

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

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Azanian Struggle Continues

SMASH APARTHEID

Black workers and students in Azania (South Africa) are continuing their rebellion against South Africa's racist white minority regime. The biggest struggles took place in early December, when pitched battles between Black demonstrators and government police shook Cape Town.

The rebellion began with a demonstration in downtown Cape Town on November 27. Marchers with placards denouncing the apartheid laws and demanding majority rule blocked off a downtown street. When club-swinging cops charged into the crowd, the demonstrators regrouped on a neighboring street. Meanwhile, Black people riding by in buses cheered and saluted with clenched fists. The demonstrators dispersed, without any arrests,

just before riot police showed up.

Two nights later, hundreds of students and workers fought police in Guguletu Township, Cape Town's major Black ghetto. The street battles continued for three nights, despite raids and arrests by security police in Black townships across the Cape Province. Crowds armed with rocks and bottles attacked police vehicles; two Black youths were shot and killed.

On December 2, 600 riot police in armored cars sealed off all of Guguletu Township. They moved from house to house, arresting everyone who did not have a valid pass (work permit) and anyone else they chose. Hundreds of Black people were arrested in repeated searches

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U.S. Behind Military Takeover Plans

STOP CIA/JLP PLOT IN JAMAICA

The right-wing Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), backed by U.S. imperialism, is going ahead with its plans for a reactionary military takeover. Those plans will not be halted by the outcome of Jamaica's general elections, set for December 15.

It is likely that the JLP will wait to act until after the elections, called by the ruling People's National Party (PNP). But the right-wingers have already made it clear that they will not respect the results of the election if the PNP wins.

JLP leader Edward Seaga said at a news conference November 22: "We cannot expect that free elections are going to be held in Jamaica." Seaga has gone on to charge that the PNP has been taken over by an inner circle "who talk like Communists, associate with Communists and give every indication of acting like Communists if they should get the chance." According to Seaga this "bunch of Castro lovers" mean to

make Jamaica a "Cuban type society." And he claims there is "higher planning... of a foreign nature" inside the PNP.

In New York, Ralston Powell, a right-wing businessman who runs the anti-Communist Jamaica Overseas Council, was even more

explicit. He claimed that Jamaica "is on the brink of a Civil War" and faces "a possible takeover by Cuba." These lies are designed to lay the groundwork for a military takeover if the PNP cannot be defeated in the elections.

Readers of the Torch know

that the JLP, supported by the CIA, has been plotting for the last year to get rid of Prime Minister Michael Manley and his PNP government. Manley, a liberal reformer who calls himself a "democratic socialist," has bargained for a slight increase in Jamaica's share of the enormous

super-profits of the U.S.-owned aluminum firms. He has also taken some mild steps to make Jamaica more independent of U.S. imperialism. What has concerned the imperialists above all has been Manley's inability to halt the strikes, sit-ins and other struggles of Jamaica's workers and small farmers, who have tried to put the PNP's rhetoric about "democratic socialism" into action. For these reasons, the imperialists have decided to overthrow Manley and establish a right-wing dictatorship.

The JLP has been staging violent attacks on PNP members all year. On November 1, 450 JLP supporters in Clarendon, 45 miles from the Jamaican capital of Kingston, attacked a local PNP office with rifles, bricks and firebombs. As PNP supporters fought back, the PNP office was burned to the ground.

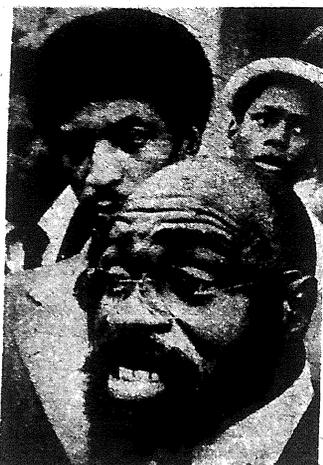
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Police attack PNP supporters, Nov. 24. Later, all demonstrations were banned.

Second Frame-Up Trial Underway

Carter/Artis Fight for Freedom



Rubin Carter (front) and John Artis.

The second trial of Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis is now in its third month. Carter and Artis were sentenced in 1967 to life prison terms for the shooting deaths of three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar. Their conviction, a frame-up from beginning to end, was recently overturned. The government is pulling out all the stops to convict them again.

Here are the key developments in the new trial:

• Alfred Bello, the prosecution's main witness, took the stand and gave the same testimony he had given in the 1967 trial. He claimed that Carter and Artis were the two men he saw leaving the bar after the shootings. Bello is testifying again, despite the fact that in 1974, he admitted that his entire story was a lie, forced on him by the police.

Under cross-examination, Bello acknowledged that he has lied to almost everyone who has investigated the case and has given no less than four

completely different versions of the shootings. The government's entire case hinges on Bello's discredited testimony—he is their only so-called eyewitness.

• Donald LaConte, a police detective, testified that he had seen bullets in Carter's car on the night of the murder. This same officer never mentioned this "fact" in the first trial. His new story is nothing but an attempt to counter defense testimony showing that the state's key "evidence" was not even turned over to the police property clerk until five days after the shootings.

• A second cop, Detective Edward Callahan, testified that the officer who claims to have found bullets in Carter's car had, six hours earlier, confiscated a large number of bullets and shotgun shells from the scene of another murder. Carter and Artis have always contended that the bullets were planted in order to frame them. These planted bullets are, in addition to Bello's testimony, the state's only "hard evidence" in the trial.

Throughout both trials the police have intimidated and coerced witness after witness. In the past six months alone the state of New Jersey has spent over \$150,000 to convict Carter

and Artis of a crime they did not commit. Why is the government so determined to keep Carter and Artis behind bars?

Rubin Carter was a well-known fighter in 1966, a leading middle-weight contender. And he was an outspoken advocate of armed self-defense for the Black community. During the Harlem Riots in 1964, Carter said: "When scores of children were being trampled, stomped and mutilated by a legion of club-wielding police while other cops held their guns to the children's heads, the Black community should have arisen right then and fought to their death in the streets, if it was necessary... self-protection is the right of every living being."

From then on, he was a marked man. The police, the courts and the government were out to get Hurricane Carter.

They arrested Carter twice on fake charges, but the government couldn't make them stick. On June 17, 1966, the cops in Paterson tried again. Witnesses alleged that two Black men were responsible for killing three white men in an all-white bar. One witness claimed that the assailants got away in a white car. The police picked up Carter and Artis early the

next morning, a few miles away from the scene of the shooting. Carter and Artis had been with friends that evening and none of the witnesses could identify them, but the police arrested them anyway.

The cops didn't have a case, so they fabricated one. Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley had been robbing a factory near the bar at the time of the shootings. When Bello heard the shots, he went into the bar and robbed the cash register. The police told Bello and Bradley that they would drop all charges against them if they would claim they had seen Carter and Artis fleeing from the bar. Bello and Bradley agreed. On the basis of their lies in court an all-white jury convicted Carter and Artis in 1967.

In 1974 Bello and Bradley both admitted they had lied in court. They claimed they had been put under intense pressure by the police to finger Carter and Artis. The New Jersey Supreme Court overturned the original conviction and ordered a new trial.

The second trial is now drawing to a close. Though the racist lies and the police intimidation have continued, the state's case has worn so thin that there is a good chance that Carter and Artis will finally be freed. The frame-up of Rubin Hurricane Carter and John Artis is one more example of the racist nature of the entire capitalist system.

**FREE CARTER AND ARTIS!
FREE ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

Avenge Fred Hampton and Mark Clark!

On December 4, 1969, Chicago cops raided the apartment of Illinois Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Hampton and another Panther leader, Mark Clark, were killed. Clark was gunned down as he answered a knock at the door. The cops pumped hundreds of shots into the Panther apartment. They then broke in, found Hampton still alive, and finished him off. Several other occupants of the apartment were wounded. Through this raid, and countless raids like it, the ruling class destroyed the Black Panther Party as a militant voice calling on the Black masses to overthrow U.S. capitalism.

In the days and months following the assault on the Hampton apartment, the capitalists filled the bourgeois press with wild lies about the "vicious Black Panthers." They claimed the cops went to Hampton's apartment simply to make a "peaceful search" for illegal weapons and opened fire only after they were fired upon.

Today, this lie has worn thin. The so-called peaceful search of the Hampton apartment was nothing but a murder raid, carried out by the Chicago cops in coordination with the FBI. New documents proving FBI involvement, which have come to light in a multi-million dollar lawsuit trial instigated by the survivors of the raid and the families of the two slain Panther leaders, make the truth even more clear.

"BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY"

The government hated and feared the Black Panthers. They were militant and determined, they carried forward Malcolm X's call to win liberation "by any means necessary." They called for armed self-

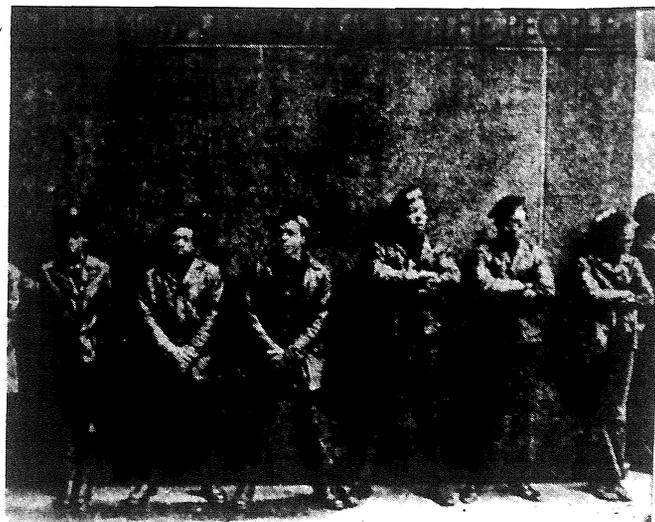
defense, and caught the imagination of millions of Blacks by following the Oakland, California, cops around with guns, ready to challenge the usual racist police brutality. They put forward a program of revolution as the only solution for Blacks and other oppressed people.

By the mid-'60s, after a decade of hard-fought struggles in the civil rights movement, Black people were the most militant and politically conscious section of the U.S. population. Their struggles for political rights and improvements in their condition—jobs, housing, education, etc.—continued to escalate. But capitalism, even during the post-war boom condi-

tions of the '60s, was unable to grant significant or long-lasting improvements. This collision between the demands of Black people and the profit-needs of the capitalists gave rise to the urban insurrections of the mid-'60s and led millions of Black people to listen with open ears to calls for revolution. Scared of these developments, the government launched a determined attack to destroy the militant wing of the Black movement, particularly the Black Panthers.

The attack came in many forms. There was straight-out police murder: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago; Bobby Hutton in Oakland;

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Black Panther Party demonstration, Oakland, California, 1969.

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DON'T VOTE, ORGANIZE!

Build a Militant Mass Movement for a National Steel Strike!

A Statement by the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus



Sadlowski (center) and his slate (from left): Ignacio Rodriguez, Marwin Weinstock, Andrew Kmec, Oliver Montgomery.

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On February 8, 1977, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) will elect its international officers. Lloyd McBride, director of District 34 (St. Louis) is running for international president as part of the USWA's "official family." Ed Sadlowski, director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary) is the opposition. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus opposes both McBride and Sadlowski. Both are enemies of the rank and file and oppose mass struggle to secure steelworkers' needs.

McBride is up front about his opposition to any struggle. A pro-Abel hack, he proudly endorses the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). He supported the USWA's productivity drive which helped the companies eliminate jobs. McBride is a creature of the bureaucracy and defends its privileges. His gang opposes the ranks' voting on their contract or on the ENA. His campaign aims at mobilizing the right wing in the union, relying on physical attacks, racism and red-baiting. Support for McBride is a blow against the steelworkers' struggle.

SADLOWSKI'S FAKE MILITANCY

Sadlowski pretends to be very different. He talks about a militant, democratic union. But for 10 years he has miseducated steelworkers, led them away from struggle, and opposed efforts to build a real movement of steelworkers. Sadlowski cannot point to a single fight against the companies he has ever led. He cannot point to a single significant gain he has ever won. The basic steel contracts expire next year. Yet Sadlowski has not organized any kind of struggle around either the local or national contracts.

Sadlowski's campaign matches his record. He claims to oppose the ENA, but he downplays this extremely important issue. In a 12-page campaign pamphlet, the ENA gets exactly one sentence. While Sadlowski attacks layoffs, speedup and unsafe conditions, he has no specific solutions. The only strategy he proposes is "tough bargaining." A campaign that focused on clear-cut solutions to the

companies' attacks and the way to win these solutions—a national steel strike—would help mobilize steelworkers for struggle. Sadlowski stays far away from this.

A FRIEND OF THE OPPRESSED?

Sadlowski claims to be a friend of racial minorities and women. He put a Black and a Latin on his slate and attacks the fact that the USWA hires so few minorities and women. But Sadlowski ignores the daily abuse suffered by minorities and women in the mills and in society. Sadlowski worked in and represented the ma-

chine shop in U.S. Steel's South Works when it was lily-white and all male. He never challenged this. Sadlowski sat on the District 31 committee to implement the Consent Decree—a racist swindle that attacks the struggle against discrimination in hiring and promotions while pretending to end this outrage. His committee agreed to gut the tiny concessions in the agreement while strengthening the racist attacks.

Sadlowski has ignored company racism and the Consent Decree during the campaign. Sadlowski dreads Blacks organizing against racism:

Postal Workers Go By the Book

Slow-Down at O'Hare AMF

Postal workers at Chicago's O'Hare Airport Air Mail Facility (AMF) have begun a fight to turn back USPS's job elimination and speedup campaign. Over the past year, workers at the O'Hare facility have been hit especially hard. Last October, 62 regular clerks (out of a workforce of some 400) were declared "excess." They were forcibly transferred, at great hardship for these workers, to other postal installations around the Chicago area.

With these jobs eliminated, management has been driving the remaining workers to take up the slack. There has been overtime scheduled for 12 straight months. Mailhandlers, who are paid at a lower rate, have been assigned to clerk jobs. Job vacancies have been filled with "casuals"—temporary workers who are denied any union protection. The contract has been brazenly violated.

Postal Service managers refuse to shut down equipment in need of repair, resulting in serious accidents. A young maintenance worker had his arm torn off at the shoulder when he was ordered to work on a moving high-speed belt. And then USPS refused to pay compensation, claiming negligence on his part!

It is against this management offensive that postal workers at the

O'Hare AMF are now waging their struggle. The O'Hare American Postal Workers Union (APWU) local voted at its September meeting to warn USPS that job actions would begin on October 27 unless the workers' grievances were settled to their satisfaction by then. A "Job Action Committee," including rank and file members, was elected to organize the action. The local also voted to inform other APWU locals around the country of its plans and send informational pickets to Chicago's Main Post Office.

"WORKING BY THE BOOK"

When the October 27 deadline passed with no satisfaction from USPS, postal workers at O'Hare began "working by the book." This meant carefully following each Postal Service regulation and every safety rule: every form filled out completely whenever required; any injury, no matter how slight, reported; all parcels and pouches carefully handled without dropping or throwing; all faulty equipment "red-tagged" and removed from service; all postage checked for proper rates; and complete instructions requested for every assignment. "Working by the book"

explosive struggle would result. Sadlowski is taking no chances about encouraging this fight.

Sadlowski makes fine promises about union democracy. He claims to support the membership's right to vote on its contracts. But Sadlowski was a local president for two terms. His local never voted on its local contract. Sadlowski's supporter, John Chico, won last spring's election in Local 65 by promising to democratize the union. Now Chico says that it is impossible for the ranks of Local 65 to vote on the local contract. Sadlowski claims he is for the right to vote on the ENA, but he refuses to organize such a vote in his district.

Sadlowski's campaign itself reveals more of his phony democracy. The mass of Sadlowski's supporters have had absolutely no say over Sadlowski's program, his ducking the question of racism, the composition of his slate or his strategy of relying on the courts. A democratically run campaign would have been launched by a national convention of militant steelworkers. Such a convention would have produced a campaign that was far more militant than Sadlowski's present effort. It could have been an opportunity to begin building a national movement among the ranks. As with everything else, Sadlowski's fear of a mass movement leads him to sabotage any serious fight for union democracy.

NO BREAK WITH BUREAUCRATIC MACHINE

Sadlowski claims his election will break up the bureaucratic machine in the USWA, most of which supports McBride. It is true that Sadlowski's election as district director helped many of his supporters win local elections in basic steel last spring. Today, however, Sadlowski opposes only those bureaucrats who stand in the way of his winning office. Sadlowski made a deal with Frank Guzzo, president of Local 1033 (Republic). Guzzo supported Abel and the ENA. Now Sadlowski supports Guzzo

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in this fashion has resulted in a highly effective slowdown.

USPS ON THE RUN

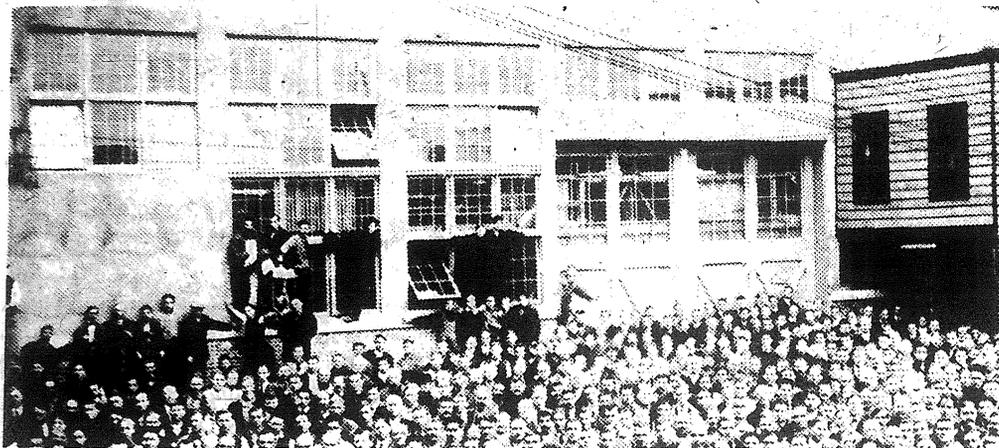
USPS is running scared. The O'Hare AMF slowdown is hurting, and management fears it might spread. They have offered concessions—recall of 20 out of the 62 "excessed" workers and a limited lifting of the hiring freeze. At the same time they are trying to continue a hard line—100 jobs have been posted to be re-bid and threats are being made to change O'Hare from an Air Mail Facility to a Transfer Facility. This would eliminate hundreds of jobs. But postal workers at O'Hare have shown that they will not settle for crumbs nor be bullied with threats. The job action is continuing.

USPS is now counting on treachery to succeed where crumbs and threats have failed. They are hoping that Orleans Vaughn, president of the O'Hare APWU local, will sabotage the struggle for them. USPS has good reason for its hopes; Orleans Vaughn has shown herself to be solidly on their side. She has attempted to bar the chief and deputy chief stewards, who are the core of the Job Action Committee, from negotiations with

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The Fight for Industrial Unionism

THE GREAT FLINT SIT-DOWN STRIKE



By Bob Anderson and Brent Davis

On December 30, 1936, the U.S. working class opened the battle that brought industrial unionism to the heart of American industry: the 44-day Flint Sit-Down Strike against General Motors.

Before the Flint strike the great mass of industrial workers had no unions and thus no organized defense against the unbridled power of the biggest corporations. The victory at Flint touched off a strike wave in which over three million workers surged into the new industrial unions. The existing trade union federation, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), would only organize skilled workers into narrow craft unions. These aristocrats refused to organize the unskilled mass production workers altogether. But industrial workers were determined to build unions—and auto workers helped to lead the way.

Out of small AFL auto locals, a group of militant and left-wing workers organized the nucleus of what was to become the United Auto Workers (UAW). In 1935 these workers linked up with the newly formed Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) and made preparations for the long overdue drive to organize the auto industry. They set their sights on the king of the auto corporations—General Motors—and the center of the GM empire—Flint, Michigan.

During the summer of 1936, the UAW organizers led a series of slowdowns and "quickie" sit-downs over firings and harassment in the Flint plants. These kinds of struggles were breaking out in auto plants across the country.

As 1936 came to a close, GM workers struck in Atlanta and Kansas City. On December 23, auto workers seized the strategic Cleveland Body Plant. Then on December 30, GM, afraid that the pro-union workers in Flint would strike, tried to move important equipment out of its Fisher Body Plant No. 1 by rail. The workers at Fisher Body decided to strike. Railroad workers were convinced to refuse to move any more equipment. At the same time, the workers stormed into the plant, kicked out management and barricaded the entrances. Workers had sat down in the smaller Fisher No. 2 plant earlier in the day. Fisher Body plants Nos. 1 and 2, which had been like prisons, were now the auto

workers' fortresses. The Great Flint Sit-Down Strike had begun!

Strike Cripples GM

The GM empire was quickly crippled. Fisher Body No. 1 produced almost all of GM's car bodies. With the strategic Cleveland plant out on strike as well, other GM plants could only stockpile parts. The UAW quickly called out 13 more GM plants and demanded union recognition nationwide. Before it was over, 140,000 out of 150,000 GM production workers had either sat down or struck in the battle to build the UAW.

Auto workers themselves maintained direct control over the sit-down strike. They stayed inside the plant 24 hours a day to collectively direct the entire action. The strikers met twice daily and made all final decisions. They elected a five-man strike committee to discuss and propose strategy; various sub-committees were established to handle defense, food, education, entertainment and other needs of the strikers.

Outside the plant, the strikers' families and other unionists organized publicity, food preparation and defense of the plant. Twenty-four-hour picketing was begun. Auto workers from all over the area, as well as rubber workers, miners, truck drivers and others came into town to lend their support. For 44 days the hopes and aspirations of workers all over the country were concentrated on the battle in Flint.

The GM bosses, denouncing the strikers for daring to seize their private property, went to court to get an injunction against the sit-down. When the injunction was issued, the workers ignored it. The bosses' newspapers, the sheriffs, various government officials, professional strikebreakers and all the "respectable citizens" shouted "communist conspiracy" and demanded war against the strikers.

Meanwhile, the Flint workers methodically organized to defend the plant—they would not budge.

After 12 days, GM decided to attack. On January 11, Flint police launched a tear gas and billy club charge on Fisher No. 2, which had also

been occupied. Pickets outside the plant showered the cops with rocks and bottles. The men inside fired two-pound car door hinges from inner tube slingshots on the roof. For heavy artillery the strikers used the plant's high pressure water hoses; this put a quick stop to the cops' charge in the 16 degree weather. The police were forced to retreat.

A second assault by the bosses' cops was met by union reinforcements from all over Flint. This time the police opened fire, spraying the plant with buckshot and wounding 13 pickets. The pickets barricaded the streets to keep the cops from driving by and shooting up the picket line. Tear gas shells landed on the factory until midnight. But at the end of what came to be known as the "Battle of Bulls Run," 36 cops were in the hospital and the workers still held Fisher Body No. 2.

The police assault had failed, so GM turned to Michigan Governor Frank Murphy. Murphy called up 2,500 National Guardsmen to enforce "law and order" in Flint. GM also organized a strikebreaking vigilante outfit known as the Flint Alliance, which was made up of supervisors, police and other scabs. But the Flint workers held on.

GM Turns to Deception

On January 15, Governor Murphy announced that an agreement had



Women's Emergency Brigade, armed with two-by-fours, defended Flint strikers.

been reached. Murphy claimed that GM had agreed to negotiate solely with the UAW—if the workers would leave the plants. There was no agreement on a contract or union recognition and, after 15 days, GM could break off the talks whenever it pleased. Although workers in a number of plants left, the Flint workers waited. They wanted union recognition and a clear victory before leaving the plants. Then the truth came out. GM had a prior agreement to recognize the Flint Alliance as a company union once they got the workers out of the plants.

Flint workers were about to leave the plants when they heard about GM's scheme. They immediately rebuilt their barricades and continued the sit-down. Relying once again on their own strength, they stopped the GM double-cross and saved the strike.

While GM's maneuver failed to break the strike, it did put the bosses back on the offensive. Where the workers had left the plants, GM made sure that they couldn't re-enter. GM also opened a number of plants which it had closed at the beginning of the strike. These plants started producing and stockpiling parts, which had a demoralizing effect on the strikers. The Flint Alliance pulled together a demonstration of 8,000 union-haters in downtown Flint to demand that the plants be reopened. In addition, GM unleashed pro-company mobs on auto workers in a number of cities.

Workers Seize Chevy 4

The strike was in serious danger, but the Flint workers developed a bold plan to regain the offensive. Robert Travis, a supporter of the Communist Party, Kermit Johnson and other local union leaders decided to seize Chevy No. 4—the biggest GM plant in the country and the only plant that produced Chevrolet engines. The plant, heavily guarded by company thugs, would be impossible to take in a head-on battle. To solve this problem, the union organizers came up with a maneuver of their own.

At a union meeting of Chevy No. 4 workers, Travis told the 1,500 workers present to "prepare for action." Then he called 30 workers (including a couple of known company spies) into a secret meeting and told these workers that the target was Chevy No. 9. The company spies thought they had discovered the "secret plan." Only six workers knew the real story—that Chevy No. 4 was the true target. The purpose of this ruse was to trick GM into massing their forces at Chevy No. 9, leaving No. 4 unguarded.

The finks did their job and the company took the bait. GM massed all of its thugs and company men at No. 9 to stop the sit-down. On February 1, the night shift marched into No. 9, calling for a strike. GM immediately sent its goons against

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ed Flint strikers.



Woodcock Settles at GM; Auto Workers Bitter Over Mini-Strike Results

DETROIT—69,000 workers from 16 General Motors (GM) plants around the country were called out on strike at 12:01 a.m. on November 19. Twelve hours later, UAW negotiators announced that a tentative settlement had been reached with the largest U.S. auto maker. Following the announcement, strikers were instructed to return to work, ending the shortest national strike in the union's history.

Patterned after the Ford pact, the GM contract falls far short of meeting even the most immediate needs of auto workers. Key demands concerning job security, working conditions and forced overtime were sold out for an additional eight days off over the life of the contract, a one-cent raise, and a few minor concessions on non-economic matters.

A clear indication of the union's attitude towards the contract fight was the revival of the mini-strike strategy. The Woodcock leadership claimed that the mini-strike was a key factor in forcing GM to settle. However, Carl Eden, a member of the National Negotiating Team, let the cat out of the bag when he explained the "strategic" significance of the plants involved in the mini-strike.

According to Eden, the particular plants were chosen because the International (UAW) was confident that it would be able to get the workers in these plants to return to work without any trouble. In other words, the International had no intention of building a serious strike. All they wanted was a show strike which involved little risk of getting out of hand.

Irving Bluestone, UAW vice-president of the GM department, praised the mini-strike as involving "minimal hurt to the workers and less crisis for the corporation." With 119,000 auto workers out of a job and conditions in the plants going rapidly downhill, these champions of the workers' interests at Solidarity House are worried about the crisis a serious strike would cause for the auto bosses!

In fact, Woodcock called the strike in hopes that it would make it easier to sell the contract to the ranks. With the contract already ratified at Ford and Chrysler, he hoped to convince the ranks that nothing more could be gotten. Coupled with the approach of the Christmas holidays, this enabled the bureaucrats to push through the sellout.

The GM ratification officially ended the UAW's contract round with the



Irving Bluestone, UAW's GM chief.

Big Three auto companies. The new national contracts leave the ranks with little protection against the auto bosses' attacks on their standard of living. At the same time, the low turnout at the ratification meetings and the large "no" vote reveals a widespread, but passive and unorganized, dissatisfaction with the union leaders and the contract.

Over time, this sentiment must be organized and turned into an active struggle to defend the interests of rank and file auto workers. One of the key tasks of this movement will be to oust the Woodcock machine and replace it with a leadership capable of leading a real fight for the needs of auto workers and the working class as a whole. □

POST Pressmen Face Charges

Fifteen pressmen, who have been on strike against the Washington Post for the past 14 months, are scheduled to go on trial in Washington D.C. on February 14. The workers, members of Local 6 of the pressmen's union, face from 10 to 40 years in prison on charges of rioting, conspiracy and assault. The government and the owners of the Post have been working together to frame the pressmen and bust their union.

The pressmen's real "crime" is defending themselves and their union. In 1972, Katharine Graham and the other owners of the Washington Post made the decision to bust the militant pressmen's local. They trained scabs to operate the presses and then forced a strike in the fall of 1975. When the strike began, all the Post workers walked out. The bosses charged that the pressmen disabled some of the presses to prevent scab production. But the Post continued production and forced the other striking unions back to work.

A few days after the strike began, the grand jury opened a nine-month investigation of the pressmen's union: in reality, a campaign against the strikers which included police raids on the workers' homes. For over a year, however, the pressmen have continued their struggle. George Meany and other top union bureaucrats have refused to support the strike and will not lift a hand to stop the frame-up.

The pressmen are setting a fighting example for all workers. Not only have they continued their strike, but pressmen's Local 6 is supporting the defense of Gary Tyler and has been active in defending Alex Markley and Tony Suarez—two unionists framed by government labor spies in Massachusetts. The bosses are anxious to put the pressmen behind bars precisely because they are setting this kind of example for the rest of the labor movement.

Every worker and every trade-union member is threatened by this union-busting attack and police frame-up. If the bosses can destroy the pressmen's union and throw the most militant strikers in jail, then what is to stop them from moving against any other union or any other section of the working class?

Sombrotto Loses in NALC Election

Vincent Sombrotto, president of New York City Letter Carriers' Branch 36, narrowly lost his bid to become president of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC). J. Joseph Vacca, incumbent vice-president and hand-picked candidate of retiring NALC president James Rademacher, defeated Sombrotto by 59,492 votes to 54,317. A third candidate, John Cullen (also from New York), got 5,636 votes.

Sombrotto hoped to cash in on his militant image from the 1970 postal strike, which started in New York City, and from his fight for the direct election of NALC officers. But Sombrotto's campaign was limited to talk—he did not put forward a fighting alternative to the bankrupt policies of the Rademacher-Vacca machine. As a result, over 45 percent of the eligible letter carriers didn't even bother to vote.

In New York, Sombrotto has refused to lead a fight against management. He accepted severe trip cuts in that city last summer.

Many postal workers correctly understood that Sombrotto's failure to fight in New York City meant he wouldn't fight as national president either.

The Postal Action Committee, a militant opposition of rank and file postal workers, did not endorse either Sombrotto or Vacca. They urged postal workers to rely on their own strength instead. Since January 1975, postal management has cut over 50,000 jobs and instituted a brutal speedup campaign to maintain production. This is the basis for the \$15 million surplus which Postmaster General Bailar announced a few weeks ago. In response, postal workers in Chicago (see page 3) and San Francisco have led slow-downs against the speedup, and workers at the Philadelphia Bulk Mail Center recently walked out against forced overtime. These struggles can lay the basis for building a rank and file opposition to both the Sombrotto and Vacca wings of the bureaucracy, an opposition which will organize postal workers to fight for what they need.

As We Go to Press...

A Houston grand jury has dropped all charges against Walter Birdwell, a militant postal worker. The government had tried to indict Birdwell for attempted murder. He had helped to defend against a Ku Klux Klan attack on a memorial meeting in Houston following the death of Mao Tse-tung. The participants repelled the KKK, and one Klansman was shot in the stomach. After the hearings Birdwell pointed out that many workers refused to cooperate with the grand jury and would not testify. This kind of solidarity was instrumental in forcing the government to drop the charges.

* * *

Over 17,000 East Coast United Parcel Service (UPS) workers have apparently ratified a new three-year contract by a wide margin. The central issue in the 12-week strike was UPS management's attempt to replace full-time workers with part-timers. Details of the new agreement were not immediately available as a result of the blackout imposed when government mediators entered the negotiations a few weeks ago.

—BA



Prisoners Fight Brutality at Somers

On September 20, 67 prisoners organized a demonstration at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers. The demonstration was called to protest the brutality of the guards and to demand inmate representation. The Somers administration responded to the prisoners' demands by stepping up its policy of harassment and repression.

Immediately after the demonstration, prisoners were forced to submit to a strip search. Julian Chetcuti, a Somers prisoner, described the events to the Torch: "Assistant Warden Alexander Cybulski, Supervising Captain John Polonski and Captain Morel came out into the yard with a guard force equipped with helmets, pick-axe handles, a movie camera and strong lights. . . the 67 peaceful demonstrators were forced to take off all their clothes, including shoes and socks. . . they were then made to walk two Hartford city blocks. . . barefooted. . . to the assigned segregation units."

Meanwhile, 75 troopers and prison guards, who had been called in to "deal with" the demonstration, took it upon themselves to "teach the demonstrators a lesson." Four demonstrators were beaten, two requiring stitches.

Robert Calovine, a Somers prisoner, told the Superior Court in New Haven, Connecticut, about these brutal beatings. For trying to make the events at Somers public, Calovine was charged with "creating a disturbance," locked in his cell for two weeks without recreational privileges and robbed of 20 days good time.

On December 1, a guard stuck his hand in a Black prisoner's food tray. For demanding that he be able to finish his meal in peace, the prisoner was written up for discipline.

Hand in hand with this stepped-up repression, the Somers administration is claiming that prisoner resistance at Somers is the work of outside agitators. This is a lie! The brothers at Somers do not need anyone from outside the prison to tell them that conditions in the prison are rotten. Nobody needs to tell the prisoners that they are being beaten by guards, harassed and treated like animals.

Right now 16 prisoners are still being held in segregation for demanding inmate representation. These are but a handful of the many prisoners at Somers who are fighting for their rights. These brothers have vowed to continue their fight.

Mistrial Declared for Lewis 17X Dupree

Lewis 17X Dupree has won a mistrial. After 10 days of deliberations, a deadlocked jury announced it had "exhausted all possibilities" of reaching a verdict in the nearly four-month trial. The state has announced it will try Dupree a second time.

Dupree is charged with slaying a cop, Phillip W. Cardillo, during an April 1972 police invasion of Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 in Harlem. During the invasion, four Muslims and seven cops were injured.

Shortly after the incident, Dupree was indicted for "assault on a police officer." But it wasn't until two years later that the state decided to try to railroad Dupree for the death of Cardillo.

The trial was just that—a railroad. Only one of the prosecution's 46 witnesses claimed that he'd seen Dupree shoot the cop. This was Foster 2X Thomas, a police informer and underworld thug, himself under indictment for larceny and forgery. The prosecution had scraped the sewers to come up with a case against Dupree.

According to the prosecution, Dupree took Cardillo's gun and shot him with it. But, afraid of destroying its whole case, the prosecution never produced the bullet that killed Cardillo.

Yoshimura Trial Begins in Oakland

The trial of Wendy Yoshimura opened in Oakland on November 22. Yoshimura is charged with possession of weapons and explosives. The trial began after the California Supreme Court, on November 19, refused to hear an appeal by Yoshimura, which argued that the charge was constitutionally vague.

The state is out to get Wendy Yoshimura. They want to put her in prison because she, unlike Patricia Hearst (with whom she was arrested), will not turn in the people that aided her in eluding capture (she was in hiding for three and one-half years). She, unlike Hearst, is a revolutionary. And she, unlike Hearst, is not rich.

But the ruling class rewards its own. On November 19, rich Patty was sent home to mommy and daddy on \$1.5 million bail. The California Appeals Court is processing her request for a new trial on the bank robbery charge.

While at the Federal Correctional Institution at Pleasanton, California, Hearst was assigned to clean floors and shower rooms and wash windows. A bit of work now and then was O.K. with Patty, but clean the johns??? This "servants' work" was too much for rich Patty! She soon became known for running to her room and pounding her fists on the wall in protest.

Patty's parents put up \$1.5 million because they wanted her in her own home, safe and sound, no longer so "cruelly mistreated." In the meantime, sister Wendy Yoshimura is being railroaded by the class allies of the Hearsts.

—FH

Prison System: Tool for Oppression

"You are told when you enter Somers prison: 'if you tell us a good story-you can earn 90 days good time, and some may get home for a few days, on a week-end pass' . . . The whole system is geared up to become a stool pigeon or a rat."

These are the words of a prisoner at Connecticut Correctional Institution, Somers.

* * *

The story the ruling class tells is that the penal system has been set up for the rehabilitation of criminals. But the recent wave of strikes in New York prisons, the demonstrations of prisoners at Somers prison, and the hunger strikes and other actions taken by men and women throughout the prisons in this country blow this myth to pieces.

Anyone who takes a serious look at the prison system can see that the prisons are overwhelmingly occupied by working class and minority people. Some have been imprisoned for committing crimes. Some are imprisoned for revolutionary actions or political beliefs. Many are simply railroaded for things they knew nothing about.

Three things are clear from this. First, the ruling class rarely imprisons its own members and representatives. No matter how openly corrupt any individual is, the ruling class sees little need to punish or rehabilitate one of its own. Second, most of those who are in prison are victims of capitalism. Third, many of these are the people who hate capitalism the most. This last group are the ones the capitalists want to "rehabilitate" the most.

When thrown into prison, these men and women are isolated from their class brothers and sisters. Then a campaign of terror is launched against them. The purpose of this campaign is to intimidate them, take the fight out of them and turn them into obedient subjects. "Rehabilitation" is nothing but an attempt to turn capitalism's victims and opponents into people who will submit to the rule of the capitalists.

To do this, a police-state-like regime enforces barbaric conditions in the prisons. Inside the prisons there are no minimum wage laws and no right to organize or demonstrate; there is no right to read what material one desires. Racism is rampant, fostered by guards who are often Klansmen, and sanctioned by administrators who use it as a tool to keep all "in line." Visits from friends or family are restricted and "contact visits" are a rarity, let alone sexual relations.

Those who submit to these conditions are declared "rehabilitated." In prison they get the better jobs, receive mail untampered and are granted other "privileges." They get early paroles.

Those who do not submit—who continue to fight the institutionalized racism, sexism and vicious exploitation of the prison system—face special attacks. These people are thrown into "Intensive Security" units or similar hell holes.

The prison system rehabilitates no one, it merely tries to teach submission and brainwash people into accepting a corrupt, degenerate ideology identical to that of capitalist society as a whole: "If you sell out your

brothers and sisters you can get over."

The brothers and sisters in the prisons who continue to fight these barbaric conditions despite all the odds, despite all the repression, are a threat to no one but the capitalist class. In fact, they are among the best of our class—those who will lead in the fight for socialist revolution—the "rehabilitation" (that is, destruction) of this rotten society. □

Walla Walla Inmate Wages Hunger Strike

Political prisoners at Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, continue to fight the authorities' repressive actions. One such prisoner is Carl Harp—on hunger strike from October 22, 1976, until late November.

The events leading up to Harp's hunger strike began last May. At that time, the prison administration issued a memo stating that prisoners wearing "obscene patches or t-shirts" would have these items confiscated. What was "obscene" was left to those great guardians of morality, the prison guards.

Carl Harp placed a notice on the prisoners' bulletin board urging anyone who lost clothing to begin legal action against the authorities.

For this, Harp was charged on May 28, 1976, with "interfering with the duties of an officer" and thrown into the Intensive Security Unit (ISU). He has never been found guilty of the charge, but remains in segregation from the rest of the prisoners. Further, the administrators threatened him with indeterminate confinement to the ISU if he did not stop all legal work against them.

This is why Harp went on strike.

Carl Harp's hunger strike began on October 22 with 76 of the 80 other prisoners in the ISU. The strikers demanded the right to serve their own food. Within a few days that strike was won. But Harp stayed on strike after this first victory in order to protest his confinement in the ISU.

On November 15, the authorities held a hearing. Here are Harp's words about what took place:

"The kangaroo court hearing yesterday exposed their hand completely. My legal work and letters made them threaten me. I told them to go fuck themselves. And that I'd never give up my struggle for justice and liberation for us all. I was screaming at them and they sat there like stupid pigs knowing I was right."

In late November, Harp ended his hunger strike. But the struggle continues. The brothers at Walla Walla are fighting for their democratic rights and for prisoners' control of their lives. Despite segregation, harassment and death threats this fight continues. □

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Put the Bosses in Jail

Capitalism Is the Real Criminal

By a Worker Correspondent

The pages of the Torch have carried a number of letters from prisoners in the past few months, and several articles have appeared concerning the atrocious conditions in prisons around the country. The re-introduction of the death penalty has resulted in a rash of publicity about prisons and prison life.

Prisons are necessary in capitalist society because capitalist society produces poverty, hunger and frustration. Gene Debs, an American revolutionary who had first hand experience of prisons, put it this way:

"It is a beautiful commentary on human nature that so little of it is defiled and that so much of it resists corruption under a social system which would seem to have for its deliberate purpose the conversion of men into derelicts and criminals, and the earth into a vast poorhouse and prison."

Today there is a theme in the reactionary capitalist press that goes something like this: "Society has been too lenient with criminals. The prisons are run like country clubs. If we stop pampering prisoners and start executing criminals, there will be less crime." Richard Nixon and his friends at the White House often expressed their belief that prisoners are pampered, but when their time came we didn't see them clamoring to get into the prisons. It's hard to understand why they didn't demand their share of luxurious prison life.

It is not accidental that this cry for a return to barbarism is gaining strength among ruling class spokesmen just when the country is sinking into economic collapse and millions are roaming the streets without work. The parasites who sit at the top of society are afraid. They would have American workers believe that those who suffer in prison are a less than human form of life and that crime is

something confined to the "lower classes."

Revolutionaries are not blind to reality. There is no question that there are many prisoners who have committed real crimes against innocent people, and we are not so naive as to believe that all prisoners are lily-pure "victims of society." We are not bleeding hearts who fear violence and pretend that violent crime will disappear if it's just ignored.

But we do wish to put an end to crime by the only means possible—the destruction of the criminal capitalist system that breeds it.

The capitalist vultures who wish to make the prisons more terrible than they already are, pretend to be concerned with order. They want an orderly society. Yet it is precisely these lovers of "order" who produce crime and disorder by presiding over an economic system which condemns millions to idleness, hunger and despair, not only in this country, but around the world. The prison population always increases with unemployment. This is an unwritten law of capitalism.

There are various degrees of crime. There are those who steal to feed themselves, and there are those who kill because they have lived lives of

misery and have no feeling for society but hate. Presiding over every degree of crime are those who grow fat from the misery of others, and they have yet to be punished.

The Supreme Court has reinstated the death penalty. The Nixon appointees were unanimous in their conviction that the death penalty should be used. This is not surprising, since Nixon was a great supporter of "law and order." We are sure that neither Nixon nor his cronies in the courts will lose any sleep over the fate of those they have condemned. After all, they have comfortable beds and pleasant surroundings. They feel safe and secure in the knowledge that those who call for the blood of prisoners will never call them to task for their crimes. The death penalty is reserved for the poor and the minorities.

But the time will come when the working class will wake them from their sleep and bring justice to their victims.

Gene Debs understood the nature of capitalism and capitalist prisons, and spoke well in behalf of the imprisoned victims of capitalism.

"I have seen men working for paltry wages and other men in



enforced idleness without any income at all sink by degrees into vagabondage and crime, and I have not only found no fault with them, but I have sympathized with them entirely, charging the responsibility for their ruin on the capitalist system, and resolving to fight that system relentlessly with all the strength of mind and body that I possess until that system is destroyed root and branch and wiped from the earth." □

Fight the Death Penalty!

Don't Let the Ruling Class Kill Carl Osborne

(Editor's note: In the last issue of the Torch we stated that Carl Osborne is Black. Information received since then revealed that this is incorrect. Osborne is white.)

Carl Osborne may become one of the first victims of the reinstatement of the death penalty. Osborne is one of three people who were found

guilty in the December 15, 1974, kidnap-murder of Hermalee Ross.

Carl Osborne's trial began on May 5, 1975. Eight days later, he was found guilty. But Osborne is innocent.

There was not one eyewitness who could testify that Osborne was one of the abductors. In fact, one woman described two men, both over six feet tall, both of them heavy set. Carl

Osborne is five feet nine inches tall and weighs 140 pounds!

In order to frame Osborne, the state needed to create "witnesses." The prosecution got its testimony against Osborne by making deals with men who knew nothing about the kidnap-murder or Osborne, and telling them exactly what to say.

James A. Westlake was a key prosecution witness against Osborne. According to Westlake's trial statements Osborne confessed the murder to him.

A month later, however, Westlake admitted that the prosecution had offered him a parole in exchange for this testimony.

Michael E. Goins also testified against Osborne. He was supposed to have led police to the murder weapon and to other "witnesses." But after the trial ended, Goins stated that the prosecution made a deal with him too. Goins was up for indictment on assault and murder charges in a separate case. The prosecution offered to lessen these charges if he would lie for them. This is the core of the state's case against Osborne—LIES bought by the prosecution.

Carl Osborne is only one example. Death Row, and the prisons in general, are filled with many working class people, Black, Latin and white, who have been railroaded by U.S. "justice." We must build a working class movement that can stop the ruling class from murdering those people that this system railroaded. We can begin by lending support to Carl Osborne's struggle for freedom. □

Money is needed for Carl Osborne's appeal. Send contributions to:

Carl T. Wolfram, Attorney at Law
IBM Building, Suite 1060
140 East Town Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215

TORCH Banned at Somers Prison

On November 1, the TORCH received a letter from the Connecticut Correctional Institution, Somers, Connecticut, stating that the September 15-October 14, 1976 issue of the TORCH had been banned from the prison. The letter from the prison's warden states that the TORCH "poses a clear threat to the security, discipline or order of the institution." In a letter dated November 11, 1976, the TORCH appealed the decision. The letter denounced Somers prison's violation of the right of prisoners to read whatever material they choose and pointed out that the Somers administration's decision to ban the TORCH was motivated by its desire to destroy all prisoner resistance. To date we have received no reply.



STATE OF CONNECTICUT
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION
CONNECTICUT CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, SOMERS
P.O. Box 100 SOMERS, CONNECTICUT 06071

October 28, 1976

Telephone
Area Code 860
443-9391

Torch
P. O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, New York 10036

Gentlemen:

The Library Committee at the Connecticut Correctional Institution, Somers, has rejected admission into the institution, Torch, September 15 - October 14, 1976, Volume 3, Number 9. This publication was found unacceptable on the basis of Section 3 of the Criteria for Rejection of Publications, "Advocates disruption in that it poses a clear threat to the security, discipline, or order of the institution."

The committee members felt that page eleven, "Attica Rebellion: Its Spirit Lives On," and "Immate Strike New York Prisons," promotes disruption as a means to bring about change and would as advocated disrupt the order and security of the institution.

You may request a review of this decision by writing to the Library Review Committee, 340 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut, stating your reasons challenging the institutional committee's decision within fifteen days of this notice.

Very truly yours,

Carl Robinson
Warden

RO/CR:rh

cc: Mr. Otis Bohanan #51563
Mr. Russell Hamilton #62241

Tasks of Jamaican Revolutionaries and the Elections

PNP Victory Will Not Stop Right Wing

The following article was written just before the December 15 general election in Jamaica.

The people of Jamaica are living under the threat of a right-wing takeover. With the support of the U.S. government and the CIA, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) is planning to set up a right-wing dictatorship to crush the Jamaican workers' movement. How to stop the JLP and what attitude to take to the People's National Party (PNP) government of Michael Manley are the decisive questions before the Jamaican working class.

The Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) is the one political force in Jamaica that has shown the working class and oppressed how to fight their way out of the present crisis. Even the most revolutionary sections of the Jamaican masses have big illusions in Manley's liberal capitalist government. The comrades of the RML have fought the tide of popular support for Manley. They have warned the workers that Manley is no friend of the oppressed, but a treacherous enemy. They have been alone in trying to get the workers to see that Manley and the PNP cannot be trusted, that Manley is leading the masses straight into the JLP slaughter pens. It is in the light of our recognition of the revolutionary work the RML has done among the Jamaican working class and oppressed masses that we put forward our criticisms of the RML's position on the Jamaican elections.

The latest issue of *Socialist Weekly*, the RML's popular organ, calls upon the Jamaican workers to "Vote PNP With No Illusion." With this slogan, the RML is advocating political support, though highly qualified, for the PNP. We think this is a serious and dangerous mistake. It can have no effect but to build up the masses' illusions in Manley and the PNP at a time when the survival of the Jamaican working class movement depends on these illusions being destroyed. Adding the phrase "with no illusion" does not counter the negative effects of the call for political support to Manley. To tell the masses to vote for the PNP is to tell them that somehow and in some way this will strengthen their hand against the threat of a JLP takeover. This in itself is the most dangerous illusion of the masses.

STRUGGLE IN STREETS OR BALLOT BOX?

There is only one way the working class movement in Jamaica can save itself. There must be a full revolutionary mobilization of all sections of the working class and the oppressed to deal with the JLP.

The workers must prepare to meet the JLP's attempt to seize power with rifles at the ready. Broad organizations must be formed to plan and carry out the defense of the working class. The workers must take specific steps to make sure the population is appropriately prepared to defend itself. Units must be formed to prevent the conspirators from taking over transportation and communications centers, factories and other targets.

The working class must be prepared to launch a general strike so that nothing moves and nothing gets done except at the orders of the workers' organizations. This is how the workers, at the head of the rest of the oppressed masses, can stop the JLP.

Standing in the way of this mobilization are the masses' illusions in Manley. The revolutionary workers who see through Manley are too weak to stop the JLP by themselves. They need the cooperation of the workers and oppressed who are pro-Manley. The key to the situation is showing these workers how to go all the way to smash the JLP's coup plot.

Until the RML adopted its "Vote PNP" position, they had the right approach to winning the working class PNP supporters over. Up to now, the RML has offered military-technical support to the PNP whenever and wherever PNP members and organizations are prepared to protect the organizations of the working class: the trade unions, political groups, working class neighborhoods, etc.

This tactic, combined with political exposure of Manley and the PNP, is a

use their power. He knows that if the masses rise they may do away with him and the PNP, as well as the JLP.

Manley does everything he can to paralyze the struggle. He slaps down a wage freeze on the workers. He tries to stop the small farmers from taking over the big estates. He sends working class youth who attempt to arm themselves against the JLP gun thugs to prison with his gun courts. He uses his State of Emergency to silence revolutionaries while the JLP openly organizes to overthrow him. This is how Manley is trying to save his own skin. His strategy is a vain attempt to convince the capitalists that he can keep the masses in line and save the capitalist system in Jamaica.

It does little good to tell the workers to arm themselves and mobilize against the JLP if at the same time

message: "Manley will defend us if he is elected."

Political support to Manley is counterposed to mobilizing the masses to defeat the JLP. No matter how critical of Manley the support, no matter how many warnings are issued, it is still wrong to tell the Jamaican working class that even the slightest security lies in relying on a PNP election victory.

The tactic of revolutionaries must be to combine a policy of mobilizing the masses, including those who are pro-Manley, for armed defense against the JLP coup-threat with clear and determined anti-Manley propaganda and agitation. The RML's position stands in contradiction to this approach. Despite the RML's propaganda and agitation against Manley and their efforts to mobilize the masses, their call for a pro-Manley vote communicates the opposite message, and at best confuses the masses.

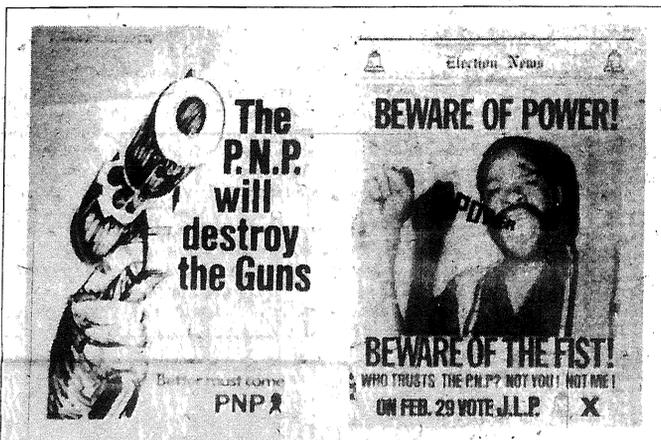
WORKERS' MOBILIZATION NEEDED TO DEAL WITH JLP

What reasoning does the RML use for its position? *Socialist Weekly* says: "We cannot sit back idly and watch fascism come in disguised as 'Nationalism.' Workers and oppressed must reject the JLP at the polls for the tool of fascism that it is." Does the RML believe that the center of the struggle has switched from the factories and streets to the ballot box? Has the RML suddenly forgotten the JLP is preparing a coup in case they lose the elections?

In the May 20 issue of *Socialist Weekly*, the RML wrote: "You might not believe it but you could wake up tomorrow morning to find out that a state of emergency has been declared, Manley is out and the fascists have seized power overnight...right, now the fascist plotters are in a good position to stage a coup." In their election statement, however, the RML scarcely mentions the danger of an illegal seizure of power by the JLP. There is one passing reference and that's all.

The RML was right in May. They are wrong today. What does the JLP care for legality? JLP leader Seaga may prefer to take power legally, but he has made it clear that he means to have it regardless of who wins on election day. With the approach of elections, and the probability that the JLP will lose, the danger of a JLP uprising is greater than it ever has been before.

The struggle against the JLP threat will be won or lost in armed struggle between the masses and the JLP forces, not in the count of votes. (Continued on page 19)



means of mobilizing those sections of the working class which support the PNP to act in their own defense. In taking joint action with revolutionaries to suppress the JLP gangs, the pro-PNP workers can learn from their own experience how to use their power as a class to defend themselves. They learn that they have the power to deal the right wing the heavy blows necessary to destroy it. It is a way to begin the full revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

One purpose of this tactic is to expose Manley and the PNP in action. Revolutionaries should join the workers who support the PNP in demanding arms from Manley. They should take the lead in organizing the workers' defense. In this way they can show that it is they, not Manley, who will organize and lead the defense of the Jamaican masses. And they can make clear that Manley does not want to arm the workers, and moreover that he will do what he can to stop them from getting arms. Revolutionaries should tell the workers that their goal is not to protect Manley but to protect the working class.

Manley cannot and will not stop the JLP threat. Who can he throw against the JLP? The army or the police? The army and police await marching orders from the JLP, not from Manley. Winning the elections will not give Manley control of any Security Forces he does not control now.

There remain the masses. But Manley will not mobilize the workers and the poor against the JLP. Manley is a capitalist politician. He is terrified of the masses and their potential power. The last thing he wants is for the masses to become aware of and

you tell them to vote for the PNP. It is because the masses still believe in Manley that they haven't gone any further than they have in taking matters into their own hands. When the masses vote for the PNP, they do this because they believe it will accomplish something for them. They believe that by voting for the PNP, they won't have to immediately equip themselves for all-out war with the JLP. They vote for the PNP instead of doing this.

The masses must be told: "Power lies in the street, not in the ballot box. The only way to stop the JLP coup-threat is through the independent mobilization of the masses." Telling Jamaican workers to vote for Manley is telling them to abandon mass mobilization in favor of reliance on Manley. Revolutionaries must say: "Manley will not defend us, we must defend ourselves." Unfortunately, by calling for a vote for Manley, the RML despite its intentions, conveys the



PNP leader Michael Manley.

SMASH APART

(Continued from page 1) through Guguletu, and later, Townships. Rioting has occurred despite the arrests.

Since September, when Blatnik up in major cities across South Africa the racist Vorster regime has taken an increasingly hard line. Vorster that South Africa's whites, who make up less than 20 percent of the population, will never give up their power to the Black majority.

As part of the attempt to crush the Azanian rebellion, the Bureau of Security (BOSS—the security forces) has rounded up thousands of prisoners since June. The prisoners are held without charges, without bail, and without the right to visitors. Families are not even told their loved ones are arrested—they simply disappear. Those considered dangerous to the government are murdered. Announcements regularly report that detainees have "fallen from windows during interrogation," "slipped in the shower," or "themselves." Most of the arrested Black



Cape Town cops in action.

PLOT IN

(Continued from page 1)

ground. At first, JLP supporters claimed the PNP had tried to assassinate Seaga, though reports in the first shots had come from the other side. Later, the JLP was forced to admit that Seaga's car didn't arrive until the shooting was over. The U.S. imperialist press played this fabricated "assassination attempt."

Economic sabotage by U.S. Jamaican capitalists, anti-Communist propaganda by right-wing Jamaicans, and the presence of at least 100 U.S. operatives in Jamaica (revealed in September by ex-CIA agent James Agee) add to the picture of an imperialist coup.

The December 15 election takes place—will not stop the wing's plans. Seaga says that he will win the election, "at midnight hold the key" to prisons and concentration camps. PNP supporters,

Wing

Manley will defend us if he

support to Manley is used to mobilizing the mass—the JLP. No matter how Manley the support, no many warnings are still wrong to tell the working class that even the security lies in relying on a victory. c of revolutionaries must ne a policy of mobilizing including those who are for armed defense against up-threat with clear and anti-Manley propaganda. The RML's position contradiction to this despite the RML's propaganda against Manley efforts to mobilize the ir call for a pro-Manley nicates the opposite mes- best confuses the masses.

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SMASH APARTHEID...

(Continued from page 1)

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Since September, when Blacks rose up in major cities across South Africa, the racist Vorster regime has taken an increasingly hard line. Vorster swore that South Africa's whites, who make up less than 20 percent of the total population, will never give up any of their power to the Black majority.

As part of the attempt to crush the Azanian rebellion, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS—the security police) has rounded up thousands of people since June. The prisoners are held without charges, without bail and without the right to visitors. Their families are not even told they are arrested—they simply disappear. Those considered dangerous by the government are murdered in jail. Announcements regularly report that detainees have "fallen from high windows during interrogation," or "slipped in the shower," or that they have hanged themselves.

Most of the arrested Blacks have



Cape Town cops in action.

been workers or students involved in the mass rebellions, especially those suspected of being leaders. The government has also jailed a dozen Black reporters and photographers who have documented the brutality of the police in the townships. Several white reporters for anti-government newspapers have been arrested.

In fear of any organization by the Azanian working class, the government has broken up trade union education programs for Black workers. BOSS has raided churches and other private organizations critical of the regime, seized their records and arrested their officers.

Vorster's offensive against the struggle has had its impact. The mass demonstrations and riots of last summer, which involved tens of thousands of people, have not been repeated on the same scale. Threats from the capitalists and police intimidation kept a general strike in November small and relatively ineffective. But, despite the repression, the struggle has not stopped.

In October, three mass riots occurred within a week in Soweto, each one touched off by the funeral of a student murdered in prison. Student leaders called a boycott of final examinations in Soweto. The boycott was successful. Following this, BOSS tried to round up and interrogate every student who had missed exams, in order to find the leaders. Hundreds of students have been forced to flee across the borders to Botswana and Swaziland; hundreds more are in hiding.

The leadership of the Azanian struggle is now held by groups like the Soweto Students Representative Council, which organized the Soweto exam boycott and a series of consumer boycotts. Students have led all the recent struggles, starting with the school boycott movement in June that led to the first Soweto uprising.

The revolutionary students have pushed aside more conservative lead-



CHICAGO—On December 4, over 100 people attended a showing of "Last Grave at Dimbaza," the stirring film about the racist brutality of the apartheid system in South Africa. With this event, the newly formed Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid joined the struggle against the racist South African dictatorship. Following the film, speakers from the Solidarity Committee, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus and the Revolutionary Socialist League described the heroic struggles of the Azanian workers and students and discussed the need to build a movement in the U.S. that can support the Azanian people's fight to overthrow the racist system that oppresses them.

Participants in the meeting emphasized the connection between the struggle in South Africa and the fight against racism in Chicago and elsewhere. Plans to broaden the work of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid by organizing protest demonstrations and showing the film in union halls and in the Black community were discussed.

DETROIT—On December 4, 200 workers, students and young people marched through Detroit's central business district chanting "Down with Apartheid" and "Down with South Africa, Up with Azania!" The demonstration was held to build support for the Black struggle against the racist regime in South Africa. It was sponsored by a broad coalition of individuals, community groups and left organizations, including the Revolutionary Socialist League.

ers and have raised the struggle to higher and more militant levels. In hiding or in exile they continue the fight, despite thousands of arrests and the likelihood of death if captured.

But the students do not have the social power and cohesion to organize and lead a successful struggle to free Azania. To overthrow white supremacy in South Africa, South African capitalism itself must be destroyed. This can only be done by the working class, which has the economic power

and social weight to lead all the oppressed masses in a revolutionary struggle.

The Black proletariat of Azania is a powerful, urban class numbering in the millions. It has a 60-year history of militant mass struggles. In addition to struggling for political rights, millions of workers continue to be engaged in battles with employers for decent wages, union rights and a decent standard of living.

In the period since last summer's mass rebellions, however, the proletariat has not played as powerful a role as it is capable of and has not taken the leadership of the struggle for Black rule. In Soweto, in response to the students' calls, the workers waged two general strikes. But, with this exception, Azanian workers have not been mobilized in an organized manner. In Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and other major industrial centers there has been relatively little struggle.

The proletariat must come to realize that it must take the lead of all the oppressed masses in their struggles. And it must learn that to secure victory it must overthrow South African capitalism and establish its own state. To organize, train and lead the proletariat in this struggle a revolutionary party must be built. The present student leaders of the Azanian struggle have rekindled the masses' fighting spirit and shaken the confidence of the racist rulers. To carry the struggle to victory, the most dedicated revolutionaries must turn to the task of building a revolutionary proletarian party. This party must be tied closely to the masses, schooled in the tactics of Leninism and determined to carry the struggle through to complete victory—destruction of racist South African capitalism. □

PLOT IN JAMAICA...

(Continued from page 1)

ground. At first, JLP supporters claimed the PNP had tried to assassinate Seaga, though reports indicated the first shots had come from the JLP side. Later, the JLP was forced to admit that Seaga's car didn't even arrive until the shooting was over. The U.S. imperialist press played up this fabricated "assassination attempt."

Economic sabotage by U.S. and Jamaican capitalists, anti-Manley propaganda by right-wing Jamaicans and the presence of at least 11 CIA operatives in Jamaica (revealed in September by ex-CIA agent Philip Agee) add to the picture of an impending coup.

The December 15 election—if it takes place—will not stop the right wing's plans. Seaga says that if he wins the election, "at midnight I will hold the key" to prisons and concentration camps. PNP supporters, trade

unionists, left-wing community leaders, revolutionaries and militant workers will be rounded up.

Seaga will answer strikes and sit-ins with troops and tanks. And if Seaga cannot get "the key" through an election victory, he will try to get it through a coup aided by friends in the army and CIA.

Time is short. The right-wing threat will only be defeated by the independent mobilization of the Jamaican working masses, not by reliance on the pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist PNP. Jamaican workers must mobilize and arm themselves and the small farmers to defeat the JLP and CIA forces.

Revolutionaries must tell Jamaican workers that they must be prepared to make a military bloc with Manley and his forces in order to defeat a right-wing mobilization. But in doing this, revolutionaries must create no illusions in Manley and give him no political support. Political support for

Manley will not stop the JLP CIA coup plans; in fact, it will only aid the reactionaries by weakening the independent struggles of the Jamaican masses. Revolutionaries must warn the Jamaican workers of this and point out that Manley will stab them in the back the first chance he gets. (See article on page 8.)

In the United States, revolutionaries and militants must mobilize to build support for the Jamaican workers and small farmers. We must combat the lies of JLP front groups like the Jamaica Overseas Council, and its Canadian counterpart, the Jamaica Freedom League. We must alert the trade unions to the danger facing Jamaican unionists and all Jamaican workers. The CIA's fear of exposure of its operations means that publicity about its plans can help tie the right wing's hands. Our Jamaican brothers and sisters have much at stake—we must give them our full support. □



Palestinians Suffer Heavy Defeat

LEBANON: CIVIL WAR ENDS

By Tony Curzo

On November 10, the Syrian army entered Beirut, Lebanon's capital. The occupation of Beirut signaled the effective end of the Lebanese civil war—after 19 bloody months and 40,000 deaths. The Syrian army's occupation of the strongholds of the Moslem-leftist alliance, and its interposition between Christians and Moslem-leftists on the various battlefronts, represents a tragic defeat for the Arab masses.

It constitutes a serious setback for the Moslem-leftist alliance in Lebanon and in particular a defeat of the Palestinian liberation movement. And it represents a big step toward the U.S.'s goal of imposing a reactionary imperialist settlement in the Middle East.

Syrian military intervention on the side of the Christians was decisive in leading to this outcome. Syria intervened to prevent the victory of the Moslem-leftist alliance, which at the time had a decisive military advantage over the right-wing Christian forces. But when, after months of fighting, it became clear that the combined Christian and Syrian forces would decisively defeat the Moslem-leftist alliance, Syria began to move toward a position of "neutrality" in the civil war. Instead of merely backing the Christian rightists, Syria began to mediate between the two sides.

Syria Shifts Its Role

To understand the specific nature of the setback in Lebanon and its implications for the entire Middle East, it is important to first understand the factors that motivated Syria's change in role. The Syrian shift to "neutrality" was prompted by four important considerations:

First, as the bloody fighting in Lebanon wore on, the Christians moved toward increasing reliance on Israeli sponsorship. Each Christian victory brought ever-greater levels of Israeli aid and open Israeli intervention. The Zionists went so far as to invade Southern Lebanon and field there an Israeli-controlled and equipped Christian army.

The expanding Israeli role threatened the Syrian bourgeoisie's long-term interests in Lebanon. Especially after the civil war, decisive Christian victory would have made Lebanon

totally dependent on, and a natural ally of, Israel.

The Syrian bourgeoisie realized that a Christian victory would necessarily extend Israel's influence northward into Lebanon, a country which the Syrian bourgeoisie has always sought to dominate for itself. And this in turn would strengthen Israel's position in the Middle East as a whole.

The second factor behind Syria's shift was the active pressure of the pro-U.S., ultra-reactionary Saudi Arabian royal house. Fearful of the possible consequences of the armed struggle in Lebanon, the Saudi ruling clique (whose huge oil revenues give it a great deal of clout in Middle East affairs) applied pressure on the Syrians to agree to a reconciliation with the Palestinians and with Egypt, a major force behind the call for a negotiated settlement with Israel.

The third factor prompting the Syrian shift was the importance of avoiding a total defeat of the armed Palestinian guerrilla forces. The Palestinian movement is the most powerful bargaining chip that the Syrian bourgeoisie has in its future dealing with Israel and U.S. imperialism. It is the club which the Syrian rulers need to pressure the U.S. to force Israel to make concessions to the Arab states. Thus, had Syrian strongman Assad pressed his recent campaign against the Moslem-leftist alliance to its conclusion and succeeded in smashing the left militarily, he would have destroyed his own leverage.

Finally, in addition to the above considerations, it is questionable whether the Syrian bourgeoisie—at one point in a virtually open alliance with Israel in the war—could have smashed the Palestinians without suffering complete isolation in the Arab world and severe repercussions at home from the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist Syrian masses.

Arab Realignment

Syria's shift in position led to new Arab unity based on a significant realignment among the Arab bourgeoisies. This unity of the Arab states is now setting the stage for a complete sellout of the interests of the Lebanese-Moslem and Palestinian masses.

Behind the agreement on the question of the Lebanese civil war is political accord among the Arab bourgeoisies to give their support to the

U.S.'s efforts to impose its will on the Middle East. In doing this, they are hoping to entice the U.S. into making concessions to them in the imperialist deal that is worked out.

Consequences of the Defeat

What does the victory for U.S. imperialism mean for the Arab workers and oppressed masses?

First, we must look at the situation in Lebanon itself. The ending of the Lebanese civil war represents the defeat of the Moslem-leftist alliance and its goals in the war. One of the main aims of the alliance was to secure the democratic rights of the Moslem majority in the country and to smash the imperialist compact of 1945, which put a Christian ruling class in permanent control of the Lebanese state. Under the agreement which came out of Riyadh in October, Christian domination of the Moslems will be assured. Despite the fact that the Moslem representation in the legislature will be increased to 50 percent, the all-important executive branch of the government (which controls internal security and the armed forces) will still be solidly controlled by the Christians.

At the same time, the Lebanese workers' movement has been drastically set back. The desire of the Christian rulers to strike a blow at this movement was one of the key factors that brought on the civil war. In the years preceding the war, the workers of Lebanon, organized in 120 unions, had become increasingly restless. Prior to the start of the civil war in April 1975, a strike wave of unprecedented proportions had swept across Lebanon. This strike wave represented a mass swing to the left by the Lebanese masses.

Today, however, after 19 months of war without victory, the Lebanese workers are undoubtedly highly demoralized and, at least for the immediate future, are not likely to launch mass struggles. Further, the Lebanese workers and peasants now must contend with the Syrian army, which is poised to crush any struggles for a decent life.

The Palestinians in Lebanon have also suffered a heavy defeat. While the Christian Phalange will not be able to move decisively against the Palestinians in the immediate future, the

Palestinian movement has been effectively disarmed by the Syrian army. Palestinian forces will be expelled from the cities, where they enjoy the support of the Lebanese working class. Their freedom of movement will be curtailed. They will have to surrender their heavy weapons while, at the same time, the Christians rebuild the Lebanese army under Syrian sponsorship. And they will have to abandon their fortified positions controlling strategic areas of the country.

Imperialist Deal in Mid-East

Beyond Lebanon itself, the consequences of the Moslem-leftist defeat are equally severe. First, the setback of the Moslem-leftist alliance threatens the extermination of the most resolute anti-Zionist Palestinians within the Palestinian movement. The "Rejection Front," spearheaded by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which has been opposed to compromise settlements of both the Lebanese civil war and the Palestinian question, faces the imminent danger of being disarmed and wiped out. Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) chief Yasir Arafat has sat down with the Syrians and agreed, in the words of Time, "that hard-line 'rejectionist' elements in the Palestinian movement—notably George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—must be eliminated to ensure peace." The PFLP has been the major group that has stood in the way of an outright decapitation of the Palestinian and Lebanese Moslem-leftist struggle. Now, as reported in the December 4 New York Times, "with the exception of the PFLP, the principle of a negotiated settlement has been accepted by all the major groups in the PLO."

This resolution of the Lebanese civil war in effect makes the Palestinians the hostages of the Syrian bourgeoisie in any overall settlement with Israel and the U.S. This means that, above all, the interests of the Palestinian nation will be completely sacrificed to the imperialists. The Syrian rulers will be using the Palestinian nation (whose homeland was stolen by the Zionists in 1948 to set up Israel) as a bargaining tool to get the best possible deal for themselves in negotiations with U.S. imperialism.

The key to the imperialist settlement will be the establishment of a Palestinian "mini-state" in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the

Jordan River. Such involve:

The Arab nation in Israel; the liquidation of the Arab working class. Their freedom of movement will be curtailed. They will have to surrender their heavy weapons while, at the same time, the Christians rebuild the Lebanese army under Syrian sponsorship. And they will have to abandon their fortified positions controlling strategic areas of the country.

The proposed settlement would be an economic arrangement of Israel. Over no natural resources would be economic cheap migrant labor. It would be divided in two by Israel, virtually surrounded by Israel. It would be militarily dependent on Israel. It could not continue to prosecute its struggle against Israel in any case be ruled out of the settlement.

In return for agreement, the Palestinian "mini-state" would be backed by Israel. Israel's security influence in the region, upon settlement with Israel, would be economically dominated by the Zionist state. Israel would dominate the economic area, particularly Syria and Lebanon. Palestinians of the mini-state would be isolated from the rest of the world, with many of his Palestinian Liberation Organization, which has been a "mini-state" for years, a major tool for smashing those who want to continue Israel.

"Mini-State"

Under the guise of a settlement, represent a step toward the Palestinian struggle, this settlement precisely the mean that the Arab accept the right of land that belongs and that these regions support the struggle—or even their to regain their home winning the homeland. The Palestinian masses will be called a "state," totally under the



ISRAELI TANKS MOVE TOWARD LEBANESE BORDER

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The key to the imperialist settlement will be the establishment of a Palestinian "mini-state" in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the

Jordan River. Such a settlement will involve:

The Arab nations' recognition of Israel; the liquidation of the Palestinians' armed struggle to regain their land and destroy the Zionist state; and the setting up of a tiny Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The proposed "mini-state" would be an economic and political appendage of Israel. Overpopulated and with no natural resources to speak of, it would be economically dependent on cheap migrant labor to Israel, divided in two by Israeli territory, and virtually surrounded by Israel, it would be militarily untenable and could therefore not hope to pursue an independent policy. Most importantly, it could not in any viable sense continue to prosecute the armed struggle against Israel—which would in any case be ruled out under the terms of the settlement.

In return for agreeing to establish a Palestinian "mini-state," the U.S.-backed settlement would guarantee Israel its security and a predominant influence in the area. The Arab nations, upon establishing relations with Israel, would become increasingly economically dependent on the Zionist state. Israel would come to dominate the economic relations of the area, particularly those with Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. The left-wing Palestinians of the Rejection Front would be isolated and driven underground, with many killed. Arafat and his Palestinian Liberation Organization, which has been pushing for the "mini-state" for years, would become a major tool for disarming and smashing those Palestinians who want to continue the fight against Israel.

"Mini-State" Fraud

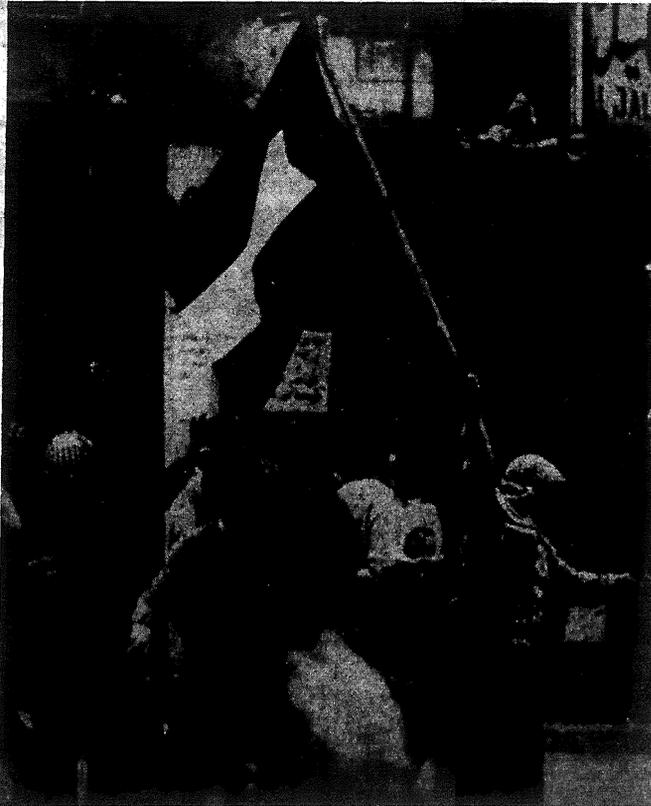
Under the guise of appearing to represent a step toward the fulfillment of the Palestinian national liberation struggle, this settlement will represent precisely the opposite. It will mean that the Arab bourgeoisies will accept the right of Israel to occupy the land that belongs to the Palestinians and that these regimes will not in any way support the Palestinian struggle—or even their right to struggle—to regain their homeland. Instead of winning the homeland that is theirs, the Palestinian masses will be given barren patches of territory which will be called a "state," but which will be totally under the control of, and

economically dominated by, Israel.

While the Palestinians get sold out by the deal, Israel will gain its security and economic predominance in the area. And for their part in the sellout, the Arab bourgeoisies will gain improved ties with the U.S., the elimination of the Palestinian thorn in their side and, they hope, the illusion that they helped bring about self-determination for Palestine.

On the scale of global politics, such a settlement, brought about by a

leaders' lack of stomach for a struggle that threatened to upset capitalist social relations in Lebanon. They stood ready to surrender the fight the minute Syria showed the slightest inclination to compromise with the Moslem-leftist wing of the bourgeoisie. When Syria began to search for that compromise, the Moslem-leftist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships abandoned the struggle and liquidated the war effort. The only exception, the Rejection Front led by the PFLP, is now threatened with



Nablus, West Bank: Demonstrators wave PLO flag in protest against Israeli occupation.

broad shift of the Arab regimes toward U.S. imperialism, will mean a significant displacement of Soviet influence in the Middle East. Thus, the U.S. will find itself in more or less full control of a pacified Middle East after a quarter century of war, resistance and inter-imperialist maneuvering.

The defeat of the left in Lebanon, and the final liquidation of its military positions, would not have been possible without the traitorous role of the pro-capitalist Moslem-leftist alliance leaderships. From the beginning, these leaders failed to fight a revolutionary war that could mobilize the bulk of the workers and peasants of Lebanon and appeal to the Syrian soldiers' class solidarity. Such a war would have required the mobilization of wide layers of the Lebanese masses. But such a mobilization could only have been successful on the basis of a social program for a Lebanese workers' and peasants' government; the pro-capitalist leaderships of the Moslem-leftist alliance wanted no part of this strategy.

From the very beginning they opted for a strategy of accommodation with the Syrian invaders. Afraid of the masses, they fought primarily to improve their own bargaining position within the framework of reactionary Lebanese capitalism and U.S. imperialism. Fifty-seven cease-fires (most of them imposed when the alliance was winning) are testimony to these

annihilation by the combined forces of Syria, the Moslem-leftist bourgeoisie, the PLO and their behind-the-scenes master—U.S. imperialism.

Lessons of Leninism

The tragic setback in Lebanon and in the Middle East as a whole reveals one of the fundamental teachings of Leninism. In this epoch, the leadership of the struggle for national liberation and other democratic rights of the oppressed masses cannot be left to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces. No matter how radical these forces may sound at any given time, they are all committed to the maintenance of capitalist property relations. These forces all fear proletarian revolution far more than they fear imperialism. Rather than mobilize the working class in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders will opt for a deal with imperialism time and again.

In the struggle for national liberation it is the proletariat, organized and mobilized as a class under the leadership of a revolutionary party, that must play the leading role. The proletariat is the only force capable of leading all the oppressed masses to complete victory in the struggle to secure their just demands. In the Middle East and throughout the world, the only road to the complete and genuine victory of the democratic struggles of the oppressed masses lies through the victorious seizure of power by the working class—the socialist revolution. □

U.S. and Syria Plan Purge of Palestinian Left

A major article in the December 10 New York Times provides further evidence of the tragic setback suffered by the Palestinians in the Lebanese Civil War.

The article makes clear that under Syrian pressure, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is moving toward acceptance of a U.S.-dictated Middle East settlement.

Yasir Arafat, head of both Al Fatah and the PLO, has openly embraced the idea of a "mini-state" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. He is now seeking authority from the PLO's governing council to attend a U.S.-Russian sponsored peace conference as part of a single Arab delegation.

The latter proposal is designed to get around U.S. and Israeli objections to dealing directly with the PLO. It will also tie the PLO to the negotiating strategy of the Arab states, and pave the way for a deal setting up a "mini-state" in return for the PLO ceasing hostilities against Israel.

With Syrian troops in control of Lebanon, PLO leaders recognize that Syria is calling the shots. Syria will prevent Al Fatah from mounting raids into Israel from southern Lebanon. Some raids staged from the West Bank will be permitted—but only to keep pressure on Israel to accept a "mini-state" settlement.

Syria Applies Pressure

To make sure the PLO goes along with its sellout strategy, Syria has been putting pressure on the PLO to change its leadership.

Syria's demands were spelled out in Beirut by an official of As Sa'iq, a Palestinian group controlled by Syria and which fought against the Palestinian-leftist alliance in Lebanon. The Sa'iq official named six PLO leaders who "must all go"—Arafat, his four top assistants, three of whom are more radical than Arafat, and Nayif Hawatimah, the head of the left-wing Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Given his reported popularity inside the guerrilla movement and the fact that he has shown every sign of being willing to accept the "mini-state" deal, Arafat may be kept in command.

Beyond the left-wingers around Arafat, the real targets of the projected purge are the "rejectionist" forces inside the Palestinian movement—the groups which oppose any negotiated settlement with Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), led by George Habash, is the largest and strongest of the rejectionist groups. It is now all but crippled. The PFLP still has offices in Beirut, but Syrian military control prevents it from taking any action. The PFLP's main armed units have escaped to Iraq, one of the few Arab states that still rejects a negotiated settlement. But Iraq is separated from Israel by Syria and PFLP guerrillas will not be able to operate effectively from there.

With the tacit backing of Arafat, Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon will now harass the remaining rejectionist organizations, arrest many of their members and try to drive them underground or out of the country. It has also become clear that the Lebanese government, with Syrian backing, will try to take over the radio stations now controlled by Lebanese leftists and Palestinian forces to prevent any possible mobilization of the masses in the future. □



ISRAELI TANKS MOVE TOWARD LEBANESE BORDER

World in Revolution



Angola Wages War Against Imperialist Puppets

Since August a fierce war has raged across southern Angola. MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) troops, supported by units of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and Cuban soldiers, are battling UNITA, the U.S.-South African puppet force led by Jonas Savimbi. Major battles took place in November along the border between Angola and Namibia (South-West Africa).

The war in southern Angola is a continuation of Angola's war for independence against U.S.-South African intervention. Last year, Kissinger and Vorster armed Savimbi and South African troops supported him in the field. Today, South African gunners are shelling Angola from Namibian territory to support UNITA. In all likelihood, U.S. and South African money, arms, military advisers and mercenaries are also involved.

The U.S. and South African imperialists hope to weaken Angola and delay a major SWAPO offensive in Namibia. They do not really think Savimbi's troops can win, but they want to keep him fighting as long as possible.

Despite its claims, the MPLA is not a socialist government. It has suppressed strikes, jailed revolutionaries and exploited the workers harder under the cover of phony calls for discipline and sacrifice. A bourgeois nationalist government, the MPLA came to power in armed struggle against Angola's former imperialist masters. This struggle won Angola a degree of independence, which is temporarily maintained by the maneuvering between the U.S. and Russia.

Kissinger and Vorster sought a regime in Angola that would be a complete puppet of U.S. imperialism. Viewing the MPLA as a threat to their domination of southern Africa, they back Savimbi.

Total victory for the MPLA will weaken the role of the chief racist and imperialist powers in southern Africa—the U.S. and South Africa. Above all, victory for the MPLA will inspire the Azanian and Zimbabwean masses by demonstrating that the imperialists can be defeated.

French Rightists Organize New Party

At a rally of 50,000 people on December 5, Jacques Chirac, Prime Minister of France until August, dissolved the Gaullist party and recreated it as a right-wing mass movement, the "Assembly for the Republic."

An audience of middle-aged people, many of them shopkeepers and farmers, cheered as Chirac called for a struggle of "free men against collectivism." Chirac called for a return to patriotism and tradition and a fight against "dictatorship" (i.e., the Socialist and Communist Parties).

Chirac broke with French President Giscard d'Estaing in August. The two disagree over how to defeat the working class. Both want to mobilize middle class elements against the workers. But Giscard wants to do it by promising reforms, Chirac by building a movement of right-wing elements based on fear of revolution.

Separatists Win Quebec Elections

Quebec nationalists took office last month after winning 69 out of 110 seats in provincial elections. René Lévesque, leader of the Parti Québécois, pledged to put the issue of Quebec's independence from Canada to the Quebec voters in a referendum two years from now.

French Canadians are an oppressed national minority in English-dominated Canada. Quebec, where they are the majority, serves as a pool of cheap labor for Canadian capitalists as well as American corporations operating in Canada. The capitalists have plundered Quebec's abundant natural resources while not investing in manufacturing industries. Income in Quebec is far lower than in English-speaking Canada, unemployment far higher. The Canadian Federal government spends far less on education and other services in Quebec than in the English provinces. In short, Quebec resembles an underdeveloped country within Canada's borders.

In the last several years the Quebec economy has been stagnant, with high inflation and growing budget deficits. The Quebec working class has taken the offensive with major strikes, including several general strikes. As the economy continued to slide downhill, many voters turned to the Parti Québécois as the only party which seemed to have a solution.

Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau threatens not to respect Quebec's right to independence. He says if Quebec votes for independence, he will hold a nationwide referendum on the question. But this is an imperialist trick. The opinion of the English provinces has nothing to do with the question. The people of Quebec alone have the right to decide whether to choose independence.

It is the duty of the workers of English-speaking Canada, and of the United States as well, to support the right of the Québécois to secede from Canada, if this is what they desire. To fail to do so is to support the U.S. and Canadian capitalists in their exploitation of Quebec.

But independence will not develop Quebec's economy nor solve the problems of the Québécois. The real solution to these problems is socialism. As in Canada, the United States and elsewhere, the Quebec workers must build a revolutionary movement that can seize state power in Quebec, take control of the economy and begin the construction of a socialist society.

CHINA

"Rightist" Faction Consolidates Power

Each new report from Peking makes it clearer that China's new leaders are the old "capitalist roaders" from the Cultural Revolution.

Formerly disgraced party, army and government leaders are being returned to the limelight with a startling speed. Policies long out of favor are being embraced. Government priorities are being shifted.

In the most striking reversal, party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng buried the anti-Teng Hsiao-ping campaign on November 24. In a speech listing the major policies, Hua failed to mention the campaign against the twice-

ship's broader campaign to purge the cultural apparatus. Minister of Culture Yu Hui-yung and Minister of Physical Culture and Sports Chuang Tse-tung are reportedly under arrest. Twenty-five films banned since the Cultural Revolution are said to be ready for redistribution. One, a tribute to Ho Lung (purged during the Cultural Revolution), has already been shown in Hong Kong.

Although it is impossible to tell for sure, it is likely that large numbers of lesser "moderate" functionaries disgraced in the Cultural Revolution are being restored to positions of power.

In sum, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the "moderates," those Mao labelled "capitalist roaders," are consolidating their power with surprisingly little opposition.

Still, some bourgeois and leftist newspapers, such as the Guardian, insist that a "center" faction rules in Peking. They base their claims on the prominence of certain key leaders—such as the apparent Premier-to-be, Li Hsien-nien—who escaped the Cultural Revolution unscathed. This is just a shallow effort to hide what's really going on in China today.

The so-called center faction is composed of top party and state administrators who were allied with Chou En-lai during the Cultural Revolution. Under Chou's leadership, this group refrained from active opposition to Mao during the Cultural Revolution and, as a result, was not directly attacked or purged. Their politics and approach are identical to the "capitalist roaders" and they have joined the latter in the purge of the "radicals."

From 1961 to 1965, Liu Shao-chi and Teng controlled the party apparatus while Chou controlled the state machine. With the group that Mao elevated during the Cultural Revolution (the "gang of four") gone, China's leadership is right back where it was before the Cultural Revolution. In power is a combination of Chou's followers and the former followers of Liu Shao-chi (the "capitalist roaders"). Liu is gone, but the group is the same.

In programmatic terms, the same policies that Liu implemented in the



Hua Kuo-feng.

purged Teng. Until Mao's death and the arrest of the "gang of four," the anti-Teng campaign had been the party's number one priority. Since the October 7 purge, however, the party press has had virtually nothing to say about the campaign against the man who was tagged the "leading capitalist roader." The press blackout seems to confirm that Teng is no longer labelled an "enemy of the people" (a category for those considered unreformable). Some rumors go so far as to claim that Teng engineered the "gang of four" purge from a resort near Canton.

Because Teng was cited as an enemy until so recently, his rehabilitation may take some time. Whether or not Teng is rehabilitated, what is significant is the speed with which the anti-Teng campaign was dropped.

Teng is not the only "capitalist roader" whose fortunes have changed. Several other men, once near the top and then purged, are now making rapid progress in the new leadership group.

Li Ching-chuan is back in Peking and reportedly under consideration for the party's Political Bureau. Ten years ago, Li was party boss of Szechuan Province and the entire Southwest Region. As one of only six regional secretaries in all of China, Li was the main target of the mass movements in the Southwest during the Cultural Revolution.

Yang Cheng-wu is also back. In late October his image was televised across China during one of the large staged rallies that followed the purge of the "gang of four." Yang Cheng-wu was Acting Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) at the time of his purge (March, 1968). Responsible for mobilizing the PLA against left-wing students and workers throughout 1967 and early 1968, he was finally purged as a concession to the mass movements.

An Kang, another "capitalist roader," has replaced followers of Yao Wen-yuan ("gang of four" member) at the helm of People's Daily. This appears to be part of the new leader-



Teng Hsiao-ping.

years before the Cultural Revolution are being carried out today. This will become more and more clear in the future. If there is any substantial difference between the "moderates'" policies today and the old policies, it is that the former count more heavily on increasing foreign trade. This is a step away from Mao's policy of "self-reliance," the kind of step the "capitalist roaders" advocated and Mao attacked in the 1960s. □

THE STATE OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY

By Lee O'Shaughnessy

The automobile industry has been central to the U.S. economy throughout most of this century. It helped pace the two long-term economic booms in the U.S. that followed World War I and World War II. By and large, as auto has boomed, so has the rest of the economy. In light of the recent signs that the economic upturn in the U.S. is faltering, it is important to look at the auto industry and its long-term prospects.

This following two-part series will show that, despite the recent upturn in the auto industry, auto's long-term growth prospects are not good. The articles explain why the auto industry will not be able to prop up the U.S. economy as it has done in the past, and why this indicates that the U.S. economy is heading toward a deep and protracted economic depression.

Two years ago, the auto industry was in the midst of a major slump. Sales were off, thousands of auto workers were out of jobs and profits had declined sharply. This slump in auto paralleled the recent downturn in the U.S. economy as a whole. Beginning in late 1973, the national economy entered a deep recession from which it did not begin to recover until May-June 1975. Similarly, the auto slump beginning at the end of 1973 did not end until the 1976 model year, that is late summer of 1975.

By mid-1976 the auto industry appeared to be doing very well. This was apparent from the following:

• **Production and sales.** The four U.S. auto companies built 8,114,376 new cars in the 1976 model year. This was a 25 percent increase from the 1975 model year. Domestic car sales ran ahead of the previous year's level in each of the 12 months of the 1976 model year. Meanwhile, sales of imported cars for the first nine months of 1976 declined 12 percent from the same period in 1975.

• **Profits.** Auto company profits—especially at General Motors (GM) and Ford—shot up. GM's aftertax profits for the fourth quarter of 1975 were \$618 million. This was the second-highest for the fourth quarter in GM's 58-year history.

The fourth quarter of 1975 was also the turning point for the other auto companies. Net income for Ford that quarter was \$170 million—up 800 percent from the year before. Chrysler and American Motors moved out of the red ink, but showed much smaller profits in the same quarter.

For the first nine months of 1976, GM's profits were \$2.1 billion. Ford got a whopping \$812.5 million in profits. Chrysler's profits were \$303.4

million for the same period.

These figures represent tremendous increases over profits for the same period the year before.

• **Recall of laid-off workers.** A quarter of a million workers were on layoff for part or all of 1975. By June 1976 most were back at work.

This recovery already appears to be in trouble. November auto sales fell far short of industry expectations. Production and sales estimates for 1977 have been revised downward. Meanwhile, GM and American Motors have again turned to price-cutting schemes ("rebates") to try to stem the downward trend.

Whatever the immediate situation—a continued but limping recovery or a quick downhill slide—one thing is certain. The auto industry's

cent, compared to 14.9 percent for all manufacturing companies. Thus, while the amount of auto profits has tended to increase, the rate of profit has tended to fall.

2) Both a cause and an effect of this decline in profit rates is the increasing percentage of old plant and equipment. Old and worn equipment causes a slowing of the rate of increase in productivity and a further decline in the rate of profit. This trend is revealed in the age of machine tools. In 1945, 63 percent of machine tools in the motor vehicle and equipment industry were less than 10 years old. By 1973, the percentage was down to 35 percent.

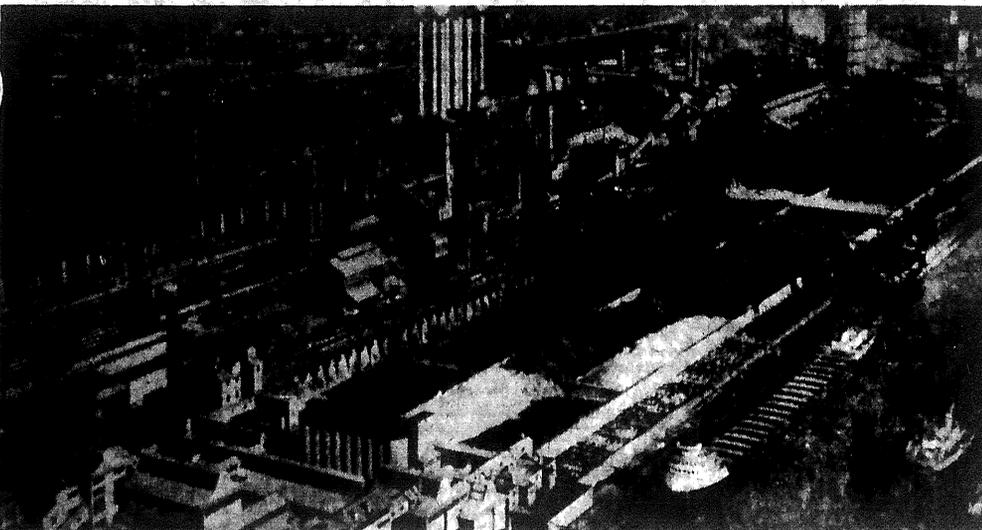
3) Further blocking the ability of the auto industry to expand is the stagnation and decline in spendable wages of all U.S. workers since 1965.

continue to increase.

The decline in real wages and the increase in imports have produced a long-term stagnation in auto sales. Sales of domestic passenger cars were 8,744,497 in 1965. Domestic sales slipped below this mark in each of the six following years.

The above four problems alone would seriously impair the auto industry's ability to expand. In addition, the auto bosses must now solve two additional problems.

Gasoline is no longer inexpensive fuel. The energy crisis has forced the auto industry to search for a profitable fuel-efficient engine. A 1975 law requires that by 1985 the average gas mileage of all cars produced be 27.5 miles per gallon. While many new types of engines are under investiga-



Ford's giant River Rouge complex.

long-term growth prospects are severely limited. Deepseated problems threaten to undermine the auto industry's health altogether.

The following are four major areas of underlying disease plaguing the auto industry:

1) Declining profit rates. For the period from the end of World War II to 1966, auto's rate of return on stockholders' investment was always higher than the average rate for all manufacturing corporations in the U.S. During this period, auto bosses' profits averaged above 15 percent and in several years were well over 20 percent. Since 1966, auto profits have gradually slipped below the average rate of return for all manufacturing corporations. In 1974, for example, auto's rate of return on stockholders' investment had dropped to 6.9 per-

cent. Converted into 1967 dollars, the average spendable weekly earnings (that is, wages adjusted for taxes and inflation) of a production worker with three dependents declined from \$91.32 in 1965 to \$89.16 in 1974. This trend, which will continue, means that workers will have less money to spend on cars.

4) In recent years, imported cars have cut out and held onto a growing chunk of the domestic passenger car market. In 1975, imports made up 18 percent of the domestic passenger car market, compared to 6 percent in 1965. Today, imported cars have a larger share of the market than Chrysler and American Motors combined. With the foreign car producers building plants in this country, the proportion of the car market held by non-U.S. car producers (whether produced abroad or in the U.S.) will probably

Stirling cycle, gas turbine, steam and electric drive—these experimental engines are totally different from the internal combustion engine. They will require complete rebuilding of the U.S. auto industry's 46 engine-producing assembly lines—a changeover which will probably take until 1991. Moreover, the changeover would require an estimated investment of \$400-500 million a year, or a total of \$6-7.5 billion. All told, the U.S. auto industry will require \$15-20 billion for new plant and equipment during 1976-1980 alone (figures based on 1976 Department of Commerce estimates).

At the same time the auto industry faces the fuel cost problem it also faces the need to reduce and eliminate air pollution from automobile engines. Between the end of World War II and 1971, car, bus and truck engines dumped 83.9 million tons of pollutants into the atmosphere—and into our bodies. To design and build engines that have increased gas mileage and which pollute less will take a tremendous increase in investment, capital the auto companies will not find easy to get.

These are the major problems which are undermining the health of the auto industry. While there can be no precise estimate of when a full-scale crisis will actually hit the industry, there is little doubt that its long-term prospects are poor. This will have a profound impact on the economy as a whole, adding to the tendencies pushing U.S. capitalism—and the world economy with it—toward depression. □

These questions will be the subject of the second part of this series.

Action Power

campaign to purge the rascals. Minister of Culture and Minister of Education and Sports Chuang reportedly under arrest. Films banned since the Cultural Revolution are said to be purged during the Cultural Revolution. One, a tribute to the late Premier Zhou, has already been banned.

It is impossible to tell for how long that large numbers of "moderates" will be in positions of power. Those becoming increasingly "moderates," those "capitalist roaders," are their power with sur-

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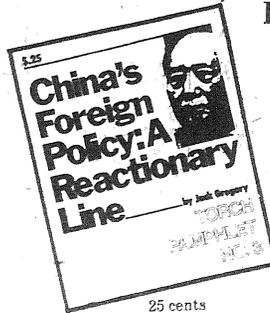
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Recent developments in China raise the following questions:

What is the real class nature of China? Is Maoism a revolutionary ideology? These two TORCH pamphlets give the Marxist answer to these and other questions.



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U.S. Steel: Pollution for Profit

United States Steel (USS), the nation's largest steel producer, has much to celebrate this year. Along with the bourgeoisie's Bicentennial, 1976 marks the 75th anniversary of U.S. Steel's founding, and the 70th anniversary of Gary Works, its largest plant. But a greater cause for celebration at USS headquarters is U.S. Steel's continuing success as one of the worst air and water polluters in the country.

USS spent millions of dollars for a 10-day Bicentennial Open House at its Gary Works (Indiana) plant in July. Over 100,000 visitors were stuffed with hot dogs and bombarded with lies about its efforts to clean up its filthy coke ovens, blast furnaces and sintering plants. But its smooth propaganda could not cover up the central message: **Cleaning up pollution means cutting into profits.** And USS's

concern for profits comes before protection of the workers' health, jobs or lives.

STEEL INDUSTRY'S WORST POLLUTER

USS is infamous as the industry's worst polluter. Workers and their families in the Gary area daily breathe some of the dirtiest air in the country. Air pollution is routinely two to 10 times the level the EPA calls dangerous to human health!

All waterways around Gary Works are practically lifeless, with Lake Michigan becoming a "killer lake" for wildlife. In August 1969, sulfur dioxide in the air mixed with rain to form dilute sulfuric acid. This "rain" charred trees and ate the feathers from birds' backs.

Since 1963, Gary Works has been charged with violating numerous local,

state and federal anti-pollution standards. Rather than clean up, the company uses every possible means to stall and delay. Time and again it spends many years and many thousands of dollars dragging cases through court, appealing or ignoring every decision it loses. Time and again it fails to meet deadlines set for installation of cleanup equipment. Consistently, USS lies about its efforts.

After 13 years of violating anti-pollution laws, what has been done? USS claimed in a 1972 report that 94 percent of Gary Works' pollution had been controlled. 94 percent of the original pollution was in fact eliminated when the obsolete open hearths and Bessemer furnaces were shut down. But USS "forgets" to mention the modern, heavily polluting facilities that replaced them. The blast furnaces, sintering plants and the new Basic Oxygen Process furnaces are all far over the legal pollution limits. In the last 13 years, the air quality in Gary has gone from bad to worse.

Government agencies like the EPA claim to defend the "general public" by making the big polluters clean up. But the EPA has clearly failed to force improvements from giant corporations like USS. The reason is simple. The government and its agencies agree with the capitalists, whom they serve, that profits are the only motivation for change or progress. For the EPA, the priority is keeping the steel companies highly profitable—even though they know the future effects of pollution will be staggering.

In fact, the EPA and the capitalists take turns attacking the working class. The EPA behaves differently in different cases, but workers always

get the short end of the deal. Usually the EPA just goes along with the stall techniques and court suits of the steel companies for years, while the workers choke on their pollution. Other times, under pressure, the EPA denies building and expansion permits to polluters in already highly-polluted areas. This only encourages the corporations to move to cleaner areas where they can pollute more freely, while increasing unemployment in the most decayed urban centers. Workers get the shaft either way—either layoffs with a little less pollution, or a few more jobs and much more pollution.

The steel companies' threats give workers two rotten choices: pay for capitalist profits today or tomorrow; put up with increasingly dangerous working conditions, or be laid off; accept unemployment and poverty today, or let your children suffer tomorrow when the environment is hardly fit to live in.

Despite the claims of the steel bosses, the money to clean up exists. Since 1970, USS's profits have more than tripled, while actual production has increased only slightly. Yet the corporations plead poverty. Because they know their future prosperity is unstable, they want to grab all the profits they can now. But even if their phony plea were true, it would only make all the more clear the fact that the steel industry must be nationalized under the control of the workers. The capitalists have no right to pollute the air we breathe or destroy cities we live in, in order to make a profit.

USS and the other giant polluters will clean up only when forced to. The organized power of a strong and united labor movement can force some gains from the capitalists. But rebuilding the mills and cities will mean destroying the capitalists' power. Only the workers themselves, by taking power into their own hands, can run the mills not for profits' own sake, but for the sake of guaranteeing a decent life for all. □

Court Rules Lack of Pregnancy Benefits Is Not Discriminatory

On December 7, the Supreme Court ruled that private employers can refuse to compensate women for absences due to pregnancy. This decision is a major attack on working women's rights.

In issuing its ruling, the Court reversed decisions reached by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1972, and by six different U.S. Courts of Appeals since that time. These rulings all stated that refusal to cover pregnancy violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Now, however, the Supreme Court has argued that a refusal to compensate for pregnancy is merely a refusal to cover a "special condition"—not refusal to compensate on the basis of sex. This leaves the door open for all employers who presently provide sick and health care benefits to pregnant women to drop their coverage.

The General Electric compensation plan, on which the Supreme Court based its ruling, is sexist to the core. The GE plan covers prostatectomies, vasectomies and circumcisions—operations that are specific to the reproductive systems of men. But as far as GE health benefits are concerned, the reproductive systems of women do not exist! Through its innovative definition of pregnancy as a "special condition" the Supreme Court has found that the GE plan meets all constitutional requirements for "equality in compensation."

The Supreme Court's ruling will only benefit the capitalist class. Already, a majority of companies do not compensate women for pregnancy. These companies will now be free to continue their sexist policy. Those who today do provide pregnancy benefits can now scrap their compensation plans.

Further, employers have the "okay" to change policies on maternity leave and on hiring. The capitalists will use this to intensify harassment and firings of working women.

The Supreme Court's ruling points out just what bullshit all the capitalists' rhetoric about equal opportunity employment really is. The capitalists are willing to exploit women workers just as brutally as they exploit men. But once a woman worker becomes pregnant they say: "You're on your own."

The Supreme Court, GE and the

capitalist class as a whole are agreed—their system can not afford to meet the just demands of women. So they justify by "decrees" their destruction of the health and lives of women workers.

All the reactionary decisions and rulings in the world do not change the fact that women have a right to work and a right to health care. All working people must continue to fight for their needs. We must not accept only what this sexist system decides it can afford. □

Police Terror in Brooklyn

Killer-Cop Shoots Down Unarmed Youth

This past Thanksgiving night a white New York City policeman held his gun to a Black teenager's head and pulled the trigger. As 15-year-old Randolph Evans fell, the murderer calmly walked away. For 15 minutes young Evans lay bleeding. He died shortly after he arrived at Brookdale Hospital.

The killer-cop, Robert H. Torsney, has been charged with second degree murder but is free on bail—\$40,000 posted by the cops' union, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA). "This officer responded to a report of a man with a gun in a dark and dangerous area. He acted to prevent the perpetration of a crime and to protect his own life," said Douglas Weaving, head of the PBA.

But the truth is far different. Torsney and five other cops invaded the Cypress Hills Housing Project and found no man with a gun. As the cops were leaving the project, Evans, who was outside the building with some friends, asked the cops a question. The answer was murder, which the PBA has labelled a heroic effort of self-defense!

Torsney is the third New York cop in three years to be indicted for slaying a Black youth. One was acquitted but later fired from the force; the other is awaiting trial.

The Black community is justifiably angry. At one local protest in front of the station house where Torsney was assigned, Black and Latin youths

threw bricks and bottles at the cops, sending one to the hospital with cracked vertebrae and a fractured wrist and several others with cuts and bruises. When the minister at Evans' funeral announced that the killer-cop had just been indicted for second degree murder, the 2,000 mourners attending the services applauded.

In an effort to pacify the community, the mayor and his police commissioner have agreed to set up a "task force"—not to investigate the slaying, but to establish a dialogue with the

community.

Racist pig Torsney is being protected by his superiors—the head racists. The PBA has bought him his freedom and a lawyer. The mayor's "task force" is attempting to justify the murder to the Black and Latin community. Everything the state can possibly do to aid Torsney is being done. The ruling class thinks that Torsney was basically doing the job they pay him to do, but got "carried away." He was doing the job they pay him to do. □



Pallbearers carry the coffin of Randolph Evans to a hearse.

Poor and Working Women Need Free Abortion on Demand

In September, Congress tried to pass a law that would prohibit the use of Medicaid funds for abortions. This law, attached to a \$57 billion appropriations request for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), is a direct attack on poor and working women.

Ford vetoed the proposed law on the stated grounds that the HEW appropriation went over the budget by \$4 billion. The real reason for the veto is that the ruling class recognized that the class attack on poor and working women contained in the proposed Medicaid law is too blatant.

Women need to be able to get free abortions on demand so that they can keep their jobs and not be kept in the home, bearing children against their will. When the ruling class seeks to drive down the standard of living for the whole working class, they usually attack one section at a time. Sections of the most oppressed are attacked first. The proposed law would deprive those who need it most of their right to abortion on demand, and take away their right to control their lives.

RIGHT-WING MOVEMENT GROWS

The right wing of the ruling class and its allies want to keep women out of the workforce and inside the confines of the family relationship. The Catholic church (through the Right to Life movement) uses its money and prestige to spread the idea that women should stay at home and raise children, while the men go out and earn a living for the entire family. This costs the capitalists less than if they had to pay wages to both adults. It also means that there is a huge group outside the active workforce that can be pulled into production, when needed, at lower wages.

The right-wing forces are picking up steam as the economy goes downhill. The right wing uses the weakness of the women's movement to concentrate its attacks on poor women. By doing this it hopes to neutralize or win the allegiance of middle-class women and defuse the reaction it would receive from a working class women's movement.

GAINS WON THROUGH STRUGGLE

The women's movement, predominantly middle-class-led, grew in the middle and late 1960s and changed the consciousness of a vast segment of American society. As the number of working women increased, the idea of equal pay for equal work became generally accepted throughout the working class. This change was reflected in the law, and abortion—the core of a woman's right to control her life—was legalized in 1970. These gains were won through a decade of organization and struggle.

By the mid-1970s, the women's movement had splintered and groups like NOW were able to focus what was left of the movement into purely middle-class channels. The power of the mass women's movement was used primarily for the interests and gains of a relatively small number of women. Instead of fighting for free abortion on demand and other rights for the working poor, groups like

NOW concentrated on getting women into the higher-paid professions and lessening the credit restrictions for women with money. This approach goes hand in hand with the legal strategy which calls on the bourgeoisie to "bestow" rights to women.

LEGAL STRATEGY: A DEAD-END

This legalist middle-class strategy has led to a tug-of-war between the states and the federal government. In response to conservative reaction to legalized abortion, many states enacted criminal laws to prohibit abortions. In 1973, however, the Supreme Court struck down the anti-abortion state laws. The states responded by enacting "consent laws."

Assaults on the Rise

Workers' Movement Must Defend Gays

Throughout the country the ruling class is stepping up its attacks on working people and oppressed minorities. As part of this campaign the bourgeoisie is promoting a reactionary climate that encourages violence against oppressed groups. This is shown clearly in the recent wave of violence against homosexuals.

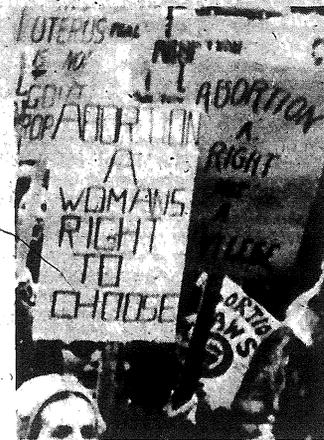
Here are some recent examples:

• Tucson, Arizona—On June 6, 13 teenagers went to the Stonewall Tavern, a gay bar, to harass its patrons. Four of them attacked Richard Heakin and beat him to death. When the four youths were brought

Most prominent were the Missouri laws, which required parental consent before women under 18 could have an abortion and required a married woman to have her husband's consent. The main justification offered for requiring a husband's consent was the state's interest in preserving the family or marriage relationship. The parent's consent requirement was justified by the so-called need to "safeguard the family relationship and uphold parental authority."

In July 1976 the Supreme Court again stepped in and struck down the consent laws, stating that "the constitutional right to privacy encompassed the right of a woman to decide whether or not to bear a child." In New York, the welfare department tried to withhold Medicaid funds for abortions. U.S. District Court Judge John F. Dooling ruled that the funds would have to be paid. HEW has now said that they will appeal this ruling through the Justice Department. Today, this crucial issue remains a political football in the hands of bourgeois forces.

The right to free abortions on demand can be won through the power of a working class women's movement. We cannot depend on the back-and-forth games played in the courts. President-elect Carter has said that he



1971 march for right to abortion.

is personally opposed to abortion, but he will uphold the law. This leaves him free to support every change in the law that attacks women's rights to control their lives. The current legal fight indicates where the attacks will be directed first. It is crucial for the entire working class movement to take up the struggle for women's liberation. □

more tolerant atmosphere in some places, but the situation has not changed in any basic way. Every homosexual still knows that the price of being spotted as gay on the street, or going to a gay bar, can be arrest, beating, or death.

These attacks, like the Nazi-type attacks on Blacks and other minorities, stem from decaying capitalism. As capitalism deteriorates, demoralized and reactionary sections of the middle class, petty bourgeoisie and working class youth who see the whole society falling apart look for scapegoats and turn on whatever group is "different" and easily victimized. They fear homosexuality and know that they are likely to escape punishment for attacks on gays.

Today's climate is bound to grow worse. The U.S. right wing is already campaigning for the sanctity of the family and against homosexual rights. As the right wing mobilizes, they point not only to Blacks and communists but also to homosexuals as a "threat to the American way of life."

The police and elected authorities will never do anything effective to stop attacks on Blacks, homosexuals or other oppressed minorities. Gays have the right and the duty to organize to defend themselves from attacks. Moreover, the working class must take up the fight. Every worker must realize that violence against any oppressed group plays into the hands of the ruling class.

Today, the trade unions are the only mass organizations of the working class: revolutionaries must fight in the unions for the defense of all those under attack by right-wing elements.

Organized defense guards can smash the attacks on homosexuals. In New York, last summer, a gay defense unit put a stop to gang attacks by threatening eye-for-eye retaliation. This points to what can be done if the power of the working class can be mobilized. With workers' defense guards organized by the trade unions, we can sweep the streets clean of all right-wing thugs be they Nazis or KKKers assaulting and intimidating Blacks, white youth gangs beating up Latins or reactionary individuals or groups attacking gays. □



Demonstration for homosexual rights, Chicago, 1976.

to trial, they claimed that they went to the Stonewall to go "queer-hunting and got carried away." They were convicted of "involuntary manslaughter" and, on October 20, Superior Court Judge Ben C. Birdsall handed down his sentence: probation!

In the sentencing Birdsall noted that the four were all athletes, good students, living at home, and that none used drugs. In short, he was constructing a case that the murderers of homosexuals are "worthwhile citizens" of "good character."

• Havre De Grace, Maryland—Dorsey Burnett, a Black man, was shot to death and his car stolen. Burnett's murderer, Alfred J. Smith, claimed he had shot Burnett in "self-

defense" after Burnett supposedly made sexual advances to him. Armed with this story, Smith pleaded guilty to second degree murder and was sentenced to one to 15 years, with parole after a year.

• Hamilton, Ontario—On the evening of September 19, Philip Stone, a well-known homosexual artist, and two friends were chased by two men shouting "faggot" and other curses. Stone was caught, beaten and thrown against a moving car.

By chance, another gay man spotted Stone and drove him to St. Joseph's Hospital. While he waited,

two members of a local street gang that has been involved in many attacks on gays began to harass him. Shaken, Stone left.

The next day Stone complained of blurred vision and that evening he was found dead of an overdose of tranquilizers. Stone killed himself—but he was really murdered. A society which encourages the abuse, harassment and killing of homosexuals drove him to his death.

These are only a few examples. Thousands of attacks on gays never make it into print, often because the victims are afraid to report them.

The gay movements of the last several years have won several legal reforms and have created a slightly

LETTERS

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

Carter: The Dead End of American Liberalism

Dear Torch,

Just as people reveal their true nature in times of crisis, political parties and political ideologies reveal their basic nature most clearly in periods of economic crisis. The Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter as its leading representative are no exception to this rule. Carter represents the dead end of liberalism.

Liberalism can be an important force within capitalism only so long as reforms and improvements in the lives of the people are possible. Today, when the economy is not functioning well enough to provide even the bare minimum of city services and eight million people are officially out of work, the government must inevitably become more vicious in its assault on workers, especially minority workers. In this situation, the liberal politicians of the Democratic Party have lost their bearings. They cannot propose real solutions to the problems we face, because no solutions are possible in a dying capitalist system, and they are committed to that system. Ford was absolutely right in saying that no one could extend social services and balance the Federal budget at the same time. Carter is the liberal Democrats' answer to this dilemma. His empty platitudes and phony phrase-mongering are the last gasp of dying liberalism.

The real significance of Carter's election is that it will provide the American working class with four years of education about the Democratic Party. Carter made vague promises about tax reform and full employment. Nobody quite believed his promises. The best proof of this is that Gerald Ford, the man who pardoned Nixon and presided over the worst economic crisis since the depression, almost beat him.

If Carter had put forward a program which held real hope for American workers—instead of talk about full employment, a program by which it could be achieved; instead of talk about tax reform, specific proposals to shift the tax burden off the backs of workers and onto the corporations and the rich—he would have won by a landslide. As it was, his shifty political maneuvering got him over the finish line just ahead of Ford.

Carter couldn't present a real program because the capitalists who own the Democratic Party wouldn't have liked it. It never even entered his mind to do so. His aim was to walk a thin line between liberals and fed-up workers on the one hand, and the giants of capitalism on the other. His balancing act was effective, but the real task lies ahead.

In the coming years Carter will outdo Nixon and Ford in earning the hate of millions, including most of those who voted for him. He can provide neither tax reform nor full employment. On the contrary, his term of office will see an increasing decline of the economy and in all probability a deeper depression than that of the thirties.

The best view into the future of Carter and the Democratic Party is through his positions on foreign

policy. Four years ago the Democrats nominated George McGovern, who centered his campaign on opposition to the Viet Nam War. The Democrats were able to present themselves as the "Party of Peace." This year, Carter stands on the other side of the question. Ford, as president, had to deal daily with the growing weakness of the U.S. all over the world. Carter rattled his sabre, promising to get tough with "America's enemies." The "Party of Peace" has changed its colors.

At one point in the debates, Ford pointed out that prosperity under Democratic administrations is usually accompanied by war. Carter immediately leaped to the offensive, accusing Ford of holding the Marxist position that capitalism can't survive without war! Ford was too embarrassed to answer. He'd gotten his hand slapped for coming too close to the truth, and he had to back off.

That little exchange between the candidates throws more light on the future than all the rest of the campaign rhetoric put together. As the economic and political stance of the U.S. is shaken by one blow after another both here and abroad, the final solution for the capitalist masters will be war, as it has always been.

The decline of a social system finds expression in the quality of its leaders. Rotting U.S. imperialism looked around for a leader to carry out its wishes. Carter is the result. This shameless liar, reeking of hypocrisy and cynicism, is well suited to preside over the decay of American capitalism. His posturing and his syrupy

Postal Workers Demand: Free Walter Birdwell!

Dear Torch,

Your recent article on the indictment of Walter Birdwell for defending himself against the Houston Ku Klux Klan effectively outlined the facts of the case. We are writing to let your readers know what we have done in New York to build the defense. At the November meeting of letter carriers Branch 36, Postal Action Committee (PAC) supporters brought up a resolution for the branch to contribute \$100 to the Birdwell defense. Although the bureaucratic leadership tabled the motion this time, PAC will continue the fight. We published a leaflet which called for the immediate dropping of the charges against Birdwell and his reinstatement with full back pay. It also called on workers to organize to smash the Klan. Since then PAC supporters have begun collecting money for the defense at several stations in the city. We urge all other militants to join in this effort.

DEFEND WALTER BIRDWELL!
SMASH THE KLAN!

New York
Postal Action Committee

expressions of "concern" and "compassion" cannot hide the cunning political dodger. They are too much for honest workers to stomach. Voter participation declined for the fourth time in four straight elections. The commentators and propagandists of the capitalist press blamed Carter's "blunders" and Ford's lack of "charisma." By this analysis, the capitalist press proves itself as corrupt as the politicians it follows. Workers failed to vote because they saw no reason to choose between a used-up hack and a mealy-mouthed dodger.

The election of Carter and the political education that workers will receive at the hands of a Democratic president and congress will do much to dissipate the remaining strength of the Democratic Party. George Meany and his gang of fakers in the labor movement will suffer the same exposure as the man they helped to elect. History is clearing a path for independent political action by the working class. History is clearing a path for revolution and socialism.

M.R.
St. Louis

Proposition 14 Defeat: A Blow to Farmworkers

(Editor's note: The following letter is from a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The position taken in the letter is currently under discussion in the RSL.)

Dear Editor,

Farmworkers in California recently suffered a serious defeat. Voters in that state rejected Proposition 14, an initiative sponsored by the United Farm Workers Union (UFW). With Proposition 14, the UFW hoped to ensure regular union representation elections in the fields through guaranteed funding of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB). The big growers poured millions of dollars into the anti-14 drive, and they will now almost certainly launch a new wave of attacks on the UFW.

Should revolutionaries have called for a "yes" vote on Proposition 14? I believe the answer is yes.

Revolutionaries must fight against government intervention in the labor movement and break the illusions that many workers have in the government as the "friend of the working man." Government control over the trade unions, is one of the bourgeoisie's most important weapons against the workers' movement. The Torch has consistently and correctly taken up this theme and fought against government control. There is also no doubt that one side of the ALRB and Proposition 14 (and to the liberals it is the important side) means increased government control over the UFW. For example, the ALRB oversees union elections and makes final rulings on jurisdictional disputes.

Opposing government intervention is not, however, some "timeless principle" removed from the living struggles of the working class and the current relationship of forces. Another, more immediately important issue, was also at stake in the vote on Proposition 14: the very survival of the UFW.

Before the ALRB began functioning in 1975, the UFW was battered and weak. The growers had brutally defeated the 1973 strikes, killing two UFW members in the process. From a high of 55,000 members, the UFW was down to 6,000 members and only five contracts. When the ALRB elections began, the UFW quickly went up to 50 contracts and about 20,000 members. With all the dangers of government intervention, the ALRB did mean some new life for the UFW. Enough new life, in fact, that

the growers moved almost immediately to cut off funds for the ALRB and to stop the elections. Without the ALRB there is a real question whether the UFW would exist today.

Proposition 14 would have guaranteed funds for the ALRB and taken that power out of the hands of the state legislature (where the growers' representatives are strong). Most importantly, Proposition 14 would have made "union access" to the fields a state law. Specifically, UFW organizers would have been allowed three hours a day to go into the fields and talk to workers about the union. The growers have always bankrolled armed vigilantes to keep UFW organizers out of the fields. While no law, by itself, can guarantee union access, such a law would be an aid to UFW organizing efforts. Workers' rights to organize vs. private property rights became the central issue in the campaign.

In this context, revolutionaries should have called for a "yes" vote on Proposition 14. If the UFW were stronger, the situation would be different. If rank and file farmworkers had an organized opposition to UFW president Cesar Chavez and his strategy of relying on the government, these militants could oppose the ALRB and press for militant steps to defend the union. But today the union is weak and no such opposition exists.

The central task today in the UFW is to keep the union alive. The passage of Proposition 14 would have meant a period of regular elections on slightly more favorable terms for the UFW. The result would have been more contracts and more time to strengthen the union and to build a rank and file opposition to Chavez. The defeat of Proposition 14 may mean the destruction of the union. Under Chavez, the UFW is not prepared to defend itself against a new wave of grower attacks and may not be able to hold the new contracts it has won.

While calling for a "yes" vote, revolutionaries have to keep explaining why workers should oppose government intervention and why, farmworkers can only rely on their own strength. If the union survives, farmworkers have the possibility of building a fight against government intervention. If the union is destroyed, the farmworkers' struggle will be set back for years and all the talk about government intervention will be nothing more than an abstract exercise.

B.A.
New York

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LETTERS

Madness, Not Really, Abstruseness

Dedicated to Brothers Gary Tyler
and Johnny Ross

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and countless time
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or incarcerated
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especially when
(she's prejudice)
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... am i sane?
i must be
or could i "NO!"
not me
who's to blame?
the system
the courts
my requiem
... i am awake
i will always be
until this nightmare
is rectified and i am free...

Kitab Ibad-Allah Rattala
formerly: Tai'lar CX Hancock
#141-342

Irish Republic Frames Marie and Noel Murray

Dear Torch,

Marie and Noel Murray have been sentenced to hang by the government of the Irish republic. If the sentence is carried out, they will be the first people in 20 years to be executed in that country.

The Murrays, alleged anarchists, are not members of any political organization, but are charged with a supposedly "political" bank robbery, which resulted in a killing. They are the first victims of new repressive legislation passed by the Irish Dáil (parliament) to attack the revolutionary left, and the movement for unification with Northern Ireland, now under British occupation. This legislation calls for trials without a jury before special three-judge courts. The testimony of one policeman is sufficient to convict.

The Murrays were seized in their home by the police, held incommunicado for seven days, and tortured into confessing to the robbery and murder. After they were taken to prison, they were allowed to see their friends, and repudiated the confessions.

The trial at the special court was held in the Murrays' absence. Their lawyer, appointed by the state, eventually refused to participate in the proceedings because they were such a

farce. Marie and Noel Murray were convicted only by the evidence of their repudiated confessions and were sentenced to die by hanging. The Murrays can be hanged at any time after the Irish President, Patrick Hillery, signs the papers.

Sections of the Irish workers' movement have demonstrated against these executions and the repressive legislation which led to them. This legislation is part of a wholesale government attack on the left, especially the Irish Republican Army (IRA). It enables the government of the Irish republic, which is a loyal lackey of British and American imperialism, to imprison anyone indefinitely for attempting to recruit someone else to the IRA or urging other "subversive" actions. The death penalty can be imposed for any crime the government considers political.

The Irish government, in fact, is now attempting to get other European governments to abolish the right of asylum for refugees from political offenses. Any act committed for politi-

cal reasons, by this plan, would result in the immediate extradition of the person seeking asylum for the crime of "terrorism."

The government is picking on the Murrays because they are isolated individuals, not members of an organization. If the Murrays can be hanged, the state will proceed to the persecution and "legal" murder of the leadership of the IRA and of the socialist movement. The state thinks the time is ripe for the savage repression of the movements for national unification and revolutionary transformation. The workers' movement, in Ireland and throughout the world, must prove them wrong.

Petitions to save Marie and Noel are now being circulated in this country. I urge the Torch and its readers to support this effort. Petitions may be obtained from the Murray Defense Committee, 326 West 48th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

C.M.
New York

Editor's note—On December 9, the Irish Supreme Court commuted Noel Murray's sentence to life imprisonment and ordered Marie Murray to be re-tried. This was a result of the international campaign to save the Murrays' lives. The campaign must now be continued until all charges are dropped and the Murrays are freed.

Indian People Fight Forced Sterilization

Dear Torch:

In your October 15 issue you carried a letter about the forced sterilization program in India. Millions of Indians have already been forcibly sterilized. This is a vivid case of the criminal brutality of capitalism, which solves its problems at our expense.

To enforce the forced sterilization program, the Indian government has massacred hundreds of villagers who resisted being sterilized for religious reasons. When thousands of unarmed villagers from Muzaffarnagar protested the round-up of 14 men for sterilization, police opened fire on the crowd without warning. At least 50 people were killed and hundreds wounded. Police ran after protesters, dragged them out of their homes and back to the village square, and shot them there. Over 300 were arrested.

This is just one example of the violent oppression of the Indian people by the Indira Gandhi government.

Sterilization is also used as a weapon to increase the government's power over its opponents. Makrand Desai, an opposition politician, charged that the government uses sterilization to intimidate people into obedience. "They use it to strike terror into the masses, particularly in the villages. It is selectively used. There are instances of 18-year-old boys, of 70-year-old men and of newly-married men being sterilized." No matter what kind of power we give to a capitalist government, they will use it against us for their own ends.

D.C.
Chicago

Police Attack Rally: Free Desmond Trotter!

Dear Comrades,

Since the Torch has supported the defense campaign for Desmond Trotter, your readers may be interested in the latest developments in this case.

Trotter, a militant youth leader in the island of Dominica, has been in prison for over two years for a murder he did not commit.

On November 20, the Desmond Trotter Defence Committee held a support rally in Roseau, the Dominican capital. The government had banned the rally "in the interest of law and order, in the interest of the state and also for security reasons." The government also stopped supporters from Guyana, Trinidad and Martinique from entering Dominica for the rally.

Thirty people defied the ban and gathered on the morning of November 20. Police with clubs and rifles saturated the rally site with teargas, arrested 13 people and drove off the rest.

The right-wing Dominican government led by Patrick John was only being consistent with its past policies. For more than two years, John has tried to legally murder Desmond Trotter on false charges of killing an American tourist. The murder charges were only a pretext for crushing the left-wing Movement for a New Dominica, led by Trotter. Trotter was originally convicted on the testimony of two witnesses and sentenced to hang.

The frame-up was exposed when

one of the witnesses, Camella Francis, fled to Antigua. There she repudiated her testimony and swore that the police had obtained it by offering her money and threatening to torture her if she didn't cooperate. Today Camella Francis remains in Antigua, afraid the police will kill her if she returns to Dominica.

A worldwide protest movement last spring forced Premier John to commute Trotter's death sentence to life imprisonment. But Trotter is still incarcerated, confined to a maximum security block and his health is deteriorating. John is determined to keep him there. Worldwide support is still needed to win Trotter's freedom.

P.W.
New York

The Revolutionary Socialist League sent a message of solidarity to the November 20 rally. We appeal to our readers to support the campaign to free Desmond Trotter. For information or to send money, write: Defence Committee for Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, W.I.

CORRECTION

The article "CIA Plans Coup in Jamaica" (Torch, Vol. 3, No. 10) referred to a "10 percent wage guideline." This was incorrect. The actual limit on wage increases imposed by the Manley government is \$10 a week.

RSL Directory

NATIONAL OFFICE

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

CHICAGO

P.O. Box 8062
Chicago, Ill. 60680

DETROIT

P.O. Box 639
Detroit, Michigan 48221

NEW YORK

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

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Flint Sit-Down Strike . . .

(Continued from page 4)

the strikers and a bloody battle began. The workers in No. 9 fought heroically. The company let loose a tear gas barrage, which engulfed the plant. But the Women's Emergency Brigade, with clubs in hand, had arrived to aid the strikers. The women broke all the windows in the plant to get fresh air to the men inside. Finally, at a time which had been agreed to earlier, the workers marched out of No. 9 and "surrendered" to the bosses.

But while the battle over control of Chevy No. 9 had been raging, workers from No. 6 had marched to No. 4. Union men in No. 4 went through the plant shutting down the assembly lines. Nearly all the foremen, security guards and company men were tied up at No. 9. The workers had attained their objective. They had seized No. 4: the giant engine plant was shut down!

WORKERS PREPARE FOR FINAL BATTLE

GM now turned to the rest of the ruling class and the government in one final attempt to break the strike. The Governor called up more National Guardsmen; they surrounded the plants and set up machine guns and howitzers. A judge granted another injunction and ordered the strikers to leave in 24 hours. The cops attacked the picket lines and forced the Women's Emergency Brigade out of the area.

GM shut off the heat and lights in the occupied plants. In retaliation, the strikers announced that they were preparing to light huge bonfires in the plants to keep warm. GM quickly decided to turn the heat and lights back on. By February 8, 4,000 National Guardsmen, 1,000 deputized vigilantes, the Flint cops and the Flint

Alliance were all poised to attack the strikers.

The vast majority of the strikers were prepared to fight it out to the finish. Three thousand workers formed the "Fight to the Death Committee." They made weapons from the materials and machinery in the plants. They held military drills and stashed a two-week supply of food on the top floor. If the attack came, they were going to fight floor by floor and then barricade themselves on the top floor to hold out.

The Flint workers sent the following telegram to Governor Murphy:

"Governor, we have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail. We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us many of us will be killed and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the state of Michigan and the country, that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths!"

The strikers were not alone. Tens of thousands of working people from all over the Midwest—rubber workers from Akron, miners from Pennsylvania and auto workers from the entire area—surged to Flint to defend the strike. Auto plants in Toledo and Detroit had to shut down because the workers were in Flint. Twenty thousand Flint workers were joined by about an equal number from other cities and all assembled outside Fisher Body plants Nos. 1 and 2. The Women's Emergency Brigade—5,000 strong—marched through the city and arrived at the plants, armed with crowbars and lead pipes.

On February 11, faced with this massive working class army, GM finally backed down. After 44 days the

Flint workers had won union recognition.

The militant use of the sit-down was key to victory at Flint and to the rise of the CIO as a whole. The Flint workers took away all of the bosses' favorite strike-breaking weapons. Since they stayed in the plant, Flint workers didn't have to concentrate their efforts on maintaining a picket line in the middle of winter against constant police attacks and regular arrests. GM couldn't get scabs inside, because the strikers controlled the plant and stayed by their machines. The workers held the plants and

the bosses to control the factories and production. By seizing the plants, the workers pointed to the need for workers' control of production—the need to make the socialist revolution.

But the mass revolt that established the CIO stopped short of socialist revolution. While the workers fought against established authority; they were not prepared to overthrow it. They did not understand their tasks and had no mass revolutionary party to lead them in struggle.

The leaders of the CIO (John L. Lewis and the Communist Party most importantly) limited the struggle to



Auto workers cheer victory at Flint after 44-day sit-down strike.

equipment hostage until their demands were met. In the end, GM was forced to recognize the union, because they believed a final assault would mean the destruction of their factories.

In the Flint Sit-Down and the wave of sit-downs which followed it, millions of workers revolted against the bosses' property rights and "established authority." These workers ignored court injunctions, fought the cops and faced the National Guard. By their very nature, the sit-downs called into question the fundamental basis of capitalist society: the right of

the fight for industrial unionism. These leaders channelled the workers' struggle into supporting the capitalist New Deal. They kept the upsurge within the bounds of the capitalist system. By and large, the working class accepted these limits. For this reason the most powerful upsurge in the history of the American working class did not go beyond the task of establishing industrial unionism.

The building of the CIO was a great victory for the working class. But the main task of the working class lies ahead: the final destruction of capitalism through socialist revolution. □

Don't Vote, Organize . . .

(Continued from page 3)

against Sadlowski's own supporters in 1033—the Rank and File Opposition.

Sadlowski picked union staffers for three out of four of his running mates. Staffers are the backbone of the USWA bureaucracy. They dominate the union conventions. They are responsible for continuing the ENA and denying the members the right to vote on contracts. Appointed by the International President, the staffers share the interests of the top union hacks: keep dues high, struggle low, and the ranks disorganized. By

nominating these staffers—especially Andrew Kmec, a 20-year staffer who is president of the staffers' organization—Sadlowski is promising that he will not interfere with bureaucratic power and privilege.

Sadlowski is depending on the capitalist courts to prevent McBride from stealing the election. He has already filed two suits over the upcoming February elections. But the capitalist government is the worst enemy of the workers. It wouldn't be helping Sadlowski come to office unless it was sure that Sadlowski will

defend the interests of the companies. And Sadlowski is desperately trying to prove his reliability to the capitalists by keeping all hint of struggle out of his campaign.

The Sadlowski record and campaign have one central message: Do not build a mass movement. Sadlowski tells steelworkers that they can solve their problems by replacing one pro-capitalist bureaucrat with a "better" pro-capitalist bureaucrat.

He sets the example of gross opportunism as the way to make this change. A movement has to take clear-cut stands on difficult issues in order to rally support. Sadlowski tells steelworkers that you "win" by avoiding all concrete issues. A movement has to take racism head on. But Sadlowski surrenders to the racists. He tells Blacks: "Don't rock the boat." The bureaucracy is the deadly enemy of the rank and file. Yet Sadlowski tells steelworkers that the way to beat the bureaucracy is to make deals with it, to try to win it over. A mass movement that has illusions that the government is "fair" or "impartial" is a movement that has placed a noose around its own neck. But the Sadlowski campaign preaches reliance on the capitalist state. In fact, Sadlowski is telling the steelworkers that they should rely on the bureaucrats, the bourgeois liberals and the state—everybody but themselves.

Unfortunately, most opposition groupings in the USWA are supporting Sadlowski. They have abandoned the struggle against the companies in favor of campaigning for Sadlowski. This reinforces the demoralization and cynicism of many steelworkers. These people argue that Sadlowski's op-

portunism, bureaucratic and pro-government strategy is somehow an aid to steelworkers. When these groups say that Sadlowski is "good" or "the best we can do right now," they are also saying: "We can't build a struggle for our needs now; we can't win anything real from the companies now." The steelworkers who respect these militants are misled by this and dragged away from struggle.

RSC BUILDS MOVEMENT FOR STEELWORKERS' NEEDS

Today, the level of struggle in the USWA is very low. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus is working to raise that level of struggle. We are trying to start contract committees to prepare for the basic steel negotiations. We are working to defend Black steelworkers from racist attacks in the neighborhood surrounding Chicago's Republic mill. We are working to bring steelworkers into the struggle against the racist South African regime and U.S. imperialism's support for apartheid. We are working to build a movement to fight for the needs of steelworkers and to replace the union bureaucrats—reactionary and liberal—with a leadership committed to struggling for the interests of steelworkers through to the end.

These efforts are small right now, but a little struggle is far better than none. A little movement is far better than the shadow struggle and phony movement of the Sadlowski campaign. To the militants supporting Sadlowski and active in his campaign we say: help us build a movement which can truly fight for the needs of steelworkers. □

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fenderá los intereses de las compañías. Y Sadlowski está intentando desesperadamente probar que los capitalistas pueden confiar en él por emprender su campaña sin ninguna sugestión de lucha.

La historia y la campaña de Sadlowski tienen una mensaje central: No construir un movimiento popular. Sadlowski les dice a los obreros de las acerías que pueden resolver sus problemas reemplazando a un burócrata pro-capitalista con un "mejor" burócrata pro-capitalista.

Da un ejemplo que el oportunismo flagrante es el modo de hacer este cambio. Un movimiento tiene que adoptar actitudes claras en cuanto a cuestiones difíciles para ganar y reunir el apoyo. Sadlowski les dice a los obreros de las acerías que se "gana" al evitar todos los problemas concretos. Un movi-

miento tiene que hacer un ataque frontal contra el racismo. Pero Sadlowski les capitula a los racistas. Les dice a los negros: "No rompan la calma." La burocracia es el enemigo mortal de las filas. Sin embargo, Sadlowski les dice a los obreros de las acerías que se derrota a la burocracia al llegar a arreglos con ella, por tratar de ganarse su buena voluntad. Un movimiento popular que tiene ilusiones de que el gobierno es "justo" o "imparcial" se ha puesto con el dogal a la garganta. Sin embargo, la campaña de Sadlowski aconseja confianza en el estado capitalista. De hecho, les dice Sadlowski a los obreros de las acerías que deben contar con los burócratas, los liberales burgueses y el estado—con todo el mundo excepto con sí mismos.

Desgraciadamente, la mayor parte de los grupos opositoristas en la USWA apoyan a Sadlowski. Han abandonado

la lucha contra las compañías en favor de hacer campaña para Sadlowski. Esto refuerza la desmoralización y el cinismo de muchos obreros de las acerías. Estos arguyen que la estrategia oportunística, burocrática y pro-gobierno de Sadlowski les ayuda a los obreros de alguna manera. Cuando estos grupos les dicen que Sadlowski es "bueno" o es "lo mejor que podemos lograr ahora," están diciendo también que, "No podemos organizar una lucha ahora por lo que necesitamos; no podemos ganar nada genuino de las compañías ahora." Como resultado, los obreros de las acerías que respetan a estos militantes quedan maleducados y sacados de lucha.

Hoy día, hay un nivel de lucha muy bajo en la USWA. El Comité de los Obreros Revolucionarios de las Acierías estamos trabajando para elevar ese nivel de lucha. Estamos tratando de iniciar comités de contrato para preparar para las negociaciones en el acero básico. Estamos trabajando para defender a los obreros negros de las

acerías contra los ataques racistas en el barrio cercano a la acería de Republic en Chicago. Estamos trabajando a involucrar a obreros de las acerías en la lucha contra el régimen racista en Sudáfrica y el apoyo del imperialismo estadounidense para el apartheid. Estamos trabajando a organizar un movimiento para luchar por lo que necesitamos los obreros de las acerías y por reemplazar a los burócratas sindicales—sean reaccionarios o liberales—con un liderazgo comprometido a luchar para los intereses de los obreros de las acerías hasta el fin.

Estos esfuerzos son pequeños ahora. Pero una lucha pequeña es mucho mejor que ninguna. Un movimiento pequeño es mucho mejor que la sombra de una lucha y el movimiento falso de la campaña de Sadlowski. A los militantes que apoyan a Sadlowski y que están activos en su campaña, les decimos: Ayúdenos a construir un movimiento el cual puede luchar para las necesidades de los obreros de las acerías. □

AMF Slowdown . . .

(Continued from page 3)

management. She refused to call the regularly scheduled union meeting for November. But many postal workers at O'Hare AMF are wise to whose side Orleans Vaughn is on; she has maintained her position only through vote fraud so obvious that the national APWU has ordered new elections. Sabotage of the struggle by Orleans Vaughn can be prevented if the rank and file workers maintain their vigilance and organization.

ALL POSTAL WORKERS MUST JOIN IN THE FIGHT

Postal workers around the country need to support and join in the fight begun at the O'Hare AMF. This would help bring victory to O'Hare and to all postal workers. In Chicago, supporters of the Postal Action Committee and other members of the

Committee for Job Security and Protection joined in the O'Hare workers' picket line at the Main Post Office. Leaflets were distributed informing postal workers at the Main of the struggle at O'Hare and calling on them for support.

At the November meeting of the Chicago Main APWU local, an attempt was made to allow a deputy chief steward from O'Hare to address the meeting and to introduce motions for support of the O'Hare local. Chicago Main's local president, Tommy Briscoe, who had tried to make a name for himself at the APWU convention by talking in favor of job actions, hurriedly adjourned the meeting. He wanted to prevent the possibility of actually doing anything. If the slowdown is still in effect at the time of the next Chicago Main union meeting in January, militants will again attempt to pass support motions for the actions at O'Hare. □

Jamaican Elections . . .

(Continued from page 8)

elections will decide nothing. Raw power will decide everything. The RML is therefore wrong to rivet the masses' attention on who wins the elections.

The other argument the RML uses is just as wrong. "So when we vote PNP, we vote PNP because we might get a little chance under this Government to seriously organize ourselves for our liberation."

If Manley wins again, will the RML feel any safer from the JLP on the day after elections? Will they feel that they have won a breathing space before the next onslaught of the right wing? We fear all too many Jamaican workers will feel exactly this way. And the RML is encouraging the workers in this delusion.

This is exactly what the JLP is counting on. If Manley wins, the JLP will probably speed up its timetable for its takeover. And if the workers feel safer because Manley is Prime Minister once again, the JLP will know it is time to act. For it is then that the workers will have their guard down and they can be taken unaware.

If Manley wins the elections, the threat to the workers and oppressed masses will not be just the JLP. If re-elected, Manley will inevitably step up his attacks on the workers and small farmers. His problems aren't solved for him by getting re-elected. He still has to prove himself to the capitalists and imperialists. And he will do this by escalating his repression against the masses. So, even if Manley wins the election this will not in any way mean that the workers gain time.

If the JLP doesn't move against the masses and Manley first, Manley will move against the masses in the hopes of placating the JLP and the class forces behind it. It really doesn't make any difference who wins the election. In either case, there are two possibilities: increased "legal" repression, or an "illegal" coup. If the JLP wins, they may step up the attacks within the bounds of a formal legality, or they may attempt to establish a military dictatorship. If Manley wins, he will step up the attacks on the masses within the bounds of legality or the JLP will make a coup. By calling for a PNP vote, the RML is unwittingly reinforcing the masses' illusions and making it harder to mobilize them to fight off the capitalist offensive.

In some cases, revolutionaries may call for a vote for reformist politicians.

When the party running for office is based primarily on workers' organizations, such as trade unions, and the election of such a party, despite its leadership, represents a victory for the working class movement, revolutionaries may give such a party "critical support." In this case critical support does not confuse the class line as long as revolutionaries work to expose the pro-capitalist program of the reformist leadership. However, no one pretends that the PNP is a working class party. The RML itself correctly defines it as a capitalist party.

The RML does not sound very convinced of its own arguments in favor of a pro-PNP vote. Most of their election statement argues that the working class must fight to put itself in power, and oppose both the JLP and PNP. The RML argues for building a revolutionary party "that will lead the struggles of workers and oppressed to the finish. The finish being the smashing of capitalism, beating back imperialism and setting up a revolutionary government. . . ." Why then their position on the election? The most likely explanation is that the comrades of the RML do not want to cut themselves off from the PNP's left-wing working class supporters. The RML may fear that if they do not support the PNP in the elections, these militants will blame the RML for causing disunity within the working class in the hour of crisis.

But the price for this false kind of "unity" is steep. It sacrifices the RML's ability to deal with Manley in the future. It gets in the way of the RML's ability to recruit those workers who hate the JLP but are also sick of Manley. And, by sacrificing the political independence of the working class, it can easily turn out to be a death blow to the struggle against the JLP. Seaga knows Manley is powerless against him. The workers must know this as well if they are to save themselves. They must know that to support Manley in the elections is suicide for their class. They must know that the RML is prepared to lead them against the JLP, not through voting for Manley, but through strengthening the organization of the working class, making it conscious of its tasks and mobilizing it in revolutionary struggle.

We urge our comrades in the RML to reconsider. Firmness in refusing to give any political support to the PNP was never needed more than it is right now. □

Avenge Hampton . . .

(Continued from page 2)

There were attempts to pit the Panthers against other Black organizations. In Chicago, the cops tried to get the Panthers into a shooting war with the street gangs. In Los Angeles, the Black nationalist group, US (which got Ford Foundation support), killed two Panthers, Jerome Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, on the UCLA campus.

There were infiltrators: the Chicago Panthers' chief of security was a cop named William O'Neill. He drew a map of the Panther house, pointing out to the cops the bed where Hampton would be sleeping the night of the raid. There is even evidence that O'Neill drugged Hampton on the night of the raid.

There were frame-up trials from Oakland to New Haven: government infiltrators acted as provocateurs, coaxing the Panthers to engage in illegal acts so they could be busted.

Finally, there was a big propaganda barrage to show the Panthers as a crazy, gun-mad hate group.

The Panthers responded courageously to the attacks, by denouncing the cops and stepping up their organizing. Fred Hampton said: "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution." But heroism and dedication were not enough to win. The Panthers had both, and they had

tremendous reserves of sympathy among Black people. But they did not have the organization or the strategy to put this support to effective use. They did not clearly see that the working class is the only force that can be organized to smash capitalism.

Though many people reacted to the racist attacks on the Panthers with anger and hatred, the government's campaign finally succeeded. Under the fierce assault of the ruling class, some Panthers died, many were jailed, others fled the country, and the Black Panther Party became a shell of its former self. Today, the survivors have largely turned to reform-style politics or have left politics completely.

AVENGE FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK

We must avenge the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the entire government campaign against the Black Panther Party. We must build a movement that can wipe out the capitalist class and its agents who destroyed the Panthers. This means we must do more than the Panthers did. They caught the imaginations of millions of people with the call for revolution. We must reawaken that call, and show how to build a fight that the ruling class cannot defeat. □