that it amounts to union-busting, since the proposed legislation incorporates provisions to break existing union contracts. And they're right.

But do they propose a course of action for the workers? Of course not.



NY teachers take over Brooklyn Bridge to protest cuts. Bureaucrats have throttled militant ranks, made bourgeois success possible so far.

How can the workers take them seriously? If there is no alternative but forward, defeat of the loan-guarantee bill will mean default, and the workers know that default will be immediate disaster for them.

The trade union movement should

oppose the loan guarantee bill with its union-busting provisions, but it must couple this opposition with a workers' solution. This means demanding immediate implementation of the following: Cancel the debt, in New York and across the country. Restore all cut jobs and services and expand them by launching a crash public works program, at union wages and under union control, to rebuild the dying cities and provide millions of jobs. Cut the work week to 30 hours with no cut

in pay to provide millions of fresh jobs—jobs for all. All costs to come from the banks and corporations, not the workers.

Right now, in New York City, the attacks could be defeated through the trade unions taking the lead in building for a citywide general strike against the layoffs and cutbacks. New York is still a powerful union town. Only disunity sown by the bureaucrats makes defeat possible. The New York bureaucrats have talked about a citywide general strike periodically, but their hollow words have been exposed time and again by their capitulations. New York workers must put them on the spot and demand that the general strike be built for immediately (last month's Torch detailed the tactics needed to insure the strike's success).

Because the entire working class has a stake in the fate of the New York workers, the trade union movement must throw its national support behind the New York workers. This means that the trade

union movement must provide the workers with their own political alternative. There can be no support for the Democrats' loan-guarantee scheme, which is the strategy of the capitalist class. Without its own political party, the workers are left

prey to Meany's posturing. Relying on the Democrats means relying on union busters. The unions will be broken unless action is taken quickly.

BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

Right now, the trade unions should call a Congress of Labor to deal with the emergency crisis. This is union-busting, and it is a savage campaign to drive down all workers. An emergency Congress of the trade unions and the oppressed and unorganized workers is needed immediately to put forward the workers' program to solve the crisis. It should launch a political party of the working class—a labor party—to provide the workers with a vehicle to fight for their needs, so that they don't have to choose the "lesser evil" of the union-busting Democratic Party. The labor party could immediately fight for the program to defend and expand jobs and services, and would organize the tens of millions of workers to beat the capitalist attempt to tear up contracts and smash the unions.

Revolutionary socialists demand that the trade unions lead a citywide general strike against cutbacks and layoffs in New York and launch a nation-wide labor party right now. We fight for the labor party to adopt a revolutionary program, but call immediately for the labor party as a political united front—both for the defensive unity needed right now, and so that we can demonstrate the need for a revolutionary party in struggle. This is the road forward for the working class, the way for the workers to defend their interests. And by demonstrating how the workers can defend themselves, that the workers can fight back and win, in the course of this struggle revolutionaries can and will demonstrate to the mass of workers that socialist revolution is urgently needed and that a revolutionary party must be built.

Chemical Workers Unite Against International Layoffs

The chief weapon of the capitalist class in its unceasing battle against the working class is the ancient Roman dictum—divide and conquer. Preferring to rule peacefully by appearing to stand for the needs and aspirations of the entire society, the ruling class makes use of whatever levers are at its disposal to set one section of the oppressed masses against the others. Racial, national and sexual distinctions within the working class are manipulated to strengthen capitalist rule.

In opposition to the wealth and power of the capitalists, the workers have the power of their position in production. But their ability to wield this power depends on their consciousness, determination and unity. One of the major tasks of revolutionaries is therefore to unify the working class to fight their enemy rather than each other.

One major area of working-class disunity is the divisions between workers of different nations. The growth of the so-called multinational corporations has posed the question of international labor solidarity urgently. The multinationals are really capitalist enterprises belonging to capitalists of one (or occasionally two) capitalist countries which have their operations spread through additional countries in order to be close to sources of raw materials, to take over a given regional market and to take advantage of differing wage rates, levels of organization, etc. of the workers. Unfortunately there has been little or no development of international labor organization to counter the strength and flexibility of these giants. This is

the direct result of the reformist and Stalinist leaders of the trade unions who have obstructed the efforts of the workers to establish joint labor action across national boundaries.

Recently, the impact of the worldwide economic crisis has intensified the workers' struggle for international labor solidarity in the fight against the multinational corporations. One case, recently reported in the New York Times and Business Week, is instructive. The case involves Enka Glanzstoff, a subsidiary of the giant Dutch-based chemical combine, Akzo. Enka Glanzstoff, which specializes in synthetic fibers, plans to eliminate much of its nylon and rayon production in seven plants in the Netherlands, West Germany and Belgium. This cutback (based on a claim that the company lost \$200 million in its fiber production in the first nine months of this year) means the loss of 3,300 jobs.

The unions, under the pressure of the workers they represent, have fought this attempt. Charging that the company is really aiming to move these operations to areas outside Europe where wages are lower, the unions have held a number of meetings to reach a common position on negotiations with the company. The more radical unions, led by the Industriebond NVV in the Netherlands and the I.G. Chemie in West Germany, have walked out of talks with Enka Glanzstoff over the cutbacks and have threatened strike actions to protest the company's plans.

These actions were the direct result

of the workers' pressure. For example, in early 1972 when Enka Glanzstoff attempted to close a polyester plant in Breda, Netherlands as part of a "reorganization," it met with fierce resistance. The Dutch workers seized the plant and were supported in this action by unions in Belgium and West Germany. The reorganization plan was cancelled.

The present activity has been encouraged by the International Chemical Workers Federation, a Geneva-based organization affiliated with Socialist-led unions in several countries. An Akzo "world council" has been formed to watch the company and coordinate joint action; its head recently stated that the Federation was prepared to call for protest strikes and boycotts against Akzo in several countries.

The company has struggled furiously against these developments. At stake is the possibility of official recognition of an international union bargaining committee. Recognition of such a committee is a precedent Enka and its parent Akzo and the rest of the capitalist class do not want to set. After the unions involved rejected a company report motivating the cuts, the company refused to meet with the joint committee of union representatives. Instead, it declared, it would hold separate meetings with the unions in the three countries involved over "how to implement" the job cuts. "Divide and Conquer."

Joint bargaining committees and threats of international strike actions, though steps forward, are limited. If the workers are not to be defeated, these tactics must be preserved and

extended. The union bureaucrats, whose ideology is class collaboration, have every intention of sabotaging this struggle; if outright obstruction is not possible, they will try to use these tactics to increase their strength in relation to the rank and file. International contracts with uniform strike dates are the next step in this struggle.

The struggle for international solidarity cannot be left on the level of merely trade union action, as necessary as this is. Any one tactic left on this level can be turned to reactionary purposes. For example, the international efforts of the Enka Glanzstoff workers can be turned into a struggle to defend the jobs of European workers at the expense of workers in underdeveloped countries. To prevent this the workers must struggle to win international wage parity and guaranteed jobs throughout the world. A struggle for world-wide wage rates and full employment would cut the ground out from under the capitalist class and undermine their efforts to set workers of different countries at each other's throats.

These struggles can only be actually won through a victorious international socialist revolution. To be fully effective the tactics of international labor solidarity must be part of an international struggle to overthrow world capitalism. They must be joined with the struggle to build an international revolutionary party based on the program of revolutionary Marxism, the reconstructed Fourth International.

LETTERS

SEND LETTERS TO: P.O. BOX 562, TIMES SQUARE STATION,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036

For Class Struggle CLUW!

Dear Comrades,

A clear victory was recently won in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), as a first step in defeating the red-baiting policies of the present leadership of that organization. I am writing to *The Torch* to ensure that the lessons of this victory are generalized to further the struggle to defeat the CLUW bureaucrats once and for all.

In the middle of August I received a letter from Olga Madar stating that my membership in CLUW was invalid, as I was not a member of Local 645, UAW. Madar did not substantiate this charge, nor did she give any reason for checking in the first place—other than stating that she had been "casually leaving through applications."

I had been a member of Wayne County CLUW for over three months, and as a supporter of the RSL I had consistently fought against the stifling of CLUW by Madar and Co. Upon receiving this letter full of falsifications, I immediately wrote an open letter to members of Wayne County CLUW, seeking support against Madar's lies. I was and still am a member of Local 645. I had suffered a disability, had filed a grievance over a year ago, and sent a letter to the local leaders of 645 requesting proof of my status after the Madar letter was received. This request was ignored by the local bureaucrats for over two months.

The open letter to Wayne County CLUW members forced Madar's hand. Shortly thereafter I received a letter from the 645 bureaucrats stating that my grievance was "lost." I then led a concerted fight to demand that I be reinstated in CLUW and along with RSL supporters around the country, insisted that an investigation take place immediately. Letters of protest were sent to Madar warning that any collusion in this case, such as interfering with grievance procedures, was tantamount to crossing the class line and would not be tolerated. Madar stated openly that she would not produce any evidence to back up her actions. It was not until pressure was put on her from other CLUW chapters that she agreed to "investigate."

For over three months, supporters of the RSL along with other CLUW militants and supporters of left organizations led the fight against Madar to force the exposure of her corrupt attempt to drive out, one by one, those who opposed her. This case was the first show of united action by the left, a course RSL supporters had urged since the inception of CLUW. The only left organization that did not support the fight waged was the Socialist Workers Party. In Chicago SWP supporters refused to vote at all! New York SWP supporters motivated their abstention with "this is a local issue."

Last week I received a letter from the leaders of UAW Local 645, stating that not only was my grievance "found" but won! This is a victory for all CLUW militants and has proved that united action can weaken the stranglehold of the CLUW bureaucrats. Madar has yet to send an apology, which the entire left demanded. National CLUW, however, has stated that I have been reinstated and am once again a member in good standing.

Supporters of the RSL urge all CLUW militants and the left to draw

the lessons of this victory and continue to build united action for the national convention in December. The RSL has launched a united front to open CLUW, defeat red-baiting, and turn CLUW into a fighting organization. This united front, if actually supported by all revolutionaries and militants in CLUW, can make the organization more than the bureaucratic shell, controlled and maimed by the likes of Madar, that it is today. Join the Committees for a Class Struggle CLUW which has adopted this RSL proposal! Defeat the bureaucratic leadership in CLUW!

Comradely,
Rhonda Levine

Behind the Capture of Americans in Eritrea

Dear Torch,

Recent reports show that two American military personnel have been "kidnapped" from the U.S. military bases of Kagnev Station in Asmara by the Eritrean liberation fighters. In July of this year two American "civilian" technicians were captured by the fighters from the same base. In August, another two Americans were killed by a land mine near the base. What is behind the capture of U.S. military personnel in Eritrea?

For more than two decades, the U.S. has been the most consistent and staunchest supporter of feudal Ethiopia in its expansionist policy and war of aggression in Eritrea. Since the war started in 1961, the U.S. has been involved, directly and indirectly, in the attempt to thwart and suppress

the just struggle of the Eritrean people. Thus, the recent widely publicized "kidnappings" of U.S. military personnel in Eritrea should not come to us as a surprise. Such "kidnappings" or capture of American spies, advisors, trainers, including the American consul at Asmara, did take place in the past. Over the years of fighting several Americans were even among the human casualties suffered by Ethiopia in its colonial war against the Eritrean people. These incidents should not be looked at in isolation from the designs and activities of U.S. imperialism in the region in general and in Eritrea in particular.

U.S. involvement in Eritrea dates back to the 1940's when the British, the then colonizers of Eritrea, allowed the U.S. the use of Radio Marina communications facilities in Asmara, and the RAF base in Gura. However, it was not until 1950 that the U.S. started to be directly involved in Eritrea. When the question of how to dispose of "Italian" Eritrea was brought to the U.N. General Assembly, the U.S., together with other imperialist powers, in order to safeguard its economic interests and reinforce its political hegemony in

Dear Comrades,

Some observations on the October 15 *Torch*: your Livorno Five article was pretty much of a gem. It was very factual and clear and the political analysis was clear and convincing. I guess I would have changed some expressions, such as "their rage burned white-hot" in an article about racism, but that's (again) a minor stylistic consideration.

The editorial on terrorism was a welcome analysis, and contained some new (to me) information on the Spanish executions. I would add one point: it seems terrorism often arouses people's sympathy for the "victims," turns them against political struggle and to demands for "law and order." I suppose it scares them; they realize they as well as anyone else could have been injured as a passerby in a terrorist act.

The points you did make are important, however; I'm glad you

took that opportunity to express them. Another article I was glad to see was the one on the UAW's "protectionist" line. It always surprises me how few people question that line. Maybe your article will cut into that passive acceptance.

(Name withheld)
Boston

Reply:

We agree with the criticism of the editorial that condemned the political executions in Spain. The bourgeoisie does indeed seek to exploit sympathy for terrorist victims to mount anti-communist repressive campaigns for "order." This is one of the main reasons why revolutionary socialists oppose the use of isolated terrorist acts as a tactic, while defending left-wing terrorists from the bourgeois state and identifying with their brave opposition to the capitalist butchers.

The Editor

strategic Eritrea, conspired to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia. In this way the U.S. would consolidate its hold in Eritrea and the Horn of Africa while its neo-colony, Ethiopia, would get "access to the sea"—Eritrea. Thus, it was the U.S. that spearheaded a resolution at the U.N. in 1950 to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia—which ran counter to the Eritrean people's expressed desire for complete independence. Shortly after the Federal Act was executed in 1952, the U.S. and Ethiopia signed a "Defense Pact" in 1953, which granted the U.S. military bases in Eritrea. Among which is the \$70 million notorious Kagnev Station.

The Kagnev Station in Asmara, the base that is coming under increasing attack by liberation fighters, is not a simple military "communications"

Africa. American advisors and Zionist instructors equip and train Ethiopian security agents and counter-insurgency units. U.S. bombs, napalm and planes have so far resulted in the leveling down of more than 150 villages, the massacre of more than 50,000 innocent Eritreans, in the displacement of 500,000 civilians, 150,000 of whom are languishing in refugee camps in the Sudan, while the rest are sheltered behind the liberation fighters inside Eritrea.

The present military junta of Ethiopia, or the Derg, despite its anti-imperialist and socialist proclamations, continues to get military aid from the U.S.—only this time at a higher figure than the previous feudal government. While the previous government received \$10 million a year over the last two decades in military aid, the fascist "socialist" government (Derg) is currently getting \$53 million in military hardware, and over the last year or so it received an additional \$35 million "credits." Since the escalation of the fighting in February, the U.S. has been airlifting millions of dollars worth of ammunition. Tanks and armored cars daily continue to be unloaded at the Eritrean port of Assab. On June 26, 1975, President Ford authorized the Secretary of State to provide the Ethiopian military junta with \$25 million for military hardware and to furnish it with F-5 jets, which the President termed as "required by the national interest of the United States"! While this shows the ever-deeper criminal involvement of the U.S. in the Ethiopian war of aggression against Eritrea, at the same time, it clearly exposes the anti-imperialist socialist pretence of the Derg. In fact this shows that the fascist Derg is objectively a true U.S. imperialist agent in that part of Africa. The U.S., confident of the service it will get from its client—the fascist junta—has made it clear that it still intends to stay in Eritrea.

Though the Ethiopian military junta, equipped lock, stock and barrel with U.S. military equipment and gadgets and advised and trained by Zionists, is redoubling its effort to crush the Eritrean struggle, it continues to suffer humiliating defeat at the hands of the liberation fighters. As U.S. planes continue to bomb villages and kill innocent Eritreans, the liberation fighters continue to enjoy popular support and win ever higher confidence of the entire population. The countryside is under the total

Cont'd. next page



Eritrean Liberation Front soldiers, armed for struggle against Ethiopian junta and U.S. imperialism.

base, as is presented to the world. The base, among other things, kept tabs on liberation movements, such as FRELIMO, PAICG, even Viet Nam... and continues to keep tabs on the Palestinian, Omani, Eritrean liberation movements as well as on the Arab world. American personnel and "civilian" technicians assigned to the base work very closely with the Ethiopian troops in the war of aggression in Eritrea. It is due to this hostile and direct military involvement that the liberation fighters have been forced to take action against the military personnel.

Over the last twenty years U.S. military aid to Ethiopia reached more than \$200 million, more than half of the total military "aid" to all of

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IS Guards Against Left

Dear Torch,

As founding chairman of Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union and co-editor of The Grapevine, I participated with the International Socialists in the creation of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). We held an organizing conference of 40 teamsters from 10 states in Chicago on Aug. 16. The TDC is conceived by the IS as the beginnings of a mass pressure group to prevent a total sellout by the IBT bureaucracy in the 1976-79 Master Freight Agreement covering 450,000 teamsters. Their main tactic is a petition campaign containing a series of demands on wages, job security, conditions, safety and grievances.

At the conference I proposed the inclusion of a demand for 32 for 40 as a necessary means to fight the layoffs in the industry which are now at about 20 percent. This proposal should have come up in the morning in the JOBS section but was pushed back to the very end of a 7 hour meeting. I argued that the shorter work week with no loss in pay is the only realistic means to fight unemployment during the bosses' economic crisis. We have to pose and fight for a real solution to our problems whether we think the bosses will give it up or not. The IS called on three speakers against the motion and only one in favor and then cut off discussion. One of their spokesmen delivered the attack against 32 for 40 arguing that it is "unrealistic," saying that we want only demands which the ranks will support by voting "no" to any proposed contract which does not contain all of them. "We can't ask teamsters to sign a petition which they don't think they can win." However no one in the IS has even yet hinted in private discussions that they expect to win the demands which are included in the petition! This is clearly a case of building false illusions among the ranks and setting them up for a bust and retreat into further demoralization. The IS members present voted as a bloc against 32 for 40 and were numerically responsible for its defeat.

A week later when the headquarters of TDC circulated the draft petition and literature for approval by the steering committee, several minor and several major violations of the conference's decisions were made. I and another member of the steering committee jointly submitted our motions for correction of the draft to the center. Motions attempting to further water down the decisions were circulated to the steering committee, but ours were held up until after the petitions and literature had already been printed. A cover (cover up) letter was sent with our motions saying, "Jim B. has sent a number of smaller

items in and some of them were incorporated into our petitions and brochures," clearly obscuring which motions were incorporated and which were rejected. This was to prevent a vote by the whole steering committee on our motions. The most important motion opposed the center's inclusion of the word "substantially" into the petition which they changed to "We the under signed teamsters . . . pledge to vote NO on any contract which does not substantially meet these standards."

My motion reads: "Eliminate the word 'substantially' from the pledge. It weakens the whole petition by serving notice to Fitz that we are not serious about our own petition. The whole argument for exclusion of 32 for 40 was based on the concept of a specific vote NO petition, not a 'substantial' petition. I must call for a reopening of the question of 32 for 40 if 'substantially' is retained. We all know in the first place that we will study any proposed contract reasonably, but to announce to Fitz in advance that we are not serious about each specific point is to give up the whole game."

This motion was rejected, of course, despite the fact that this was what the conference wanted. It was changed bureaucratically by the IS in the steering committee to give them room to maneuver and sell out—that's why it was so important for them to include the word "substantially."

This type of bureaucratic maneuvering to prevent political discussion within the organization and to "protect the ranks" from exposure to issues which go beyond the boundaries set for us by the bureaucrats and pose what type of a struggle must be launched even to win our immediate needs resembles the same methods the union bureaucracies themselves use and the same reasoning for using them.

The IS claims to be a revolutionary organization; yet they fight to hold back the consciousness and struggle of the working class by posing ONLY the minimal economist programs, arguing that the workers aren't ready to deal with more political issues. The IS doesn't lead, it tails after the more backward workers.

The IS has a clear policy of building illusions in the working class about what we really need and how we can get it. These illusions, as they are smashed by the iron heel of capitalism, can only lead to cynicism and demoralization which disarms us in the struggle.

Jim B.
Chicago

ERITREA

control of the fighters. Despite the hardships suffered, the morale of the population remains very high, while the Ethiopian occupation army is completely isolated to a few towns, constantly harrassed, completely demoralized and unwilling to continue to fight. The Eritrean struggle, following a correct revolutionary line, is mass based and an integral part of the world anti-imperialist revolution, its victory is inevitable!

Stop U.S. aid to the Ethiopian Junta!

U.S. bases out of Eritrea!

Long live the Eritrean revolution!

Long live the fighting masses of the world!

Down with imperialism and Zionism!

Eritreans for Liberation
in North America

September 23, 1975

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The Kings of Sinking Mountain

The following is an excerpt from a longer work written in Boston during the height of the racial tensions this year. Its author, Doug, is a regular reader of The Torch. In addition to letters, the editors welcome manuscripts of all sorts from its readers.

From the veins of smoke they rain
the little droplets of people
from the cloud-closed sky the people rain
from the trapdoors of their wretched origins
they fall with nooses around their necks
the rain of ropes coils up mountainously
a rain of ropes and human flesh.

Kings of the mountain
survey the brave world
and their bodies quake.
Kings on the mountain
of the flesh of the world
open their mouths
as if they were flowers
and utter the sweet words
of freedom, democracy, and justice.

Justice among us walks as a long evil word
justice throws a long jaw of teeth across our streets
justice seals up in secret rooms its evil work
and openly plants its stench among us
justice trots on a leash
with a long evil license at its neck
and a long velvet tongue between its lips.

Democracy trembles when we move over it
our voices stronger than wind
democracy's fat lips cover toothless jaws
its quicksand mouth
says yes to anything,
a slithering cheat
who'll try to buy one of us off
with the proceeds it robbed from the rest of us.

freedom puts on certain airs
but saves us from choice
when buses like a chain of teeth
court orders like a chain
police
glint like a chain
inhuman
obedient to the only free men under free enterprise
police like a chain
pulled tight against the body of the working class
reigned in by the only free men
the kings of the sinking mountain
free to send their children
to whatever school they want to send their children to
free to dictate what subjects their children will be taught
free to tell us we cannot afford new schools
but must share the few collapsing buildings we have left
not with the best schools, openly called private,
but with the worst.

When one's ribs crack under the brutal boots
when one's rifle-less hands dig at the bloody curb
helpless under the tide of hooded snouts
one's peaceful intentions snap
like a ring pulled bloodily out of one's nose
leaving one with a new and awesome freedom.
When the eyes of the kings
survey the brave world
their hearts leap like scared rabbits,
when the kings of the mountain
let their justice loose among us
our dead clutter the streets.
we, the mountain of flesh,
the wage-slaves on whom the kings rest,
we will make our own justice,
our own democracy,
and when we move,
the kings of the sinking mountain
will toss like wooden ships
unwieldy on the surface of a sea-gone unwieldy
an explosive sea
that punches boats down.
When we move
their life-preservers of dollars
will send them to the bottom of our world
and the last final flowers
of hypocrisy that bubble from their lips
will move us less than their loneliness
their decay
their obsolescence.
Their criminal privileges are more eloquent
then speeches.

From high in the saddle
the kings speak their epitaph
when they tell us
only the fit survive.