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SOUTH AFRICA EXPLODES

Masses Defy Racist Rulers

Workers Strike, Protests Grow

By Chris Hudson

The long pent-up rage of South Africa's Black masses is exploding against the white oppressors. On August 4, more than 20,000 Black demonstrators fought with police in Soweto township outside Johannesburg. On August 4-5, one-half to three-quarters of Johannesburg's Black workers stayed off the job. Since then, marches involving thousands of students and workers have occurred daily in Soweto. Battles with police continue. As of August 12, the uprising had spread to Capetown, South Africa's second largest city. At least 2,000 persons are in custody, at least 35 are dead and hundreds injured. Schools and government buildings are ablaze throughout the country.

The new uprising is part of a growing struggle against South Africa's entire system of white supremacy. In the weeks since the June rebellions, in which nearly 200 Black South Africans were killed and more than 1,000 injured, demonstrations and riots have rocked one locality after another. The Johannesburg Star reports that 30 schools throughout South Africa were set on fire in the second half of July.

On July 22, schools in Soweto and other townships in the Johannesburg-Pretoria area reopened for the first time since the June rebellions. They were immediately hit by a massive student boycott. On August 4, 20,000 demon-

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Soweto freedom fighters burn truck during demonstration.

Miners Take On Coal Companies, Courts

AUGUST 9—Nearly 100,000 miners have shut down mines in West Virginia and large parts of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Virginia. Over half the membership of the United Mine Workers (UMW) has been involved in the massive wildcat strike since July 18.

The strikers are demanding that management not resort to the courts in disputes with the union. They are also demanding that all fines and injunctions growing out of the wildcat be dropped, full amnesty be given to all strikers, and an investigation be made of judges the miners charge are pro-company.

agreement pledging the companies to keep the courts out of union-management struggles.

The miners' wildcat is an important display of rank and file organization and militancy. Miners are taking on the coal companies, the courts, the government and their own union leadership. A victory will be an inspiration to the entire labor movement.

The immediate cause of the strike was a move by the federal courts against UMW Local 1759 in Charleston, West Virginia. In late June, the Local struck over the Cedar Coal Company's refusal to submit to an arbitrator's decision. The arbitrator had ruled that a new communications job had to be filled by a union member.

On July 16, Federal District Judge

Dennis Knapp fined the local \$50,000 for wildcatting. He threatened to jail 200 miners and said he would increase the fine by \$25,000 per day if Local 1759 didn't call off its strike. Miners throughout West Virginia answered the judge by walking off the job. Within a week, coal production was crippled in five other states.

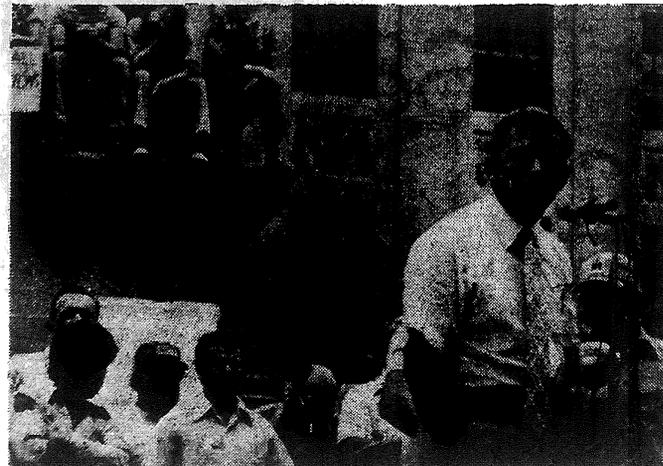
The long-standing issue behind the current wildcat is the question of local strikes. These strikes are used to protest especially unsafe conditions in the mines. When Arnold Miller took office as president of the UMW in 1972, he promised the companies that he would clamp down on local strikes. In the 1974 contract, the union tops again promised to crack down on wildcats in exchange for a streamlined arbitration procedure to resolve disputes over local conditions.

Today, the coal companies are using the surrender of the right to strike to increase productivity and attack the power of the UMW locals. Since the companies know that it is illegal for the miners to strike over health and safety conditions, they are violating the contract at will and, at least in the Charleston area, refusing to settle any grievances. As a result, every case is sent to arbitration, where it is backlogged for months. This consumes a

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AS WE GO TO PRESS: On August 11, members of Local 1759 voted 3 to 1 to return to work. The vote, taken by the UMW local which launched the wildcat, may signal a general back to work movement. The vote was taken following threats by the UMW Executive Board to expel all strikers from the union. It is reported that less than half the 1759 membership took part in the vote and its significance is not yet clear. 100,000 miners are still out on strike.

On July 31, the striking miners won an important victory. They forced the courts to promise to drop all charges and fines if the miners returned to work. But the miners are refusing to go back until there is a signed



Eugene Conn, who plans to run for UMW presidency, talks to strikers' rally in Charleston.

Lessons of Spain, 1936.....see p.8

Lebanese Leftists Face Defeat

Imperialists Try To Crush Palestinians



Leftist militia celebrates capture of Beirut hotel before Syrian invasion.

Lebanon's civil war is now 16 months old and headed for a resolution. Unfortunately, this resolution will almost certainly mean a serious defeat for the Lebanese working class.

We stated two months ago that Syria would move to a quick partition of the country into Moslem and Christian zones, because prolonged involvement of the Syrian army would threaten the survival of the Syrian regime. That partition is now a fact.

Syria could not sustain a prolonged invasion of Lebanon. Its army is made up of anti-imperialist leftist and Moslem workers and peasants, who are being made to fight against their Lebanese and Palestinian brothers,

alongside the Christian Lebanese ruling class (which is pro-Israel and pro-U.S.). This creates conditions for the disintegration of the Syrian army.

We had barely pointed to this possibility last June when news of anti-government resistance in Syria became known. The escalation of the Syrian invasion of Lebanon on June 1 soon led to large demonstrations in Syria. Israeli intelligence worried publicly that Syria was "on the eve of a coup." Syrian tank units had to be pulled back to Damascus to protect Syria's strong-man, Assad. An unknown number of army officers were arrested (as many as 200, according to some sources). One Arab diplomat

reported: "It is worse than ever. Assad is up to his neck."

The funeral of one officer killed in Lebanon, according to Time, turned into an anti-government protest. "Riots occurred in at least one Palestinian camp... Said one placard: Assad fights like a lion in Lebanon and a chicken on the Golan" (the border area of Syria occupied by Israel in 1967 and 1973, and still largely in Israeli hands).

The fight for the Lebanese capital of Beirut, which we felt could have cracked open the Syrian army, never took place. After initial heavy losses on the outskirts of the city, the Syrians withdrew. Instead, they occupied the north and east of the country. Meanwhile, they have armed the right-wing Christian ruling class to the teeth, and have surrounded the leftists and cut off all sources of weapons and supplies.

With the Christian ruling class and fascists doing the fighting for them, and with the left completely surrounded, the Syrians have succeeded in imposing a partition of the country. They will probably press the offensive all the way, to seek the total destruction of the left. The Israelis have escalated their role, arming the Christian rulers with American M-16 rifles. They have also blockaded the southernmost Lebanese port of Tyre.

Right now the Christians hold most of northern Lebanon. The Syrians are entrenched in the rich Bekaa Valley (which they may try to keep). The leftists hold West Beirut, the port cities of Tyre, Saida and Tripoli (which is under siege), and much of southern Lebanon. The leftists are also waging a desperate and heroic defense of Tel Zaatar, a Palestinian camp completely surrounded by Christian territory near Beirut. The camp has been under siege for over a month as of this writing, but has refused to

surrender in spite of the impossible odds.

The setbacks for the Moslem-leftist alliance are directly attributable to its treacherous capitalist and middle class leaderships. The left was winning the war long before the Syrians intervened, but in deference to the Arab rulers of the area, they refused to press their advantage to full victory. The figures tell the story: over 50 ceasefires in 15 months of fighting—virtually all of them when the left was winning!

The leftist leaders gave the Arab ruling classes the time to organize their forces and work out a plan of action. As late as the middle of June the left was imparting some well-administered blows to the Syrians. Again, instead of pressing their advantage, the leaders of the left agreed to a disengagement, patrolled by the Arab rulers. They permitted the Syrians to back out of the cities, where they could have met their doom.

With the Syrian army out of the cities, the war becomes conventional—and, in this situation, the left is no match for the Syrian troops. The road

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West Bank Struggles Expose Criminal Nature of Zionism

By Tony Curzo

On July 3, West Bank Palestinians rioted against Israeli repression and in protest of the slaughter of their brothers and sisters in neighboring Lebanon. The July 3 riots were only the latest in a series of heroic rebellions by the 600,000 Palestinians of the occupied West Bank.

Since February, West Bank Palestinians have repeatedly risen up against one of the bloodiest and most brutal regimes in the world today.

At the end of March, seven Palestinians had been killed and more than 70 wounded. By May, at the height of the rebellions, scores more had been killed, and the number of wounded and imprisoned climbed even higher.

By the first week of April the rebellions had spread to Israel itself. Now they involved the 500,000 Palestinians who have lived under the Israeli heel since 1948, and who Israel claims are simply "Israeli Arabs."

As with the South African rebellions, which they closely parallel in so many ways, these struggles—conducted against overwhelming odds—have seriously damaged the Zionists' ability to keep their system afloat. The reaction of the Israeli authorities has revealed Zionism's bloody fangs to the rest of the world and stripped off its carefully cultivated democratic cover.

The rebellions coincided with an election campaign in the West Bank. The Israelis, confident that their

pro-Zionist collaborators would be re-elected, scheduled elections for April 11. These elections were to serve to legitimize the Zionist occupation of the West Bank and to discredit the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and other nationalists.

On the day of the elections, however, the Palestinians gave the Israelis a rude awakening. They voted overwhelmingly for leftists and national-

ists who want independence from Israel. According to the new mayor of Ramallah: "The vote shows the whole world that the West Bankers are Palestinians who want to establish their own national entity and put an end to the Israeli occupation."

The PLO made big gains, as did the outlawed Communist Party and other leftists. In Nablus, the largest West Bank city, leftists won eight of 10

council seats and in Hebron, the left won all 10 seats. In Ramallah, Tulkarém, Jericho, Beit Jala and Beit Sahur, the left won all or nearly all of the seats. In total, leftists and nationalists captured nearly 75 percent of the seats up for election. These twin blows to the Zionist government—the election results and the rebellions—have profoundly altered the political climate of the West Bank.

A full understanding of these events lies in the 30-year history of the Israeli state: how it was formed and how it maintains itself at the expense of others. Israel, like South Africa, is a settler state. It was created by European Jewish settlers who came to Palestine from the turn of the century to World War II, in the service of British imperialism. The Jews were channelled into Palestine to become the pawns of world imperialism. The British, and later the U.S., wanted to create a Jewish state to be their enforcer and client in the Middle East—a key area for world imperialism. To create this state, the immigrant Jews drove the Palestinians from their lands.

The ideology they brought with them to justify the rape of the national rights of another people is Zionism. Zionism claims that Palestine is really "Israel," to which Jews have a 2,000-year-old birthright. The intervening 20 centuries of history—in which the region belonged to the



Refugee camp in 1948, year Palestinians were driven from their homeland.

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LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Auto Contract Talks: What's Going On?

By Tom Brewer

DETROIT—Contracts for over 700,000 auto workers expire on September 14. As negotiations proceed, it is becoming increasingly clear that the UAW leadership is following a disaster course. Solidarity House plans to focus almost exclusively on the demands of skilled tradesmen and high seniority workers. This is the most conservative and highly paid section of the workforce—and is nearly all-white. The needs of production and low seniority workers, the overwhelming majority of the workforce, will be ignored.

The UAW negotiators have raised three main demands. First, the union is proposing a "restructuring" of the SUB fund (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits). During the 1974-75 layoffs, high seniority workers were often not laid off until after the SUB fund had run out. The UAW leadership's solution to this problem is to cut off SUB funds earlier to low seniority workers (many of whom were recently out of work for over a year). This would leave more money in the SUB fund to pay high seniority workers should they need it. Clearly this proposal simply takes money from those with low seniority and gives it to those with high seniority.

The second issue raised by the UAW negotiators is a proposal for safeguards against sub-contracting (sending work out to be done by lower-paid workers in non-auto shops). It is correct to fight against sub-contracting. But sub-contracting largely involves work done by UAW skilled tradesmen. Again, the UAW is raising an issue that speaks almost solely to the interests of the higher paid, skilled workers.

Finally, the union has demanded a cash grant to retirees to make up for the fact that their pension program has no cost of living provision. Management is resisting this since the program was negotiated in 1973 with a clause stating that it couldn't be reopened until 1979. Again, the general pattern of orienting to the older, more skilled, better paid section of the workforce is clear.

In contrast, the UAW negotiators have raised virtually no demands that relate to the needs of lower paid production workers.

Production workers face brutal speedup, deteriorating working conditions and a lack of job security. Production workers view the shorter work-week as a key issue. Clearly, a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay would force the auto companies to put all laid off auto workers back to work as well as cut down on back-breaking speedup (the companies would have to pay overtime for anything over 30 hours). What has the union leadership done?

The UAW negotiators have raised a sham "bonus hours" demand which they call a shorter work week proposal. In fact, the proposal would do no more than provide a small increase in vacation days or holidays. The "bonus hours" demand and a few other similar UAW proposals are designed only to make it look as if a

fight is being waged. This is the extent of the union's bargaining proposals for production workers.

Not only is the union not raising any serious demands for production workers, it appears ready to agree to management proposals designed to attack production workers. Most significant is a management proposal to lengthen probationary periods (90 days at present) and lower the wages of probationary workers.

Clearly this is a direct pay cut for the newest workers. But this proposal is far worse than just a pay cut. Probationary workers have virtually no rights. While they belong to the union and pay dues, they can be fired without cause. The lengthening of probationary periods serves manage-



Woodcock (second from left) and friends: Jimmy Carter, auto bosses and Detroit mayor.

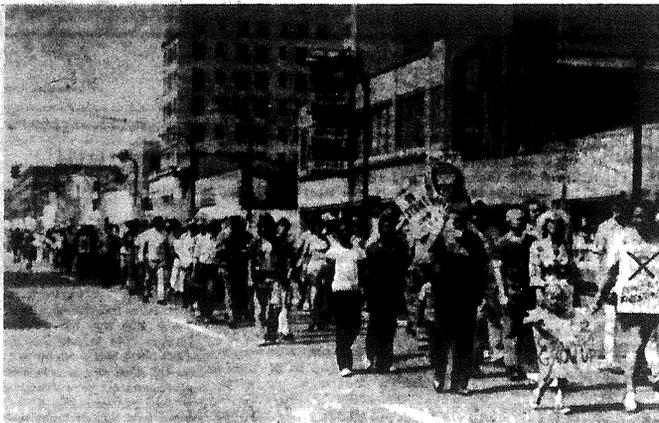
ment in two main ways. First, militant workers can be weeded out and fired more easily. Second, if the probationary period is lengthened, it becomes worthwhile for the auto bosses to hire workers, train them and then fire them at the close of their probationary period. This seriously weakens the union by creating a perma-

nently revolving second class section of the workforce with lower pay and no rights.

Management is also attempting to make inroads into UAW health benefits. The UAW's health plan is one of the best union programs in the world. Management wants the workers to

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Rubber Walkout Reaches Critical Stage; Government Steps Up Pressure To End Strike



2,000 Akron marchers support rubber strike.

AKRON, August 9—The nationwide strike by 70,000 rubber workers entered its 112th day today. Negotiators have been meeting round-the-clock since August 5 at the insistence of Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery.

The government wants the rubber strike settled. The lengthy strike is damaging Ford's economic recovery program and is ruining his attempt to paint himself as a master of "labor peace." With the presidential elections drawing near, Ford is willing to apply maximum pressure for an immediate settlement.

Another reason for the sudden strong government pressure is the fear in the ruling class that the rubber strike will spark a militant strike movement in the auto industry. Contracts covering 700,000 auto workers are up on September 14. (See accompanying article.) If auto workers were to make serious gains this would set the pattern for next year's contract round. Moreover, a militant auto strike would add significant strength to the growing strike wave. The ruling class wants to head off both these

possibilities by bringing the rubber strike to a quick halt.

Publicly, the rubber bosses haven't budged. Management's "final offer" comes nowhere near what rubber workers need to make up for inflation since 1973. But the "Big Four" are also anxious for a settlement. The strike is the longest in the rubber industry's history, and has made a huge dent in profits. B. F. Goodrich, for example, reported a 145 percent boost in profits in the first quarter of this year. But in the second quarter—most of it during the strike—Goodrich's profits dropped 74 percent from last year.

The rubber companies initially hoped to break the strike. When the strike began, they refused to negotiate, got court injunctions and had dozens of strikers arrested and beaten up for mass picketing. They stopped SUB benefits to laid off workers, and cut off the strikers' medical insurance. They sent out letters to individual strikers asking them to break ranks and return to work. And they attempted to negotiate separate agree-

ments with individual locals.

But rubber workers have held fast. Now the rubber companies hope that URW president Peter Bommarito will bail them out by settling for peanuts. Rubber workers must be on guard for this.

From the beginning Bommarito has been willing to give up the fight for rubber workers' needs in exchange for peace with the companies. But he didn't try to push through a quick settlement, because he knew the ranks would reject it. Instead, Bommarito has pressed for a few small concessions from the companies while waiting for the long strike to wear down the strikers' resistance.

Bommarito has sabotaged the strike from the start. Forty percent of the industry has continued to operate despite rank and file readiness to shut the industry down tight. In speeches to the membership, Bommarito has repeatedly exaggerated the impact of the strike on the auto companies and the effectiveness of the consumer boycott of Firestone products. He has refused to provide legal assistance to arrested strikers and has refused to build support in the labor movement for the strike.

Bommarito is likely to come forward soon with a proposed settlement and announce: "This is the best we can do, we can't hold out any longer."

But many rubber workers know better. They remember that Bommarito negotiated the worst settlement in the union's history in 1973. They know their strike is hurting the companies. They know the strike could be made far more effective if control were taken out of Bommarito's hands.

If the most class conscious rubber workers can organize their forces to convince their union brothers and sisters not to accept a rotten compromise and to build the strike, the strike can be won. Preventing Bommarito's upcoming sellout is the key task facing rubber workers today. □

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UFW Merges With East Coast Farm Workers Organization

By Bob Anderson

The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has taken an important step toward organizing farmworkers on the East Coast. The Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas (Association of Agricultural Workers, ATA), based in Hartford, Connecticut, recently merged with the California-based UFW.

The ATA represents 6,000 Puerto Rican farmworkers. The bulk of these workers are employed on the tobacco farms in Connecticut and Massachu-

Maid cut wages to the bone—some workers were getting half as much as the year before. Minute Maid claimed that their fruit was "easier to pick," so they were paying much less per basket. Farmworkers knew this was pure bull and nothing but a straight-out wage cut.

Mack Lyons, UFW director of organizing in Florida, led a hunger strike and a series of demonstrations, but he refused to organize direct action in the groves. He claimed that

vious, but for farmworkers a strike is impossible to win."

In Texas the UFW leadership has played an even more criminal role. Last spring and summer, Texas farmworkers fought heroically to defend their melon strikes and to build their union. One grower opened fire on a picket line and seriously wounded 11 farmworkers. The workers fought back against this grower violence and attempted to defend their picket lines. The Texas union also succeeded in organizing large numbers of Mexicans who were brought across the border to scab.

All this was far too militant for the UFW leadership. The workers were fighting and organizing under the UFW banner, but the leadership refused to recognize the Texas chapter. They turned their backs and would not endorse the struggle.

The leaders of the Texas union reported last fall that they would continue the fight as an independent union and maintain their support for UFW organizing in other parts of the country.

With the Texas and Florida examples in mind, farmworkers in the Northeast must fight to make sure that the union's slim resources are put into a real organizing drive. This involves a fight against UFW head Cesar Chavez's whole approach to the farmworkers' struggle.

Chavez has always relied on liberal politicians, the courts, the Catholic Church and other bourgeois allies. But 10 years ago he was also willing to lead militant strikes against the growers. Today Chavez has moved further and further away from building the struggle on the basis of the direct power of farmworkers in the field.

Chavez gains small concessions from his liberal allies. But in return he must give something up. What Chavez



UFW President Cesar Chavez.

has promised is that he will keep rank and file farmworkers "in line"—no serious strikes, no big disruptions of production and UFW support for the Democratic Party. For the bosses, a few small concessions to farmworkers is a cheap price to pay for peace in the fields.

Chavez made his present position clear at the recent Democratic Party Convention. In his nominating speech for California Governor Jerry Brown, Chavez said: "We struggled for years in California and got nowhere until we got a governor (Brown) who would listen to us." In effect, Chavez was saying that years of militant, dedicated, self-sacrificing struggle by farmworkers was... nothing.

Farmworkers across the country have proved beyond doubt that they are not afraid of struggle and sacrifice, that they are prepared to give their lives if necessary to build a fighting union. The merger of the UFW and the ATA can give farmworkers added strength. UFW members must fight for merger with the Texas farmworkers as well. In this way, farmworkers can seriously prepare for a nationwide organizing drive.

But that drive will succeed and the union will be built only by relying on the power, strength and courage of the farmworkers and their allies in the workers' movement. □



Mass march to support farmworkers' struggle.

sets. The rest work on vegetable farms in upstate New York and the New Jersey-Philadelphia area. The merger gives the UFW an organized base for building the union in the Eastern section of the country.

The ATA was formed in 1973 to fight against the miserable working conditions and wages faced by over 100,000 predominantly Black and Puerto Rican farmworkers in the Northeast. Many of these farmworkers are brought in from Puerto Rico and forced to work for \$1.60 per hour or less. This is done through Public Law 87, passed in 1962. The law gives growers the right to contract directly with the Puerto Rican Labor Department for farm labor. Farmworkers brought in under this law have no rights to bargain for their conditions of labor and are kept in virtual slavery. In fact, a New Jersey grower was convicted in 1974 of keeping two Puerto Rican youths in actual slavery!

With 20,000 members in California and 6,000 new members from the ATA, the merged union could mount a major organizing drive in the Northeast. Unfortunately, the UFW and ATA leaderships are currently directing nearly all their efforts into legal battles against Public Law 87. This means that the central task of organizing in the fields is all but ignored.

Recent examples of the UFW's role in Florida and Texas show what this strategy will mean for the Northeast.

The UFW has one contract in Florida with Minute Maid—a subsidiary of Coca-Cola. Last summer Minute

any strike would be doomed to defeat and would mean losing the only foothold the UFW has in Florida. Said Lyons: "It's romantic and it's ob-

Mine Workers . . .

(Continued from page 1)

tremendous amount of the UMW locals' time and money. So the companies simply continue their unsafe (and usually illegal) practices. When a local strikes in protest, the courts slap it with fines. The minimum locals must pay for wildcats is usually \$5,000, and a group of three UMW locals was recently fined \$700,000. Through these tactics, the coal companies and the government work together to weaken the entire union.

The role of the courts can be seen by the situation faced by Local 1759. Before the June walkout, the Local had gone to court to get an injunction forcing the company to obey the arbitration ruling, as the contract demands. Judge Knapp was "too busy" to hear the Local's case and sent the union to see another judge, K. K. Hall. (Judge Hall had jailed 18 miners on June 1 for contempt of court. He even paraded the arrested strikers through the streets of Charleston—handcuffed—as a warning and an insult to all miners.)

Not surprisingly, Judge Hall was also "too busy" to hear the miners' case. But the moment the miners struck to force the company to obey

the ruling, these judges found plenty of time to issue injunctions, levy fines and threaten jail sentences.

Despite the threat to the union, the ranks have fought alone, without the support of their top leadership. At first UMW President Arnold Miller appeared to give covert support to the strike. He probably wanted to use the wildcat to get the government and the



UMW President Arnold Miller.

coal operators to ease their attacks somewhat. But it didn't take long for Miller and Mike Trbovich, Miller's factional enemy within the UMW bureaucracy, to begin to work to destroy the wildcat—before the courts had budged an inch.

The role of the UMW tops is even worse than this. The current offensive by the coal operators and the government was encouraged by the bureaucrats. Over a year ago, the International cut off financial assistance which went to locals to pay fines and legal expenses. And a few months ago, the bureaucracy went even further. They suspended two militants for organizing a wildcat strike. These actions have left the miners in a weakened position today.

But in the face of the coal company-government attack and the lack of support by their union leadership, the miners have demonstrated unity, strength and courage. They have already won a partial victory by getting Judge Knapp to back down on his fines and jailings. They won another victory when they walked out on Arnold Miller in West Virginia when he tried to talk them into going back to work without winning their demands. By maintaining their solidarity and militancy, they have a good chance of dealing the companies and the government an important blow. □

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NEW YORK HOSPITAL WORKERS SOLD OUT

1199 Strike

Davis Agrees to Arbitration; Militants Red-Baited

NEW YORK—The largest hospital strike in the nation's history ended on July 16 with an agreement to submit the dispute to binding arbitration. The strike by nearly 40,000 members of District 1199 lasted 11 days and affected 34 non-profit, private hospitals, 10 municipal hospitals and 14 nursing homes.

Union leaders were forced to call the strike largely because of the militancy of rank and file hospital workers. This was a victory in itself. Prior to the 1199 strike, union leadership after union leadership had refused to strike against massive layoffs and cutbacks in city services. The 1199 strike broke this pattern. And, within weeks, it triggered a second strike by 18,000 hospital workers, members of District Council 37 (AFSCME), against city-owned hospitals. (See accompanying article.)

Despite the openings created by the 1199 strike, the strike itself was settled on terms which were a defeat. This was not because of any lack of militancy or determination on the part of rank and file hospital workers, but because the strikers were sold out by their own union leadership.

Leon Davis, president of 1199, has called the strike a victory. He argues that since the League of Voluntary Hospitals (management) refused even to negotiate, forcing a binding arbitration agreement was a significant gain. This is false.

The strike ended in defeat for two main reasons. First, the guidelines for arbitration guarantee in advance layoffs, speedup and a loss in real wages. According to the guidelines, any cost of living increase must come from increased productivity, i.e., layoffs

and speedup. Further, the agreement states that the July 1 DC 37 contract with city-owned hospitals must be used as a guideline for the 1199 contract. The DC 37 contract includes a wage freeze and provision for cutting labor costs by \$24 million!

As an additional part of the settlement, the union backed down on its demand for general amnesty. Davis signed an agreement allowing hospital management to fire workers who were arrested during the strike and convicted of "criminal offenses"—like stopping a scab. This means that the union sold out the most militant workers.

The second side to the defeat is the acceptance of binding arbitration itself. This is a step backwards for 1199. In the past, 1199 contracts with voluntary hospitals were settled by binding arbitration. Recently, however, the union won the right to strike, a right won by other unions years ago. The new settlement, by setting a precedent for the future, gives up this important victory. It puts the union back at the mercy of the government—the bosses' chief strikebreaker and union buster.

In calling the strike a victory, Leon Davis argues that the League of Voluntary Hospitals was out to break the union. The strike and the binding arbitration agreement, he argues, prevented this.

Davis is dead wrong. In the first place, a union that accepts serious cutbacks in wages, working conditions and other gains won in the past undermines its own strength. If these cuts continue, the workers will become

(Continued on page 15)



1199 rally at Democratic Convention. Davis begged from politicians rather than stop scabs.

"Davis Sabotaged Our Strike" An 1199er's Account

From start to finish, the strike was deliberately disorganized by the official leadership to make sure 1199ers would accept binding arbitration as the best we could win.

Steps were taken to weaken our position before the strike, but once the strike was on, the sellout began in earnest. The members had voted to keep the scabs, "volunteers" and supplies out. But on the first day of the strike, the cops started escorting everyone and everything into the hospitals. The issue was either organizing to stop the scabs, "volunteers" and deliveries or running the strike according to the dictates of the Police Department.

From the first day, the leadership's line was "We can't do anything about

the scabs." Anyone who talked about organizing to stop the scabs was called anti-union, a communist, a paid agent of the bosses or a police provocateur. At an emergency delegate meeting on July 12, during the strike, union vice-presidents Jesse Olsen and Doris Turner spent half of their time pouring filth on every militant and group that opposed their "be nice to scabs" line. They stated that anyone who disagreed would be run out of the union.

The Davis leadership moved heaven and earth to discredit the militants and prevent rank and file organization. The ranks were disgusted with the way Davis was running the strike.

(Continued on page 15)

DC 37 Strike

Gotbaum Trades Away Gains Won on the Picket Lines

NEW YORK CITY, August 10—A militant four-day strike which crippled this city's municipal hospitals ended on August 7. What the 18,000 striking members of District Council 37 (AFSCME) won on the picket lines, their union president Victor Gotbaum traded away in a back room deal with bankers, politicians and hospital management.

The strike forced the city to back down on its plans to lay off 1,350 nonprofessional hospital workers. This was an important victory in a city where the bosses have carried out massive layoffs for nearly two years without meeting serious resistance. The DC 37 strike proved that strike action by municipal unions can stop the corporation-banker-politician offensive.

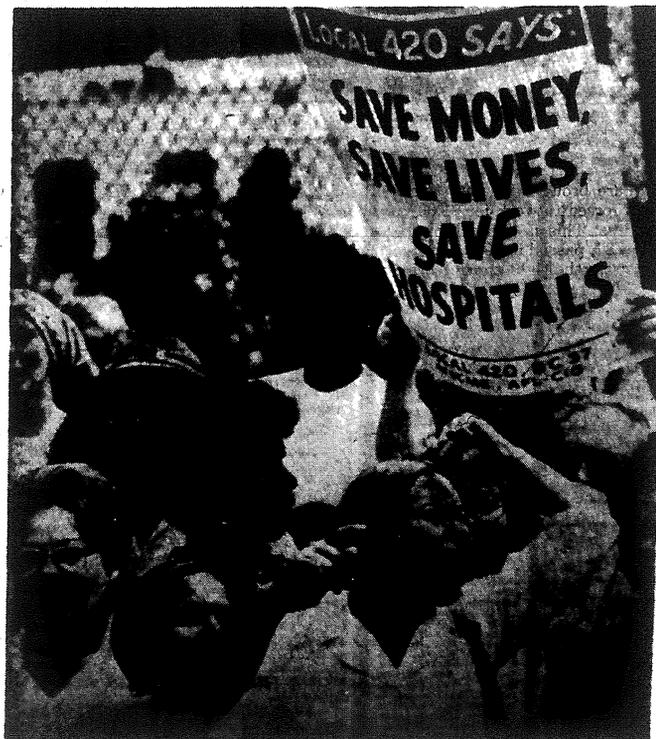
At the same time, Victor Gotbaum proved that the leaders of the city unions are still prepared to betray their members at every turn. DC 37 workers were angry, militant and determined—and their strike was extremely effective. But to end the strike, Gotbaum arranged a deal

which stabbed the strikers in the back. In exchange for a promise from the city to cancel the layoffs and make no further layoffs this year, Gotbaum traded away the striking workers' cost of living raises for the next six months to two years. These raises total \$10 million per year, or approximately \$450 per worker. In effect, the terms of the settlement mean that hospital workers, not the city, will be paying the salaries of the workers who were scheduled to be laid off.

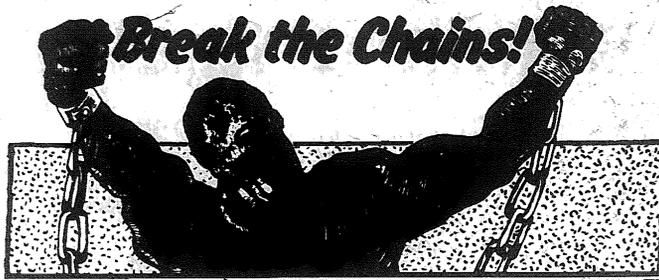
The striking workers were in a position to win serious concessions from the city. Only the treachery of Victor Gotbaum prevented them from doing so.

The strike, the first city-wide strike in DC 37's history, had the city on the run. The hospitals were in chaos. Despite repeated clashes with scabs and police, militant picket lines were maintained. Strikers stopped so many ambulances from entering the hospitals that the city finally ordered all ambulances rerouted to the voluntary hospitals. Ambulance drivers and

(Continued on page 15)



New York City hospital workers heckle scabs.



Jury Convicts HARRISES on Some Counts

On August 9, William and Emily Harris, members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) were found guilty of kidnapping, robbery and auto theft. The defense will appeal.

Although the charges against them were criminal charges, the HARRISES were convicted for their politics. They were convicted for being members of the SLA.

The jury was obviously biased. On two separate occasions a prospective juror made a hangman's noose in full view of the jurors who deliberated on the case. In another incident a toy gallows was constructed and the HARRISES hung in effigy!

Two women prospective jurors testified that a member of the jury described the verdict as a "forgone conclusion" before hearing any evidence. When the bias of the juror was revealed, the defense demanded that Judge Brandler declare a mistrial. But Brandler denied the defense motion, stating that the incident must have been "imagined."

Brandler earlier heard a juror admit that he was against not only the SLA but any revolutionaries—and then let him remain on the jury.

Patricia Hearst offered to aid the state in convicting the HARRISES. By helping the state to jail the HARRISES, possibly for life, rich Patty hopes to end her "slumming" with a mild slap on the wrist.

The HARRISES were convicted of fighting U.S. imperialism. They must be freed.

Two AIM Members Found Innocent

On July 16, two Native Americans, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM), were found not guilty of the June 27, 1975, shooting of two FBI agents. Robert Robideau and Darelle "Dino" Butler won their acquittal by basing their case on self-defense.

As the trial showed, the FBI agents were part of an invasion force menacing the Pine Ridge reservation during a wave of attacks on AIM supporters.

The agents were supposedly attempting to serve Jimmy Eagle with an arrest warrant when they were shot. Neither agent had a warrant with him. The official FBI story is loaded with these kinds of contradictions.

During the seven hour shoot-out which followed, an Indian man, Joseph B. Stuntz, was killed. Highway patrol, state troopers, Bureau of Indian Affairs and FBI agents armed to the teeth finally forced the Indians to flee from their homes.

Despite the dismissal of almost all the defense attorney's challenges to the jurors, despite the state's setting up an all white jury in hopes of more easily getting conviction, Robideau and Butler were declared innocent.

Attica Inmates Rebel Against Prison Conditions

Deteriorating conditions and mistreatment of an inmate led to a revolt of 170 prisoners at Attica state prison on the night of July 11-12. A week before, prisoners had sent a list of grievances to authorities. The list included racist treatment and brutality by guards, overcrowding and discrimination in educational and other in-prison work programs.

The rebellion was touched off when six guards held a "routine search" of Albert McQueen's cell. McQueen, who is a leader of Sunni Muslims in the prison, shouted when guards removed the wrappings from his Holy Quran and refused to return the book. Prisoners in the exercise yard crowded to the windows in response. The guards bound McQueen hand and foot and threw him on a trolley used to cart garbage cans. They then wheeled McQueen around Cellblock D while beating him.

Angered by this, as they returned to the cellblock the prisoners taught the guards a richly deserved lesson. Arming themselves with broom handles and other weapons they hospitalized six guards. It took a special team of guards, armed with shotguns, machine guns and gas cannisters to end the fight.

On July 20, the chief of a State Commission of Correction investigative team admitted that conditions at Attica were "just as bad, perhaps worse" as those that led to the 1971 revolt. Asked if further rebellions could occur, the superintendent of the prison answered: "I'd be a damn fool to say otherwise."

Tibbs Conviction Overturned

The December 1974 conviction of Delbert Tibbs for rape and murder has been overturned by the Florida Supreme Court. An all white jury had found Tibbs guilty of the rape of Cynthia Nadeau and the murder of Terry Milroy. The rape-murder occurred in Ft. Myers, Florida, a city where Tibbs had never been in his life.

Nadeau described her attacker as dark-skinned with a pock-marked face. Tibbs is light-skinned. To explain this discrepancy the prosecuting attorney said Tibbs' complexion had grown lighter since his arrest. (For further details of the trial see Torch: Vol. 2, No. 10.) Despite this and other outrageous lies Tibbs was found guilty.

Because people saw through these lies and defended Tibbs the state has been forced to overturn the conviction. Now, the state is preparing for a second trial.

Delbert Tibbs said: "I'm guilty only of being Black and poor, neither is a condition of which I'm ashamed."

—FH

Free Gary Tyler Now!

The movement to free Gary Tyler continues to grow. On July 24, 1,000 to 2,000 people demonstrated in New Orleans in support of Tyler. The demonstration included 200 Blacks from Gary Tyler's community, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. The demonstration was held despite a Ku Klux Klan threat to disrupt it.

Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, Black Panther Party leader who was murdered by cops, spoke at the rally at City Hall. He voiced the anger and determination of the demonstration when he said: "We will free Gary Tyler just as we freed Angela Davis, just as we freed Joanne Little."

Gary Tyler was convicted of a crime he didn't commit. In October 1974, rock-throwing, gun-toting whites attacked a busload of Black students. A 13-year-old white student was killed. Police tore the school bus apart; one cop held a gun to a Black student's head. When Gary Tyler protested this, he was arrested for "obstructing justice." Since then the state has been trying to railroad Tyler for the death of the white student.

Gary Tyler has been transferred from Death Row. On July 14, Judge Marino, the judge who sentenced Tyler to death, ordered that he be

moved from Angola prison to St. James Parish prison, a prison closer to Tyler's home. Judge Marino did not move Tyler out of the kindness of his heart. This racist is feeling the effects of the strong and growing mass movement to defend Gary Tyler.

Judge Marino is only one of the racist agents the U.S. government has been using to harass, intimidate and railroad Tyler. Gary Tyler was tear-gassed in his prison cell in June. When Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, protested to Paul Phelps, director of the Louisiana Department of Corrections, Phelps tried to cover up the attack on Tyler by saying: "My guards are humane people. It didn't happen."

The government agents in white, the Ku Klux Klan, are at work trying to intimidate Blacks and crush the support that has been built for Gary Tyler in the Black community. Eight armed attacks on New Orleans Blacks have been reported since February, including the murder of Richard Dunn, a Gary Tyler supporter.

These attacks, especially the brutal murder of Dunn, have only added to the atmosphere of resistance. The struggle has been so strong and united that the ruling class is beginning to back down on its attempt to use Gary Tyler as yet another example of what will happen to people who dare to fight back.

Gary Tyler will be our example. We can fight back against racist oppression and we can win! As the response to the attacks on Dunn shows, as the July 24 demonstration shows, the cops, the courts and the Klan will not stop us. Gary Tyler will be freed! □

New Figures Reveal:

No Jobs for Blacks

Six out of 10 Black teenagers have no jobs and no hope of getting any. For Black adults and teenagers taken together, the figure is over one out of four.

The National Urban League released these new statistics on August 2. Earlier unemployment figures released by the government put the unemployment rate for Black teenagers at 40.3 percent compared to 16.6 percent for whites of the same age. The government figures do not count the "unemployables"—mothers who can't work because there is no daycare, teenagers who can't read or who have a record or have simply stopped looking for work because there are no jobs.

A Black high school senior in Los Angeles, who applied to "about 110 places" before graduation, says: "Employers are very afraid to hire Black men today. Even if you come to an interview clean-shaven, short hair, looking real nice, they think you are going to rob the place or do some kind of damage."

Unemployment for Black teenagers has gone up steadily for 20 years. In 1955—at the height of the postwar boom—the official rate was 15.8 percent, compared with 10.3 percent for whites of the same age. In 1965, the figure was 26.2 percent, compared with 13.4 percent for whites. In 1973, it climbed to 30.2 percent. For whites, the figure fell slightly to 12.6 percent. Today, the gap has widened even further.

These statistics reveal that the many promises of slick politicians are nothing but cynical lies. The "war on poverty," the "Great Society" and all the other band-aid programs of the past have not made a dent in the growing numbers of Black lives wasted on the junk-heaps of U.S. capitalism. This year's heralded "solution"—the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill—will do no better.

Unemployment statistics for the last 20 years tell only a tiny portion of the story of life in the U.S. for Blacks. The history of those 20 years is the proof that capitalism must be overthrown. □



Gary Tyler.

SQ 6 Jury Out

As we go to press, the jury continues to deliberate in the trial of the San Quentin Six—six Black and Chicano prisoners accused of murdering prison guards in a "conspiracy" to free George Jackson.

On August 2, the jury returned to ask the judge whether it was necessary to believe the state's story in order to find the six guilty of conspiring in the supposed plot. The judge told them it was. Since the state's case is built on hearsay and lies, there is good reason to hope the jury will return a "not guilty" verdict.

As the testimony of former police lieutenant Louis Tackwood has shown, the only conspiracy involved in the case was the conspiracy of the government to assassinate Jackson. Tackwood named 18 individuals in three different government agencies working on the plot.

Chicago police

Racist Eyes

We left marching a... were about... half white. V... road tracks... community... Marquette K... on the left... in front.

After we... there was a... shouting "N... lovers"; "nig... "communist... "white pow... started up, w... say NO, we... racism!" A l... we passed th... ters and rais...

The south... Park is at 71... from the bor... the intersect... and bricks c... front line of... down and ba... time we mov... bottles, stick... flew at us. S... had helmets... put our sign... over our head...

When we... and marched... could see th... a racist mob... About five or... were in the p... the curbs of t... tinued to thro... and firecrack... The cops jus... marcher pick... after it lande... make him dro...

Several of... taken to the h... were hurt (and... by a firecrack... there.

When we go... ranks. The le... was confused... After standing... 10 minutes, w... was still roa...

Now!

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Chicago police arrest demonstrator.

Racist Assault Eyewitness Account

We left headquarters and began marching a little after 2:00 p.m. There were about 200 of us, half Black and half white. When we reached the railroad tracks separating the Black community of West Engelwood from Marquette Park, cops surrounded us on the left and right, with a squad car in front.

After we crossed Western Avenue, there was a crowd on the sidewalk shouting "Niggers go home"; "nigger lovers"; "niggers go back to Africa"; "communists go back to Russia" and "white power." When the racists started up, we began a chant of "We say NO, we say NO, we say NO to racism!" A little further west on 71st we passed the Nazi Party headquarters and raised our fists and chanted.

The southwest corner of Marquette Park is at 71st and California, a mile from the border. When we approached the intersection a barrage of bottles and bricks came from the park. The front line of the march had to slow down and back up a few steps. Every time we moved forward more bricks, bottles, sticks and chunks of concrete flew at us. Since only a few marchers had helmets or other protection, we put our signs or stacks of newspapers over our heads and went forward.

When we crossed the intersection and marched next to the park, we could see that the park was filled with a racist mob of at least 4,000 people. About five or six mounted policemen were in the park, and police were on the curbs of the street. The mob continued to throw bricks, broken bottles and firecrackers, now from both sides. The cops just stood there. When a marcher picked up a chunk of concrete after it landed, the cops moved in to make him drop it.

Several of us were hurt and were taken to the hospital. Even when cops were hurt (and one was knocked down by a firecracker) the police just stood there.

When we got to the park we closed ranks. The leadership of the march was confused and gave no direction. After standing in the park for about 10 minutes, we left. The racist mob was still roaring, chanting "white

power," and throwing everything they could. Despite the injuries, no one panicked on the way back. When we got back to headquarters, the feeling was that despite the outcome of the day, we had held together and maintained order and discipline. We showed our willingness to face the racists and made a good start to go out and organize. □

United Front Stops Nazi Talk

CHICAGO, July 11—Chicago Nazi Party leader Frank Collin suffered a defeat yesterday at the hands of the left. Collin was scheduled to speak at a North Side meeting of the "College of Complexes," a kind of glorified coffeehouse.

The Chicago Surrealist Group decided to make it clear that racists like Collin have no right to peddle their filth. The Surrealists contacted several left groups to join them in preventing Collin from speaking. Only the RSL sent a delegation to join the Surrealists.

The Nazis apparently got wind of what awaited them, and backed out. A sign at the meeting site announced that Collin wasn't coming.

On the phone, a Nazi spokesman



Part of racist crowd in Marquette Park.

Racist Mob Attacks Chicago March for Black Rights

CHICAGO—Chanting "We say NO, we say NO, we say NO to racism," 200 marchers defied a screaming, rock-hurling mob in Chicago's Marquette Park on July 17. They were protesting the growing boldness of Nazi and KKK organizations in the southwest side neighborhood.

Marquette Park is an all-white neighborhood lying on the eastern edge of Chicago's Black South Side ghetto. Three thousand Chicago policemen and several thousand city patronage workers live there. The Chicago headquarters of the Nazi Party are located in the middle of the neighborhood, at 71st and Rockwell. Marquette Park is a natural area for Blacks to move to from the adjoining ghetto. Organized racists, with the connivance of the Daley machine, are determined to keep it white.

Since June, the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, a coalition of liberal Black ministers, has tried to march to Marquette Park to demand an end to growing racist attacks and the enforcement of the city's open housing laws.

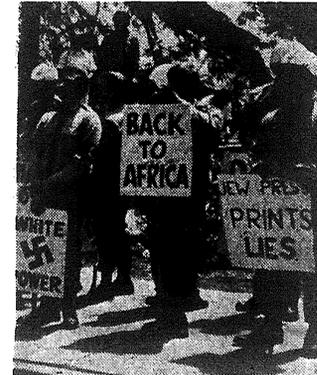
On June 6, hundreds of Nazi-organized thugs, armed with chains and baseball bats, invaded the Black community and sent six Blacks to the hospital. As they intended, the scheduled anti-racist march was called off.

Throughout June the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement attempted to hold the march. Each time, they were halted by police, who repeatedly ar-

rested the march leaders. Finally a court order was obtained to permit the march and provide police protection. But, as the accompanying eyewitness report shows, these promises were worse than useless.

The morning of the march, bricks and bottles were stockpiled in alleys along the march route. A crowd gathered all morning. Before the march went 10 paces into white territory it was under attack. By the time the marchers reached the rally site a mob of thousands was bombarding them.

Throughout the racist riot, police made only token gestures of protecting the marchers. Most of the few whites who were arrested were released



without bail—an open incitement to further violence.

One of those arrested was an off-duty cop; later, video tapes showed that at least eight others in the rock-hurling crowd were police officers.

Following the march a wave of editorials in the major newspapers put forward the view that the marchers and the racists were "equally to blame." According to the Chicago Daily News, the marchers "can be blamed not only for the weekend's violence, but also for the increased black-white passions and tensions" that resulted!

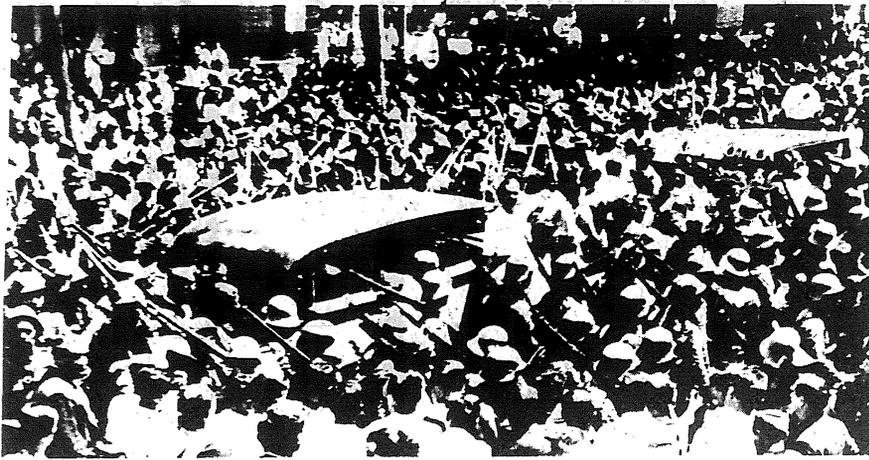
On the other hand, conservative Black papers such as the Chicago Defender have now endorsed the marches for the first time.

A march in the Black community was held on August 7, to build support for a second march to Marquette Park, which is planned for August 21.

Plans were also made to launch a committee of trade unionists to support the struggle. Trade unionists from the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, the Chicago Teachers Union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Boilermakers Union and the Seafarers International Union are already active in building this committee.

At a meeting to plan these actions and other steps, a spokesman from the Revolutionary Socialist League pointed out that reliance on the police will only lead to more traps. "If there are 4,000 racists," he said, "and 2,000 cops, there are 6,000 enemies."

Mass mobilization of the Black community, support within Chicago's powerful trade unions and militant self-defense are the key to defeating the racists. □



SPAIN: 1936

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

Since the recent death of dictator Francisco Franco, Spain has been rocked by great class battles. Spanish workers have organized wave after wave of mass strikes. Hundreds of thousands have joined demonstrations, often facing the brutal assaults of fascist police. Activity in the illegal Workers' Commissions has been stepped up despite the arrest of many militants. These and other displays of courage and militancy have marked a growing struggle against the repression and exploitation of Spanish capitalism. For the first time since the triumph of fascism in 1939, the Spanish government is clearly on the defensive.

Spanish workers have displayed great militancy and courage many times before. Forty years ago, on July 19, 1936, Spanish workers rose in a mighty wave of struggle. In city after city they crushed General Franco's uprising against Spain's newly formed republican government. Factories throughout Spain were occupied and run by workers' committees. Peasants seized the land from the big landlords and distributed it among themselves. For three years, the eyes of workers throughout the world were fixed on Spain.

Forty years ago, the Spanish masses showed all the determination necessary to turn back the reactionary tide sweeping Europe. Moreover, they demonstrated that they were prepared to defeat reaction once and for all by sweeping aside reactionary Spanish capitalism itself.

Yet, by 1939, Franco and his fascist allies were in power. What had begun in 1936 as one of the proletariat's finest hours ended in 1939 with a crushing defeat.

Why? Why were workers and peasants who displayed such determination to end their oppression and exploitation unable to do so? Why was a revolutionary situation turned into a victory for fascist reactionaries? How did near victory become total defeat?

We write this article to commemorate the great heroism and sacrifice of the Spanish working class during its struggles of the 1930s. But in writing about the Spanish Civil War, our first task is to search for the lessons that can help us avoid a repetition of the tragedy of four decades ago.

The Spanish Civil War began in 1936. In the years leading up to this great working class uprising, Spanish capitalism was near total collapse. The Spanish economy, weak and backward for decades, was pushed to the brink by the Great Depression of 1929. On top of this economic system in decay sat a corrupt and decadent monarchy, based on reactionary and semi-feudal landlords, and indulging itself at the expense of all other layers of Spanish society.

In 1931, King Alfonso XIII abdicated and the monarchy collapsed. The monarchist parties had been stunned by an enormous electoral defeat and the bourgeois advocates of a modern republic and liberalization took over the reins of power. The toppling of the monarchy widened the arena of struggle for the Spanish masses. Industrial and

agricultural workers' unions grew rapidly. Peasant organizations sprang up throughout the countryside. Working class political parties multiplied their strength many times over. Workers won sizable gains in wages and working conditions and the living standards of the Spanish masses as a whole improved.

Fear of the working class drove the Spanish capitalists back into an alliance with reaction.

At the same time, the movements for independence and regional autonomy, particularly those in Catalonia (northeastern Spain including Barcelona) and the Basque country (north central Spain), gained strength.

As the mass struggle deepened, the crisis of Spanish capitalism deepened as well. The ruling class quickly became convinced that there was only one way out: to strip away the workers' recent gains and drive down the living standards of all the Spanish people. In an alliance with the large landlords, the Church and monarchists, the capitalists abandoned all plans for a modernization and liberalization of Spain. Whatever their desires, their fear of a working class threatening to seize factories and turn capitalist property relations upside down drove virtually every section of the Spanish capitalists back into an alliance with reaction.

A reign of terror was launched. Reactionary governments held power from November 1933 to January 1936. Wages were slashed, militants were persecuted and arrested and the reforms instituted from 1931 to 1933 were repealed. The masses fought back heroically. Workers in several cities staged general strikes. The miners of Asturias rose up in October 1934. The Asturias Commune fell only after 5,000 miners were murdered, 10,000 wounded and 80,000 jailed by troops led by Francisco Franco.

The workers' determined struggle forced the capitalists and landlords to retreat. Under mass pressure, the ruling class agreed to hold elections in February of 1936. In these elections, the masses overwhelmingly voted for a Popular Front slate, which they believed would govern in their interests.

The Popular Front was an electoral bloc of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers' parties—the Republican Left and the Republican Union (bourgeois democrats), the Esquerra (Catalan separatists) and the Communist and Socialist Parties (the CP and the SP). It was supported by the largest trade union federation, the Socialist-controlled Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) and by the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), a fusion of former Trotskyists with long-time opportunists.

The Popular Front's stated perspective was to

defend and strengthen the bourgeois republic. This meant, first and foremost, the defense of Spanish capitalism from the struggles of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities. Workers' leaders were brought into the Cabinet to convince the masses to support the government and cease struggling.

The leading workers' parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties, supported this perspective even though the experience of the 1931-33 period had shown decisively that the urban capitalists were against the workers more than they were for the bourgeois republic. Nevertheless, the SP and the CP declared that Spain was in its "bourgeois democratic stage" and that the workers must march behind the "progressive industrialists" against the "feudal landowners."

The Spanish CP cynically based its actions not on the needs and interests of the Spanish masses, but on the dictates of Stalin's Russian foreign policy. Stalin correctly viewed Hitler as a threat to Russia. But he did not look to a mobilization of the international proletariat to defeat the fascist forces which were gaining strength throughout Europe. Instead, he sought an alliance with the "progressive" imperialists of Britain and France. And to convince the rulers of these "democracies" that he was a reliable ally, he instructed the Communist Parties around the world to prove their loyalty to the bourgeoisie. The key to this would be the actions of the Spanish CP, the Communist Party facing the most volatile situation and confronting the weakest of bourgeoisies.

But slogans such as "marching behind the progressive capitalists" did not change the facts: as the Spanish workers and peasants themselves quickly demonstrated, the needs of the masses and the needs of the capitalists were sharply counterposed. Inspired by the Popular Front's victory, which they took as their own, the Spanish workers surged forward to regain the ground lost under the reactionary regimes. By July 1936 over one million workers were out on strike.

It took little time for the ruling class to hatch a new reactionary plot. Plans were laid for a military overthrow of the Popular Front government and the establishment of a regime which, through brutal suppression of the masses, could end the bourgeoisie's misery. The "progressive" capitalists who were still supporting the Popular Front government out of a belief that it could keep the workers in check quickly shed their democratic veneer and joined the reactionary alliance.

The right-wing plans were centered in the army, particularly Francisco Franco's Morocco-based Foreign Legion. The leading bourgeois politicians knew of the plot months in advance. Yet they did nothing to stop it. Franco and his allies were not removed from their posts. Censorship, repression, arrests were carried out against the workers' organizations. The bourgeois liberals, still backed by the SP and CP, tied the hands of the workers as the right wing mobilized.



Sailors in Republican Navy give revolutionary salute, 1937.

On June 17, the reaction garrison in Morocco rebelled and Spain followed Franco's lead. The very existence of the government; that things were "under control" refused to arm the workers' parties of the Popular Front. They awaited a call which would lead to their own action. They awaited a call which would lead to their own action.

Fortunately, the workers waited. These workers, led by the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores, raided sporting goods stores for guns and ammunition. On the barricades and fought the workers' parties. They were matched in firepower, they were to join with them. The soldiers and the reactionaries crushed.

In city after city, workers' committees were formed. In Barcelona, in Madrid, in Valencia, the reactionaries were defeated. In Asturias raised a column of Barcelona workers marched to neighboring Aragon, rallying the masses.

Local factory committees and committees seized the land and formed cooperatives. Soldiers' committees sprang up. Workers' regular army for all practical purposes replaced the hated Civil Guards.

The inspired masses had their own inspiration came from the workers' clearly fighting for their own. They were fighting for their own. The first time running the streets and policing the streets and conditions. In these early days, workers themselves drew a picture of themselves and the fascist alliance.

This policy would have led to the destruction of Franco's forces, the overwhelming peasants of the Spanish colony of Morocco. The workers, granting independence to other colonies and giving the right to self-determination to the armed with politics as well as shattered Franco's forces. They have made the fight against bread, land and freedom. The right-wing troops would be showing them that their reaction on the other side of the trenches. They have disintegrated from within the army in Russia in 1917.

It was crucial that these committees were the key to victory.

strengthen the bourgeois republic. This and foremost, the defense of Spanish from the struggles of the workers, and oppressed nationalities. Workers were brought into the Cabinet to convince to support the government and cease

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ish CP cynically based its actions not and interests of the Spanish masses, dictates of Stalin's Russian foreign a correctly viewed Hitler as a threat to be did not look to a mobilization of the proletariat to defeat the fascist forces gaining strength throughout Europe. sought an alliance with the "progress- alists of Britain and France. And to rulers of these "democracies" that he ally, he instructed the Communist ad the world to prove their loyalty to isia. The key to this would be the e Spanish CP, the Communist Party ost volatile situation and confronting of bourgeoisies.

ns such as "marching behind the capitalists" did not change the facts; sh workers and peasants themselves nstrated, the needs of the masses and the capitalists were sharply counter- ed by the Popular Front's victory, ok as their own, the Spanish workers rd to regain the ground lost under the regimes. By July 1936 over one million out on strike.

le time for the ruling class to hatch a ry plot. Plans were laid for a military e Popular Front government and ment of a regime which, through sion of the masses, could end the misery. The "progressive" capitalists till supporting the Popular Front out of a belief that it could keep the heck quickly shed their democratic oined the reactionary alliance.

ring plans were centered in the army, Francisco Franco's Morocco-based on. The leading bourgeois politicians ot months in advance. Yet they did op it. Franco and his allies were not t their posts. Censorship, repression, carried out against the workers' The bourgeois liberals, still backed CP, tied the hands of the workers as g mobilized.

On June 17, the reactionaries struck. Franco's garrison in Morocco rebelled. Garrisons on main- land Spain followed Franco's lead in the next four days. The very existence of the rebellion was at first denied by the government; claims were then made that things were "under control." The government refused to arm the workers. Meanwhile, the workers' parties of the Popular Front pledged loyalty to the government and promised to take no action. They awaited a call to arms from the government, a call which would never come.

Fortunately, the workers of Barcelona did not wait. These workers, led by the anarchist Confed- eración Nacional de Trabajo (CNT) and the POUM, raided sporting goods stores and fascists' homes for guns and ammunition. On July 19, they set up barricades and fought the local garrison. Out- matched in firepower, they appealed to the soldiers to join with them. The soldiers were won over and the reactionaries crushed.

In city after city, workers followed the example of Barcelona. In Madrid, Valencia and Malaga the garrisons were defeated. The brave miners of Asturias raised a column of 5,000 dynamiters. The Barcelona workers marched through Catalonia and neighboring Aragon, rallying the peasants to their side.

Local factory committees were formed. Peasant committees seized the land, dividing it up or forming cooperatives. Soldiers' and sailors' committees sprang up. Workers' militias replaced the regular army for all practical purposes. Workers' patrols replaced the hated paramilitary police, the Civil Guards.

The inspired masses had Franco on the run. Their inspiration came from the fact that they were clearly fighting for their own interests. Peasants were fighting for their own land. Workers were for the first time running the factories themselves, policing the streets and controlling their own conditions. In these early days of the Civil War, the workers themselves drew a clear class line between themselves and the fascist bourgeois-industrialist alliance.

This policy would have led to the thorough destruction of Franco's forces. Franco's troops were overwhelmingly peasants from Spain and the Spanish colony of Morocco. By giving land to the tillers, granting independence to Morocco and the other colonies and giving national minorities the right to self-determination, the anti-Franco forces, armed with politics as well as bullets, could have shattered Franco's forces. These measures would have made the fight against Franco a true fight for bread, land and freedom. The morale of the right-wing troops would have been broken by showing them that their real interests were on the other side of the trenches. Franco's army would have disintegrated from within, as did the Tsar's army in Russia in 1917.

It was crucial that these policies be carried out consistently. The workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees were the key to victory. If they could be

All the Popular Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy of the Russian Popular Front of 1917 . . . the Bolsheviks did not make the the slightest concession to the Popular Front. Their demand was to break this Popular Front. to destroy the alliance with the Constitutional Democrats. and to create a genuine workers and peasants government.

LEON TROTSKY

organized throughout Spain and linked on a regional and national basis, the spontaneous struggles of the masses could have been given the organized strength needed to defeat the fascists. Moreover, a revolutionary movement of the workers, peasants and oppressed minorities, based on the militias and democratic committees, could not



Above: Workers man Barcelona barricade.

Below: Farmworkers march to join anti-fascist fight.



only have defeated Franco's fascist troops, but could have actually conquered power and set up a workers' and peasants' government.

This is precisely what happened in Russia in 1917, though in Russia, the overwhelming bulk of the civil war against counter-revolutionary forces was fought after the workers and peasants seized power. The workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees (Soviets) in Russia, functioning as coordinated organs of dual power, enabled both the establishment of a workers' government and the defeat of the reactionaries.

The strength of the masses and their successful seizure of state power in Russia was due primarily to the existence of a revolutionary vanguard party, the Bolshevik Party. The Bolsheviks pursued a policy which strengthened the masses' organizations and weakened the alliance of capitalists, fake socialists and reactionaries. But in Spain, no such party existed. The workers' leadership rested largely in the hands of the fake-socialist forces of the Popular Front. It was these forces which thwarted every revolutionary initiative of the masses and eventually arranged their stunning defeat.

The Popular Front government, fearful of the revolution, refused to take the only measures that could have defeated Franco. A capitalist government at root, the Popular Front continued to place defense of capitalist property first and foremost. The SP and CP, fearful of anything that might antagonize the "enlightened" British and French imperialists, wholeheartedly endorsed this perspective. When the workers began to see through the government's vacillations, the CP and SP stepped forward directly to undercut the workers' struggle against Franco by gutting it of all revolutionary content.

In September 1936 a new Popular Front government was formed. It was headed by Socialist Party and trade-union leader Largo Caballero and had the active support and participation of the CP—together with five ministers from the bourgeois parties. The government as a whole became the effective organizer of the counter-revolution from within the anti-Franco forces.

The Popular Front leaders understood that the independent organizations of the workers, potential

nuclei for workers' rule, were a constant danger to Spanish capitalism. The bourgeois state was partially stripped of its control over production and distribution and its national police—the hated Civil Guards—had been replaced by workers' patrols. To strengthen the bourgeois state, the capitalists had to weaken the workers. Therefore, the "anti-fascist" Popular Front government initiated an offensive to strip the workers of their positions . . . and their arms.

Land seized by the peasants was returned to the landlords. Capitalists in the republican-controlled areas, who pretended to be anti-Franco, were given back their factories and got easy credit. The peasant committees and the factory committees were liquidated. Workers' supply committees were replaced by profiteering speculators.

Morocco and the other colonies were not granted independence. Catalanian autonomy was in practice eliminated. Perhaps most importantly, the workers' militias were dissolved and the workers were forced to hand over their arms. The Civil Guards were reorganized to defend private property.

Thousands of workers were arrested; many were shot. The Barcelona workers rose up against the attempts to disarm them in May 1937 and were defeated only after bloody battles and betrayal and vacillation by their anarchist leaders, who capitulated to the CP.

Just as the Spanish capitalists had placed their fear of the workers before their desire for a democratic regime in 1933 and again in 1936, so the SP and CP, in defending Spanish capitalism, placed their fear of the workers before the struggle against Franco. The best-equipped troops, as George Orwell observed in 1938 in *Homage to Catalonia* and as most other observers belatedly admitted, went to the Civil Guards, and other regular troops were kept in reserve in the cities to defend against the workers. The workers at the front received the shabbiest training, clothing and arms. Thousands of the best militants were sent into battle without artillery protection—to eliminate the "uncontrollable" of the left wing.

Hundreds of POUM and CNT leaders and militants were hunted down, arrested, tortured and murdered by Russian secret police and local Spanish CP goon squads. The violence against left-wing Spanish workers from inside the workers' movement had precedent only in Stalin's counter-revolution in Russia. *Pravda* saw the parallel: "As for Catalonia, the purging of the Trotskyists and the Anarcho-Syndicalists has begun; it will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the USSR."

The choice in Spain was between socialist revolution or the triumph of the reaction. The fighting spirit of the workers and peasants could be kept at full strength only if they were organized around a revolutionary program. Instead, the Popular Front forces attacked the workers because they threatened capitalist property. Franco's peasant-based army, well equipped and financed, could have been split and weakened by revolutionary appeals to seize the land. But these appeals were inconsistent with defending capitalist property.

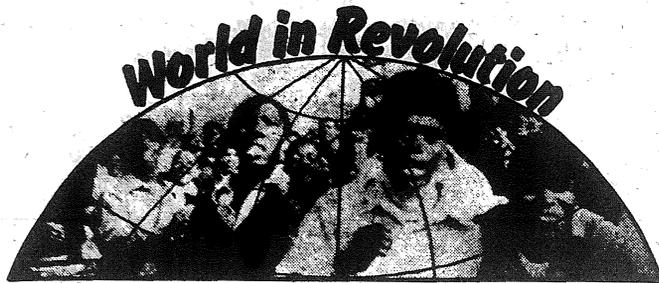
Thus, we have the true meaning of the Popular Front. It is not, as its "socialist" advocates claimed in 1936, and claim now, a "step towards socialism." Its progressive rhetoric serves only one central purpose: to lure the workers into supporting a bourgeois perspective and then to smash them when this becomes necessary to defend capitalist relations.

The heroism and power of the Spanish masses 40 years ago shows the potential for proletarian revolution. Spain, 1936 to 1939, also shows how the workers' strength can be sapped from within. But the Spanish workers and peasants need not have struggled in vain. Their defeats, as well as their victories, can provide us with the lessons needed to defeat the capitalists today. The conditions for that victory are becoming increasingly ripe—in Spain and throughout the world. □

(To provide space for the above article on the Spanish Civil War, we have delayed the final part of the series, "China In Crisis." Part 3 will appear in the next issue of the Torch—Ed.)



Republican Navy give revolutionary salute, 1937.



Poland Jails 53 For Price Hike Protests

The Polish government has sent 53 workers to prison for their participation in the strikes and demonstrations that forced the rescinding of food price increases. Seven of the workers were convicted for blocking a key railroad line in the city of Ursus, a suburb of Warsaw. Six were convicted for "attacking people and property" in the city of Radom. No details were given on the others convicted. The sentences range from three to 10 years.

Following the announcement of food price increases in June, workers in Radom fought a pitched battle with police, burned down Communist Party headquarters and confiscated food from state-run shops. The workers in Ursus blocked the Warsaw to Paris express.

These actions forced Poland's state-capitalist ruling class to back down on the price increases. But the government is now taking repressive steps to try to break the back of the workers' militancy.

Spanish Government Grants Partial Amnesty

On July 14, the Spanish government granted a partial amnesty to political prisoners and liberalized the penal code.

About 350 political prisoners qualify for amnesty under the new terms, but nearly 200 others accused of political violence will remain in jail.

The reforms came after tens of thousands of demonstrators took to the streets of Madrid, Barcelona, Santurce and other major cities, where they fought with police. One demonstrator was killed in Santurce, scores were arrested in Madrid and many were injured.

The new penal code loosens the restrictions on political organizations. But organizations which advocate "destruction of the juridical, political, social and economic system" will remain banned. This provision is meant to keep the Communist Party, the Basque nationalists and groups to the left of the Communists illegal.

Harsh "Anti-Terrorist" Law Adopted in Germany

On July 29, West Germany passed a new "anti-terrorist" law providing sentences of up to 10 years for "terrorist association"—membership in any organization the government decides to call terrorist.

The law also calls for pre-trial detention without bail while a case is prepared. It allows judges to read all letters between a suspect and his lawyers. It requires citizens to inform the police if they know of any "planned terrorist activities," under penalty of imprisonment if they do not.

West Germany already has a battery of "anti-terrorist" and police state laws. Teachers and other government employees can be fired for their political views. Suspects are held for years while "cases are prepared." Last May Ulrike Meinhof, while being tried on terrorism charges, was hanged in her jail cell, almost certainly by the police.

The new law was proposed by the Social Democratic government. The Christian Democratic opposition voted no, denouncing the law as "half-hearted" and calling for still harsher measures.

French Economy Slipping as Franc Falls

France is on the verge of joining Italy and Britain among the crisis economies of Europe.

During the month of July, the value of the franc fell sharply. The franc slid 3 percent in one week; it has fallen 8 percent since January 1.

The basic cause of the franc's weakness is an inflation rate of more than 10 percent—twice that of West Germany or the U.S. As the franc falls, currency speculators put their money into more secure currencies such as the dollar or the West German mark. This pushes the franc down still further.

Unless the French bourgeoisie can slow the rate of inflation, the economy will continue to weaken. This has led French President Giscard d'Estaing to order his Labor Minister to draw up a wage-restraint program. If put into effect, this will be the first serious attack on workers' living standards since the massive uprising of French workers and students in May-June 1968.

The decline of the franc underlines the fragile nature of the current upturn in the world economy. Major countries such as Britain and Italy remain economically stagnant. In the meantime, the world monetary system remains weak and could be hit by a sudden crash.

Australian Workers Stage General Strike

On July 12, two million Australian workers walked off their jobs in the first nationwide general strike in the country's history. The 24-hour strike was called to protest Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's plan to cut back Medibank, a government-funded health program that pays 85 percent of all medical costs.

Medibank was launched by the Labour government that fell last year. The present government is trying to reverse the concessions the Labour government made to the workers.

The strike stopped all public transport, closed harbors and airports, reduced electricity supplies and shut down most factories.

—JG and CH

South Africa . . .

(Continued from page 1)

strators attempted to march to police headquarters in downtown Johannesburg. They also called for a sympathy strike. Crowds gathered at railroad stations and along bus routes and turned back the majority of commuters.

At the northeast border of Soweto, eight miles from downtown Johannesburg, police massed to stop the march. Twice the marchers broke through the barricades, while police fired tear gas and warning rifle volleys. After the march was stopped, crowds attacked shops, cars, railroad stations, schools and government liquor stores. The house of a member of the township council was stoned and the houses of two Black policemen were burned. On the south side of Soweto at least three Blacks were killed by police gunfire.

Blacks also rebelled in Alexandra township, in northeastern Johannesburg, where two schools were set on fire. Student demonstrations broke out at the Universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape, hundreds of miles south of Johannesburg.

Over the next week the uprising spread to other parts of the country. Fire destroyed the legislative assembly building of Bophutatswana, one of the "Bantustans" scheduled to receive a sham "independence" as part of the racists' apartheid plan.

Finally, on August 11, students in the Black townships of Capetown walked out of their schools. Police fired into the crowds. Rioting continued until the early hours of the morning. New and bigger explosions are possible at any moment.

The racist Vorster government has made every effort to crush the mass struggle. Arrests since June total at least 3,000. Laws allowing indefinite arrest without trial have been used to imprison leaders of the South African Student Organization, the South African Student Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement. Vorster has also taken further repressive measures to crush opposition to his fraudulent scheme for "independent" tribal homelands for the African majority.

But the government has been forced to retreat. After the Soweto revolt, it was forced to give in on the issue that touched off the rebellion. The government decided that the Afrikaans language should be "optional" instead of compulsory in the African schools. This was the first real concession to African protest the white supremacist regime had been forced to make since it came to power in 1948. Weeks later the government was forced to reverse itself again and reopen the schools closed after the June riots. It had been announced that the schools would remain closed to prevent further protests.

The flames of revolt are spreading to other groups caught in South Africa's ugly web of apartheid. On July 13, hundreds of Indians organized a demonstration to protest their eviction from Pageview, a township outside Johannesburg. Pageview has always been inhabited by Indians but is now slated to be a white area.

The mass struggles of South Africa's oppressed people are only beginning to gain strength and momentum. In the 1960s, the racist government smashed the protest movement so thoroughly that years passed before there were any major struggles. But conditions have now changed.

Beginning about 1970 the South African masses have been regaining confidence. The powerful strike wave launched by Black workers over wage

issues and union rights in 1973-74 was both symbolic of this new sense of struggle and an important step in its own right. Further, the struggles in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia have given Black South Africans a greater sense of power. The wave of African liberation rushing toward South Africa's borders gives new hope to the mass struggle.

Finally, while the economic boom of the 1960s strengthened the ruling capitalists and helped them keep the lid on struggles, that boom is over. South Africa's economy, heavily dependent on imports and exports, is now extremely shaky. The currency has been devalued twice in the last 18 months. The current fall in the price of gold, South Africa's main source of foreign exchange, threatens to undermine the entire economy.

The worsening economic situation narrows the government's maneuvering room at precisely the time that the masses' sense of their power and their willingness to fight are increasing.

Underneath the bluster, Vorster and his henchmen are desperately trying to buy time. They are hesitating, taking a hard line one day and reversing themselves the next. The government fears that an attempt to smash all Black resistance through open and brutal repression will simply give fresh fuel to the mass struggle. Further, Vorster fears that this course will force a further break with the international bourgeoisie, which is already under great mass pressure to take a harder stand against the apartheid regime.

On the other hand, the government



Black child killed by South African cops.

is equally hesitant to make new concessions. It fears that concessions will only provoke new and stronger opposition from the masses.

These factors mean that the mass struggles have a chance to take root. The momentum of the struggles in the townships is increasing and the worsening economy will lead to new struggles by Black workers. Simultaneously the defeat of white South African troops in Angola, the Soweto uprising and, above all, the government's retreats and concessions after Soweto—minor as they were—prove to the masses that the racists can be defeated. Whatever the outcome of any single struggle may be—and there certainly may be new massacres ahead—stability is gone for the white rulers. What lies ahead is a new period of mass struggles in South Africa that will dwarf anything seen yet. □

Supreme Court Restores Death Penalty

Right to Jury Also Attacked



Louisiana's Death Row: a filthy hellhole.

By Sharon Parrell

On July 2, the Supreme Court reaffirmed capitalism's right to legalized murder. Ruling that the death penalty is "constitutionally acceptable," the Court upheld the Georgia, Florida and Texas death penalties. It struck down Louisiana's and North Carolina's, arguing that the penalty cannot be mandatory and that the particulars of each case must first be considered.

The Supreme Court decision gives every state the green light to draw up a constitutionally acceptable death penalty, and proceed with its executions.

For over 600 men and women, mostly Black, now on Death Row, the Court's decision is just the final proof of the brutality of the American

capitalist system.

The Court's ruling reverses its previous stand in 1972, which temporarily banned the death penalty because it was imposed "arbitrarily": some were sentenced to die, while others facing similar charges were allowed to live. The new ruling states that each case's details must be considered. This is nothing but a means for further racist attacks against minorities, and for heightened repression against workers in general. Blacks, poor whites and militants can be sorted out from more middle class offenders, and can be given special treatment—death—for the same crimes.

The death penalty ruling came only two days after the Supreme Court viciously attacked the right to a jury trial. The June 30 decision says that the right to a jury trial, which is guaranteed in federal courts, may be denied in state courts for most crimes carrying sentences of up to five years (and some carrying longer sentences). The state must guarantee the defendant a jury trial only in an appeal.

Court Rules Against Matlovich

Sergeant Leonard Matlovich has lost a round in his fight to remain in the Air Force as an open homosexual. Federal District Judge Gerhard Gesell, one of the most liberal judges in the federal courts, ruled against Matlovich July 16.

The Air Force, which has a blanket regulation against homosexuals, discharged Matlovich last October after he revealed his homosexuality. Matlovich's service record was not in question; the only real issue was his right to be gay. (See the Torch, December 15, 1975.) After losing in a court martial, Matlovich took the case to federal court.

Gesell's decision was based directly on the Supreme Court's reactionary March 29 decision upholding state anti-homosexual laws. "It is now clear from recent cases that there is no constitutional right to engage in homosexual activity," Gesell ruled.

Matlovich will appeal. "Judge Gesell has just knocked me to the ground," he said. "Now I get back on my feet, straighten my shoulders, hold my head high and keep on fighting for equality." □

This so-called "two tier" system exists in eight states.

The Court might as well have eliminated trials altogether and given the state the green light to convict whom-ever it chooses. Defendants without the money for appeals will simply lose their right to a jury trial. Others will get a jury trial after months or years in prison waiting for their appeal date. These defendants will then face a stacked deck, since judge and jury will know they have already been found guilty once. The Supreme Court, whose main concern is to speed up the trial process and make it easier for police and prosecutor to harass and jail defendants, was bothered little by these "finer points of law."

There are more men and women in state and federal prisons now than ever before. Almost 250,000 people were behind bars as of January 1, 10 percent more than the previous year. More than half these prisoners are under 30 years old, and the majority are Black. Overcrowding is now worse than ever, reducing the already intolerable conditions of prison life to the most miserable existence possible. To explain the huge increase in the inmate population today, officials point to a "shifting of the climate in favor of punishment" and a "massive counter-attack."

What is behind this increase in prisoners and stepping up of repressive measures? As capitalism wears itself down, it robs more and more people of hope for a decent life. More and more Blacks, Latins and poor whites are forced into the ghettos and barrios, denied jobs, decent neighborhoods and schools. The high percentage of crimes committed by teenagers is directly linked to the rotting schools and soaring unemployment rates among city youth.

This is the cause of crime—thousands of teenagers and young adults pushed out onto the streets, demoralized, bitterly angry and frustrated. This anger and sense of rebellion and need, lacking any organized anti-capitalist expression, explodes into crime and violence.

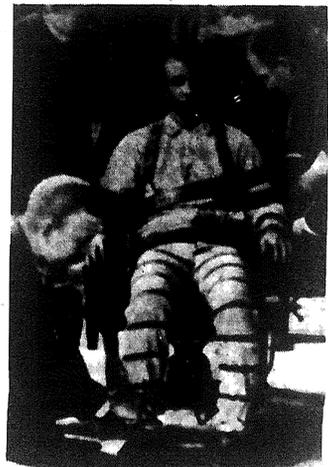
Capitalism is in decay. It is built on the backs of the masses, but it can no longer provide for the needs of ever-larger numbers of the population. Thus the capitalists have launched across-the-board attacks against the workers and unemployed. Increasing political repression (the death penalty, attacks on prisoners' rights, increased juvenile sentences, the S-1 bill) goes hand-in-hand with the economic offensive against wages, working condi-

tions and social services.

Blacks and the working class as a whole have in most cases reacted conservatively to the attacks on living standards in the past four or five years. There has yet been no militant mass outcry against these abuses, and the ruling class wants this to continue. The repressive measures are set up as a warning not to rebel, and to forcefully punish those who do.

The increase of repression has been reflected in changing prison "theory." More judges and correctional officers have stopped pretending that prisons are for rehabilitation. They now admit the real purpose of prisons in this society: to be "warehouses for dangerous persons."

Judge Marvin E. Aspen of Cook County, Illinois, mocks those who say that the "panaceas" (cure-alls—Ed.) to crime are the elimination of poverty, racism and social injustice. His answer? To simply lock up all "danger-



A victim being prepared for execution.

ous persons" . . . until they stop being dangerous, until they "burn themselves out."

The ruling class and its "sociologists" always change "theories" to justify their abuses. A militant mass movement among working and oppressed people will sweep aside all this gibberish. The workers' answer to crime and violence? It can only be the elimination of poverty, racism and social injustice. Let the judges scoff. It is this fight, the fight for socialism, that can wipe out such barbarisms as the death penalty and give every human being a decent life. □

Smell a Rat?

NEW YORK CITY—This city has received an unexpected Bicentennial present. The Bureau of Pest Control has announced that the city's rat population will rise next year because of a 30 percent slash in the Bureau's budget.

The budget cut, part of New York's emergency financial measures, has meant the layoff of 170 persons by the pest control program, with 270 more due for layoff by January.

The layoffs mean that the Bureau will only be able to collect 32,000 tons of garbage, compared to 47,000 last year. Garbage removal, rather than actual extermination of rats, is the Bureau's primary method of pest control. The Bureau's director, Randy Dupree, noted that the Bureau's other major program, mosquito control, had been beefed up in the new budget. "That's a suburban problem and there's clout there," Dupree said.

While politicians sit by the swimming pools and talk about sacrifice—free from mosquitoes—the number of rat bites in the South Bronx, East Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville, and the number of diseases caused by rat infestation, will soar.

Some rats have four legs; others have two.



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hesitant to make new concessions fears that concessions will be new and stronger in the masses. This means that the mass struggle has a chance to take root. The struggles in the increasing and the worry will lead to new Black workers. Simultaneous defeat of white South Africa in Angola, the Soweto above all, the government and concessions after as they were—prove that the racists can be overthrown the outcome of the struggle may be—and may be new massacres are gone for the white South Africa is ahead is a new period of struggle in South Africa that has been seen yet. □

EDITORIALS

George Jackson: 'War Without Terms'

August 21 marks the fifth anniversary of the death of George Jackson. On August 21, 1971, Jackson was brutally murdered by prison guards, the victim of a carefully planned ruling class plot to assassinate him.

The ruling class murdered George Jackson because he was a symbol to, and leader of, the most oppressed. Jackson was a courageous and determined fighter against the injustice and racism that this society is built upon. His entire life breathed an uncompromising hatred for U.S. capitalism.

Very early in his life, Jackson learned firsthand the viciousness of this system. At 18, he was accused of stealing \$70 from a gas station. He was promised a short jail term if he pleaded guilty. He did—and was given an indeterminate sentence: "one year to life."

For George Jackson, as for thousands of other prisoners who are unwilling to bow and scrape before prison authorities, "one year to life" can only mean a prison cell for life—or death.

While in prison, George Jackson was punished for his political views.

He spent years of his time in jail confined to his cell 23½ hours a day. But no matter how severe the harassment and isolation, George Jackson fought back! He became a key leader of the growing prison movement.

On January 13, 1970, a white guard shot and killed three Black prisoners, one of them a prison leader, for daring to defend themselves from white prisoners. Three days later a white guard was thrown from the third tier to his death. The prison authorities launched a terror campaign. Inmates were intimidated into becoming "witnesses" and three victims were selected: John Cluchette, Fleeta Drumgo and George Jackson—the Soledad Brothers.

The prison authorities hoped to break the prison movement; Cluchette, Drumgo and Jackson were selected and charged for this reason alone. But the strategy backfired. The case of the Soledad Brothers won wide support and built the growing prison movement. George Jackson became, for the ruling class, the most feared and hated prisoner in the state of California. It was because Jackson's whole life exposed the ruling class's

oppression and because he spoke out and organized against that oppression so forcefully that he was so feared.

As the case of the Soledad Brothers gained support, the ruling class decided to change its tactics. Three government agencies began plotting ways to assassinate Jackson. Prison authorities attempted to recruit white prisoners to kill him.

On August 21, 1971, George Jackson was murdered by prison guards in a supposed attempt to escape. The "escape" was a blatant frame-up. Prison authorities charged that Jackson was shot while running in the prison yard. But any long-time inmate at San Quentin knows that the San Quentin prison guards have standing instructions to shoot anyone running in the yard. George Jackson, too, knew this. Unless Jackson had been contemplating suicide—a far-fetched notion—he could not have been running in the yard.

The San Quentin Six (see article on page 6 and last month's Torch) were framed for "aiding and abetting" Jackson. The trial, underway now, has been nothing but a shabby cover for

the fact that the ruling class murdered George Jackson because he was an uncompromising fighter against their system!

George Jackson was murdered before he could organize the thousands more like him who burn with an absolute hatred for the terror and intimidation that hold up the system of wage slavery. It is our duty, now, to organize them. George Jackson's life was not in vain. His words ring out today:

"This monster—the monster they've engendered in me will return to torment its maker, from the grave, the pit, the profoundest pit. Hurl me into the next existence, the descent into hell won't turn me. I'll crawl back to dog his trail forever. They won't defeat my revenge, never, never. I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly but rage undammed. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble. . . . I'll never forgive, I'll never forget, and if I'm guilty of anything at all it's of not leaning on them hard enough. War without terms." □

The Great Washington Sex Scandal

The "Washington sex scandals" expose the hypocrisy of U.S. politicians. Bourgeois politicians always stand foursquare for motherhood, the church and the family as the basis of the "American Way of Life." Their campaign with their parents, their children and their wives (a small number campaign with their husbands). Once elected, they decide whether women should have the right to abortion and whether people on welfare should be punished for having "too many" children.

Congressman Wayne Hays (Democrat from Ohio) is a past master of this high "moral" style. In 1967, Hays led the investigation into the behavior of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Black Representative from Harlem. Hays accused Powell of putting women friends on his payroll, taking them on official trips, and generally misusing government funds. Powell was thrown out of the House of Representatives, in spite of the wishes of Harlem's voters. Powell correctly claimed that he was simply doing what white Congressmen did but was singled out only because he was Black. Hays lied self-righteously: "If Powell were white, he would have been probed earlier."

So there he was, Wayne Hays, for 28 years a pillar of the Congressional Establishment, Chairman of the House Administration Committee (which gives Congressmen money for hiring staff) and Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (which gives them money for election campaigns). Then it came out that he had put a mistress, Elizabeth Ray, on the payroll as a \$14,000-a-year clerk, although she says she can neither type nor file.

This information, first brought out by Ms. Ray, opened a flood of further accusations. A former Congressman had kept a supply of women and a houseboat on the Potomac River, which he used to bribe politicians and

businessmen. Politicians held expensive orgies at the Capitol in an office assigned to House Speaker Carl Albert. We were reminded of Wilbur Mills, once Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, who met his downfall through the exposure of his alcoholism and intimacy with stripper Fanne Fox. It was pointed out that Congressmen had complete control over whom they hired and how they divided their staff allowance among their employees. This makes it easy for them either to hire mistresses outright or to pressure their employees for "sexual favors."

These scandals are by no means limited to the Congress. Last year it was revealed that John F. Kennedy, while President, had had numerous affairs, with Judith Campbell Exner (friend of top Mafia mobsters), Marilyn Monroe, Jayne Mansfield and many others. He had a two-woman "harem" on his staff, code-named "Fiddle" and "Faddle" by the Secret Service. All this time the press publicized Kennedy as a great family man, who deeply loved his wife and children.

Marxists have no moral objections to extra-marital sex. We are not champions of the repressive bourgeois family. But the complete sexual hypocrisy of the politicians should be exposed and seen for what it is. Hays, the persecutor of Powell, twice denied to the House that Elizabeth Ray was his mistress. Washington reporters all knew of Kennedy's affairs, Mills' alcoholism, the Congressman with the houseboat, and so forth. They deliberately suppressed such news for years in order to maintain the lies of bourgeois morality. It is precisely through deceptions such as these that the entire ruling class tries to palm its Congressional henchmen off as "great leaders" of the "free world."

We also denounce the use of workers' money to pay for the sex lives of these old goats.

At the same time that the Washington sex scandal hit the papers, New York City and Kansas City were cracking down on prostitution to "clean up" before the Democratic and Republican Conventions. These prostitutes often come from the most oppressed layers of society and have few other means of supporting themselves or their families. The two-faced politicians self-righteously supported the efforts of these cities to "clean up the streets" by throwing hundreds of these prostitutes (not their own) in jail.

It may be embarrassing when revelations about politicians' sex lives come out—both for the individuals and for their parties. But politicians have no real moral objections to their colleagues' carryings on—they pretend to be outraged only when the indiscretions become public.

The bourgeoisie's repressive "morality" is for the masses of people only. Restriction of access to birth control or abortion, repressive anti-homosexual legislation, round-ups of prostitutes, the frame-up of the Livernois

Five and Gary Tyler—all of these things are done in the name of "morality," and all are used to keep the working class and poor people down.

But each exposure, every new scandal, demonstrates again the bankruptcy and corruption of the bourgeoisie, and undermines their ability to attack working and poor people. In this light we welcome the revelations of Elizabeth Ray and others. We welcome the tearing off of the mask of "morality" which covers the agents of the ruling class. □

Fund Drive a Success!

The Revolutionary Socialist League's spring fund drive, with a goal of \$8,000, has ended. \$10,457 was raised, 130 percent of the quota.

The drive relieves a budget deficit anticipated for the first half of 1976. The Torch thanks the members and friends of the League whose generous contributions made this possible.

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Steelworker Discusses Fight Against Racists

Dear Torch,

The racial attacks going on in Chicago which you have been reporting in your paper have been directly affecting steelworkers. Black steelworkers have been beaten up in the East Side neighborhood of Chicago on their way to and from work at Republic Steel. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) has been active in locals in District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America trying to mobilize an organized defense against the Nazis and the racists.

For many months the RSC has been trying to raise motions to build Black defense guards and more recently to support the marches taking place against racism in Marquette Park. At the June 19th meeting of Local 65 USWA, a motion was put on the floor by a member of the Rank-and-File Unity Caucus (supported by the CP). The motion called for giving money to a fund for Robert Ellington who was attacked and badly hurt by the Nazis. It also called for the state to close down the Nazi Headquarters and to protect Blacks from racist assaults.

A member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus put forward an amendment which deleted the call for police action and instead urged the local to lead the fight to build workers' defense guards to fight the racists.

The entire motion was given a parliamentary butchering by president Frank Mirocha and the RSC voted against the motion in its final form not only because it called on the police but also because it condemned militant Black activities as racist.

By putting forward an amendment to the original motion, the RSC was able to provoke a discussion in the local over the question of how the labor movement should defend against racist assaults. The RSC felt it was important to make it clear that the state could not be relied on to provide any shelter from the Nazis or to defend against infringements on the democratic rights of Blacks. The question of workers' defense guards and the role of the capitalist state and police became a major focus of the discussion. The local is better off for having had this discussion.

Since the time of the Local 65 meeting, the Spartacist League (SL) and its newspaper *Workers Vanguard* have attacked the actions of the RSC. Why? Because, the SL says, "Labor-Black defense should not be presented as an amendment to a motion calling upon the capitalist state to suppress the racists!" The SL is trying to say that our work in the mills is giving in to those forces who call on the police!

There is one thing clear about the approach of the SL: Where they can't find anything worthwhile to pick on, they grab anything, even an obscure point of parliamentary procedure. The amendment allowed the RSC to put forward and discuss its ideas. This helped to explain what was wrong with relying on the state and what has to be done to defeat racist scum like the Nazis and the KKK. But, the SL really doesn't care if the working class is educated. All it really cares about is making debater's points—about parliamentary procedure or any other silly point it can think of.

The proof that the SL has no real interest in examining the class struggle is the fact that despite these ridiculous attacks in *Workers Vanguard*, the one SL supporter at the meeting voted for the RSC's amendment!!! Apparently, he understood that this was a correct way to get revolutionary politics known and discussed. But *Workers Vanguard* would rather hear itself talk than think about how to reach the working class.

It is revolutionary action not parliamentary nit-picking that will make the socialist revolution.

Yours in struggle,

A member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Local 65, USWA

The Torch replies:

The reader is right. In a recent issue, *Workers Vanguard* comments on the July 17 Chicago anti-Nazi march: "Only... labor-black defense guards... can adequately protect the black masses.... The attempted substitution of a handful of blacks and leftists... is self-defeating."

The SL's real point is: without "labor-black" defense, no march should have been held. Only after defense guards are formed—says the SL—can there be a march.

Often at the beginning of a struggle only a few are willing to march—the others are frightened. To get others to join, it is necessary to first march alone. In the anti-Nazi struggle in Chicago, militants must do two things: march against the racists, and fight for defense guards. To do just the first is to sow illusions in the cops. To do just the second is to run from the struggle.

Ford's Speedup Plans Resisted by Ranks

Dear Torch,

Ford workers at the Torrence Avenue Chicago Assembly Plant returned from lay-off in early August to begin the model launch of the 1977 Thunderbird. We are expecting management to begin another speed-up and harassment campaign similar to one the bosses already tried earlier this year. At that time (last March and April), about 600 workers were recalled from long, "indefinite" lay-offs. The "official" line speed was raised from 40 cars an hour to 50 cars. Foremen in every department tried to overload the jobs.

The assemblers, members of United Auto Workers Local 551, fought back. Some workers simply refused to run to keep up with impossible jobs. The unfinished work kept repairmen busy! At least 200 grievances were filed under the so-called "Kansas City Agreement." (This procedure is a weak, delayed-action first-step grievance.)

Since the model build-out date for the 1976 Gran Torino Elite was fast approaching (July 23), the bosses did

Dear Torch,

I was glad to see the letter from the UAW brother at Cincinnati GE concerning the recent contract settlement there. The settlement in Cincinnati was just one phase in a massive coordinated sellout throughout General Electric and Westinghouse.

This year, the leadership of a number of unions, principally the IBEW, UE and IUE, representing GE and Westinghouse workers across the country, set up a "Combined Bargaining Committee" (CBC), to handle negotiations with the two companies. Union members were assured that if a strike was necessary all unions would go out together against both companies. An excellent set of bargaining demands was put forward, including:

32 hours work for 40 hours pay; a SUB pay program in the event of layoffs; extra sick and vacation time; a complete dental insurance program; a cost of living escalator with no loopholes or ceilings; a catch-up on what had been lost to inflation under the previous contract; a substantial pay increase.

The first indication that the International leadership wasn't too serious about these demands was the announcement that they had made a deal with the companies not to tell us what kind of wage proposal they were making. In other words, the rank and file was not allowed to know how much money our "representatives" were demanding for us. The IBEW International let it be known that they "didn't expect to win" 32 for 40.

The GE contract expired two weeks before Westinghouse's, and the IBEW International was able to get ratification of a contract which didn't include a single one of the original proposals.

The package included:

A 49 cent increase; a cost of living escalator with more loopholes than the last one (with no catch-up on the cost of living); no new dental program; no additional vacation or sick days (with stricter company rules concerning existing sick days); no shorter work week; no SUB pay.

The International was able to push through this farce at GE only because GE workers had gone through a long strike in 1970 during which the leadership had refused to put any serious demands on the company and brought the workers back for peanuts.

The recommendation of ratification at GE was itself a betrayal of all electrical workers involved, since we had been assured that all unions in both companies would act jointly. At one stroke, the union's power was cut in half.

The betrayal at Westinghouse was more complicated. There had not been a national strike against Westinghouse since 1946. Thousands of workers had suffered through one bad contract after another, without ever having tested their strength against the company. The International couldn't force GE's contract down our throats quite so easily.

The IBEW International came up with an ingenious plan for defusing the militancy of the rank and file without hurting their friends in the executive offices of Westinghouse. Westinghouse had agreed to essentially the same contract as GE. The International lied to the locals, informing us that Westinghouse was offering 11 cents less than GE in its wage package. They urged a strike, and workers across the country hit the bricks. In the meantime the UE and IUE internationals had gone over the heads of their membership to extend their contracts day by day. Over 2,000 UE and IUE members walked out in protest.

Meanwhile, Westinghouse locals across the country discovered one by one that they were striking to win what the company had already offered because the International was making no serious demands. One at a time they voted to return to work rather than stay on the streets for nothing. Within a week the entire affair was over. As one St. Louis Westinghouse worker said: "It was a circus, complete with clowns." Thousands of workers had been brought out for a week with no chance of winning anything because the International was demanding nothing of the company.

The fight is not over. Westinghouse workers across the country have learned an important lesson about the traitors who run the International. IBEW local members here in St. Louis passed a resolution demanding that the International send a representative to explain its actions and to send a letter to every local in the country suggesting that they do the same. This kind of activity can be the first step in organizing a rank and file caucus which will fight to ensure that our next contract is negotiated and fought for by the rank and file—the life blood of the union.

An IBEW Brother,
St. Louis

A Ford Worker,
Chicago

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The Heroic Defense of Tel Zaatar

August 10 marks the fiftieth day that the small garrison of Palestinian militia has held the camp of Tel Zaatar against hopeless odds. They have repeatedly stood up against the most intense artillery bombardments of the Lebanese civil war. Countless numbers of rightist Christian infantry attacks have broken against the camp's defenses. Any number of times the Christian commanders have announced the capture of the camp, only to admit another bloody repulse the day after.

The camp's defenders have received no food, medical supplies or ammunition since the siege began. Worse still has been the shortage of water. Babies were dying from dehydration even before the rightist troops shut off the water supply completely on July 26.

Camille Chamoun, leader of the National Liberal Party, hopes to force Tel Zaatar to surrender by ruthlessly victimizing the tens of thousands of civilians in the camp. The rightist artillery destroyed an underground shelter killing 500 women and children and trapping another 400 in the rubble. Then they blocked rescue efforts with more artillery fire.

Until August 3, Chamoun refused to allow International Red Cross convoys into the camp to evacuate the badly wounded and the sick. Under pressure he reversed his position. Even this "humanitarian act" is a fraud, as Chamoun's guns have laid down barrages on the small number of Red Cross trucks that entered the camp.

The Palestinian fighters are completely surrounded in their underground bunkers and have little hope of relief. Still they fight on.

As long as it remains in Palestinian hands, the Tel Zaatar position threatens rightist communications between eastern Beirut and the rightist strongholds along the northeast coast of Lebanon. Yet the military importance of Tel Zaatar is not the chief reason for the rightists' vow to destroy it. It is not the reason that Arab rulers throughout the Mideast pray nightly for its surrender. It is not why the late model American artillery and M-16 rifles, which the Israelis have obtained from the United States to give to the rightists, have been earmarked for use at Tel Zaatar.

From Washington, D.C., to Tel Aviv and Damascus, all the world's politicians, generals and millionaires want to see a massacre at Tel Zaatar because it has become the symbol of the resistance of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people and the "Palestinian question" are the obstacles to an imperialist settlement in the Middle East. The grim and heroic resistance by the defenders of Tel Zaatar is showing the world that the Palestinian people prefer to die than allow the imperialists to "liquidate the Palestinian question."

Each day that Tel Zaatar holds out is another day that testifies to the determination of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland. Another day that shows the imperialists that they are doomed because the oppressed masses will never give up their fight. Another day that shows the workers and oppressed peoples of the world what kind of courage and fighting ability they possess once they realize they do not need their exploiters and decide to cast them off.

Tel Zaatar may fall. What it stands for will not.

West Bank Struggle . . .

(Continued from page 2)

Palestinians and their ancestors—not only do not count for anything, but are denied.

The Zionists are fond of asserting that Palestine was nothing but desert until they arrived, and that there is no such thing as a Palestinian people. The Israeli government strives to concoct a truth out of this racist lie by simply obliterating every last trace of a Palestinian culture by means of the bulldozer.

The true nature of Zionism can best be grasped if we realize that since 1948 (the year of Israel's beginning) no less than 385 Palestinian villages out of a total of 475 have been completely wiped off the map. In addition, 75 percent of the settled tribal populations of the Be'er-Sheba district—who

make the Arab presence disappear." (Shahak Report.)

In 1948, during the fight to create the Israeli state, the Zionists used brutal terrorism to drive the Palestinians out. They leveled entire villages, killed, raped, looted and burned. By these methods they rid Palestine of over 65 percent of its people. They prohibited anyone from returning. And they then wrote a law that denied citizenship to anyone who was out of the area during that time. Thus, by a stroke of the pen, the Zionists denied more than two million Palestinian refugees the right to their lands and their country.

The "Law of Return" perhaps best highlights Israel's racist nature. Under this law, any Jew anywhere in

It was the effort to Judaize the last Palestinian sector of Israel proper—the Galilee—that touched off the most bitter rebellions of the last few months. The Israeli government is planning to weaken the relative strength of the Palestinians by adding another 300,000 Israelis to the area.

Since the war of 1967 the Israelis have been applying their world-renowned but completely fictitious "democracy" and "humanitarianism" to the territories they stole in that conflict—the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip. 19,000 Arab homes have been leveled. This method was used effectively to subdue the Gaza Strip, which had been the scene of determined resistance from 1967 to 1972. Sixty-two new Israeli settlements have been set up in the three occupied territories in the last nine years—over 40 in the West Bank alone. Arab Jerusalem was incorporated outright into Israel. These facts prove beyond doubt that the Zionist monster is inherently expansionist. It will never stop gobbling up Arab lands until it is crushed.

It is virtually impossible, in a brief presentation of the facts, to give the full picture of the criminal nature of the Zionist state. The Palestinians are systematically terrorized, exploited and discriminated against. They can be detained for years on mere "suspicion," without charges and without trial. During detention they are subjected to the most brutal tortures—to the point that many die or are maimed for life. They are denied access to education and are discriminated against in all walks of life.

Arab families earn barely half what Jewish families earn. Workers from Gaza and the West Bank who commute to Israel to work are transported in a manner reminiscent of South Africa. According to the Shahak Report: "These workers are transported to their factory under the surveillance of armed guards. They cannot leave. . . during the day, and if sometimes they stay for a week, they have to sleep in tents in the open." Gaza itself "has the appearance of a concentration camp surrounded by barbed wire. . ."

In spite of these appalling crimes, the Zionist state has been able to project a democratic and humanitarian image. This is most true in the West, where the Zionists have the backing of the imperialist media. The rebellions in the West Bank and the Galilee are a great blow to this completely false image. □

Lebanon . . .

(Continued from page 2)

to victory requires a relentless political struggle with the Syrian soldiers, and an appeal to the class solidarity between the Syrian troops and their Lebanese-Palestinian brothers. This revolutionary policy could destroy the effectiveness of the Syrian army.

The traitorous pro-capitalist leadership of the Lebanese-Palestinian left will never implement such a revolutionary policy. They fear unleashing the revolutionary energies of the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian workers and peasants more than they fear the Syrian regime. They are willing to sacrifice victory if victory means the upsetting of the capitalist apparatus in the Middle East.

While the heroism of the left, as exemplified by the defenders of Tel Zaatar, and the class instincts of the Syrian masses may yet combine to produce a collapse of the Syrian regime, the prospects for such an outcome seem dim. At present, it appears likely that the heroic Lebanese and Palestinian masses may suffer a bloodbath at the hands of the Lebanese fascists without parallel in the annals of Middle East history. □

Auto . . .

(Continued from page 3)

begin paying part of the cost. They are aware that this is too big a concession to ask for all at once, so instead they are demanding certain "reforms" which will set the stage for the next contract round.

In the face of increasingly oppressive working conditions and growing job insecurity, the UAW tops had to choose between a serious fight for real solutions, or a token struggle over issues affecting a small portion of the workforce. To win more jobs, an end to speedup and improvements in working conditions, the UAW would have to fight for a shorter, work-week with no loss in pay, union control over line speed and union health and safety committees with real powers. These demands cannot be won easily; they can be won only through a determined and militant struggle against the bosses. This could well get out of the bureaucrats' control. To no one's sur-

(Continued on next page)



Steel gates erected by Israeli occupiers in West Bank city of Nablus.

did not live in villages—has been expelled. Some were expelled as late as 1953-54, after a massacre of the women and children carried out by the notorious Unit 101 of the Israeli army. Main cities (Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh) have been changed into Jewish cities by the forcible expropriation of their Arab inhabitants. In city or village, the pattern of destruction was chillingly thorough. According to a report written by the Chairman of the International League for Human and Civil Rights: "An Arab village would be invaded. Then every house, every garden wall, every cemetery and its tombstones would be razed, literally to the ground. The purpose was to

the world can come to Israel and enjoy full citizenship rights and can receive state help to resettle. Meanwhile, the original owners of the land are forcibly kept out of the country.

The land question lies at the very heart of the systematic way in which the Arab Palestinians are oppressed. Under Israeli law it is forbidden for a Jew to sell or rent land to an Arab, but Jews are free to buy or rent from the Arabs. Moreover, the government has a policy of "Judaization" of the areas that are still inhabited by Arabs. It is the official policy of the state to break up Palestinian communities, and to leave no area anywhere with a majority Arab population.

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(Continued from preceding page) prise, Solidarity House chose not to make this fight.

Skilled tradesmen and high seniority workers are a natural choice for the UAW bureaucracy to cater to. These are the workers who come to the union meetings regularly, vote on the contract and keep the bureaucrats in power. Their relative privileges give them the greatest stake in maintaining things as they are now. And the union is set up in such a way as to increase the power of those in this position.

There is an additional reason for the UAW bureaucracy to choose to make a strong orientation to skilled workers at this time. Tradesmen are the most organized section of the union at present. Along with retirees, they have been particularly active recently.

The Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) is a left-sounding pressure group for the skilled trades, which has connections throughout the union. They picketed the UAW bargaining convention in March, and recently held a demonstration of several hundred at Solidarity House. The tone and thrust of these demonstrations are for special privileges for skilled workers, such as restoring the wage differential between production and skilled. A group of Chrysler skilled tradesmen has been actively pushing to form a separate local for skilled workers, severing all local ties with the production workers in their shops.

Retirees have also been actively organizing. Three to four hundred high seniority and retired workers picketed the opening of contract talks with General Motors, demanding cost of living on pensions.

Orienting toward these sections of the workforce is not new in the UAW. It has recently, however, become more direct. The UAW leadership conceded veto power over any contract to skilled tradesmen, roughly one-ninth of the union. This special privilege—veto power for a tiny minority—was granted in order to bind the skilled tradesmen even more closely to the bureaucracy.

Given the bitterness and anger which seethe beneath the surface among production workers, the bureaucracy needs the skilled workers to use as a club against production worker discontent. Pitting the skilled and high seniority workers against the production and low seniority workers pits white workers against Black, Latin and Arab workers. It pits men against women and plays off older against younger. This is the bureaucracy's strategy for preventing opposition to a sellout contract from developing.

The fight for the common needs of all auto workers—jobs, full SUB from the date of hire, union control of working conditions—is more than a good idea. It is the only alternative to the Woodcock strategy of buying off a section of the workforce and giving the shaft to the rest. □

DC 37 . . .

(Continued from page 5)

groups of interns and nurses were preparing to join the strike. The city could not have held out for long.

Gotbaum caved in after four days. He didn't want a strike in the first place.

Victor Gotbaum belongs to the ranks of the "responsible labor leaders" who have long since opted for prestige and favors from the ruling class over fighting for the workers' needs. But the strike by hospital workers of District 1199 two weeks earlier brought rank and file militancy in DC 37 to a point Gotbaum could no

longer control. Thus Gotbaum was forced to depart from his past policy: straight-out betrayal in the name of "sacrifice for the public good." The militancy of DC 37 workers forced him to call the strike. But behind the scenes he was working to engineer a new sellout.

Gotbaum's deal was sold to the ranks amid mountains of doubletalk by the city. When New York State announced its latest cuts in Medicaid payments to the hospitals last week, 3,000 more immediate layoffs were projected. But this projection was quickly downplayed because management knew it would prolong the strike. The city "found" \$10 million to give the hospitals, and they all pretended the crisis was over.

But no sooner was the strike settled than management revived the issue of the Medicaid cuts. On August 10, city officials announced that a \$21 million deficit still exists which "might" mean more layoffs—perhaps before the end of the year. This was a clear statement that the city has no intention of keeping its promise to the workers. It will resume layoffs as soon as it thinks it can get away with them.

The threat of more layoffs is also a club to use against those workers still employed. "You must give up more benefits and accept further erosions of working conditions," management tells the workers, "or there will be more layoffs."

DC 37 cannot let the city's broken promises stand. A new strike is needed right now, while the workers still have the offensive. The strike must close hospitals until hospital management, the bankers and the politicians "find" the money to provide jobs and decent health care—and they must "find" that money somewhere other than in working people's pockets.

A militant strike by DC 37 could quickly draw in other city unions and build strong links with the communities whose services are being destroyed by the ruling class. It could become a general strike. This is the road forward. □

1199 . . .

(Continued from page 5)

demoralized and begin to wonder if the union is worth anything at all. Thus the settlement itself is a step toward breaking the union.

Secondly, and most important, a serious fight, based on a full scale mobilization of the ranks, could have won a far better settlement than the one negotiated by Davis. There is no doubt that such a fight was possible. The 1199 rank and file was angry and ready to fight. And this is a membership which knows how to fight. (See striker's eyewitness account beginning on page 5.)

Management claims of being "broke" never stopped 1199 in the past. Its members have always seen through this ruse. When 1199 organized the hospitals in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the hospitals claimed that they had no money. "We'd like to raise wages and improve conditions," they whined time and again, "but we can't because we're broke." But the union fought and exposed the hypocrisy of the hospitals' claims.

The ruling class tried to use the "charitable" nature of the voluntary hospitals as an excuse for poverty wages and rotten working conditions. But this excuse simply meant that the ruling class wished to force the poorest sectors of society to pay for the "charity."

"Let the rich pay," 1199 used to say—in its better days. The union's rank and file was prepared for real class

battle and was not about to be bamboozled by management. But things have changed.

Today, it is not management, but the 1199 leaders themselves who use the "no money" shuck to try to keep the workers from fighting for their needs. Thus, the 1199 leadership bureaucratically overturned the decisions of the ranks to build an effective strike. The ranks voted to stop scabs; the bureaucracy enforced a "let the scabs in" policy. The ranks wanted to build a real strike organization; the bureaucracy sabotaged it. Workers who so much as suggested a militant policy were harassed, threatened and red-baited. And this came from a union leadership that had to fight red-baiting when it was one of the only unions willing to organize hospital workers.

Why did the 1199 leadership, which has shown in the past that it knows how to organize militant strikes, do these things?

The Davis leadership accepts the "fact" that the hospitals have no money. Since they accept capitalism, Davis and Co. have no desire to challenge this "fact." There is money—but it is the money of big business, the banks and the rich in general. The Davis leadership has no interest in waging the kind of strike necessary to fight the ruling class for this money. This isn't what the ruling class expects of "responsible" union leaders.

The problems facing the union leadership thus were how to convince the workers to accept a rotten settlement and how to get at least the hint of a promise from the federal government to kick in a little money to help the hospitals out. Davis solved these questions by staging a charade to fool the workers into accepting cuts in their conditions, and to convince the federal government that it should bail the hospitals out if these cuts are insufficient.

Davis was successful in this maneuver. But the strike was not a complete defeat, even with Davis's betrayal. In spite of Davis's intentions, the 1199 strike triggered a second hospital strike by DC 37. This shows that New York City workers are becoming increasingly angry and militant in the face of the ruling class offensive. Gotbaum, Davis, Shanker, DeLury, Guinan and the rest will find it harder and harder to continue holding this anger back. □

Eyewitness . . .

(Continued from page 5)

That's why the leadership red-baited so viciously—they were afraid things might blow up.

The Davis leadership didn't stop at words. At the Monday, July 11, mass demonstration in front of the Democratic Convention, 1199 members who

support the Progressive Labor Party were attacked and beaten by Davis's goon squad. The chairman of the Mount Sinai Hospital strike committee was attacked by goons because he argued that the scabs should be kept out and because he demanded that the ranks have the right to vote on how to conduct the strike.

Whenever supporters of the Revolutionary Hospital Workers Committee appeared with leaflets, Davis's lackeys got on the microphones and bullhorns to warn strikers not to accept the leaflets. They continually threatened to beat up the leafleters. At one point, they even asked the cops to run leafleters off the picket lines.

During the second week of the strike, militant actions became more frequent despite the treachery of the Davis leadership. If the strike had lasted longer, the leaders of these actions could have built a rank and file organization to challenge the official leadership. This was the point at which the Davis leadership rammed through a back-to-work vote.

The vote was taken on a Saturday morning—a time that minimized turnout. Most members didn't even know it was taking place—or what they were being asked to vote on. Most thought they were voting to go back to work with a new contract. They did not understand that binding arbitration was not the same as a new contract. Anyone who tried to explain the difference was shouted down by loyal lieutenants of the Davis leadership.

Despite all this, 15 to 20 percent of the members voted to stay out until they had a new contract. Davis claims that only 5 percent voted to stay out. This is a lie. Davis also claims that 23,000 members voted. In fact, the true figure is much less than that.

Back at work, the feeling against the Davis leadership is running high. Everyone, except hard-core Davis followers, feels that the leadership sold us out. Many feel we never should have come back without a new contract. Many others are demoralized and feel that for what we're likely to get, we never should have gone out in the first place.

The arbitration settlement is not yet in. We must organize against the sellout by fighting to go out on strike again. We must demand a contract that really defends us against the bosses' attacks.

We need a no-layoffs clause and full cost of living. There must be no productivity deal. If we act now there is still time to build a strike movement. Militants must convince others that it was not the League of Voluntary Hospitals or the city that defeated us—it was the Davis leadership!

The Revolutionary Hospital Workers Committee must be made stronger so that we can take the leadership out of the hands of Davis and his type and make 1199 a union that truly fights for our needs. □

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