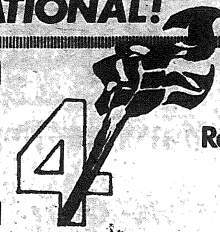


RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

# TORCH



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League

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## South Africa

# Black Workers' Strikes Shake Racist Regime

**LATE BULLETIN**—On September 13, Black workers in Johannesburg began a second three-day general strike. First reports indicate that at least 70 percent of the city's Black workers are taking part. A Soweto resident said the township "looked like a graveyard" as all morning commuter traffic ground to a halt. Police attacks on strikers were reported. This new strike is clear evidence that South Africa's Black proletariat is playing an increasingly central role in the struggle against white oppression.

By Chris Hudson

The three-month-old Black rebellion in South Africa has shaken the racist system of apartheid to its roots. Beginning with protesting students and then spreading to other layers of the population, Black South Africans have made it clear to the entire world that their struggle will continue until oppression by the white supremacists is destroyed. Heroic sacrifices have been made already. New lessons will be learned and stronger organizations forged through bitter struggle. But one thing is certain. The Vorster regime—and all that it stands for—will be ground into the dust.

In the most massive anti-government action yet, Johannesburg's Black workers staged a three-day general strike last month. Over 80 percent of the city's Black workforce rallied to the strike call, closing or crippling nearly all the factories, construction sites, restaurants and offices in Johannesburg.

To halt the growing struggle, the government has arrested hundreds of Black leaders. By official figures, over 2,500 persons have been arrested since June on ordinary charges. 821 have been detained on political charges and 77 are being held in solitary confinement without trial.

The three-day strike climaxed a month of giant struggle which spread from Johannesburg to Cape Town and then to Port Elizabeth in South Africa's east

(Continued on page 11)



Blacks march to demand end to apartheid.

## STOP WOODCOCK SELLOUT; SHUT AUTO DOWN TIGHT!

**DETROIT, September 11**—A strike by 170,000 Ford workers on September 14 now appears almost certain. Ford is the target company in this year's contract negotiations between 700,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the nation's major auto producers.

But all signs indicate that unless rank and file auto workers intervene to change Woodcock's plans, the Ford strike will be only a short "show" strike, engineered to let the ranks "blow off steam" and to make a sellout look like a victory. If this occurs it will mean a defeat for auto workers and the entire labor movement.

The auto companies and the UAW bureaucracy are agreed that auto workers have to take losses in this year's contract in order to maintain the economic upturn and the "boom" in auto production. What is at issue between management and the union bureaucrats then is not whether auto workers will have to give up past gains, but how much the workers will lose, and how to sell this to the UAW ranks.

For the past year, UAW President Leonard Woodcock has been trying to prepare the UAW rank and file for a contract sellout. For months, Woodcock talked about how much the companies and the union have "in common" this year and why a strike was "unnecessary." UAW officials scaled down their contract proposals to the point that almost nothing meaningful was even being demanded. The fight for the shorter work week to create jobs—which was supposed to be the top bargaining issue—was dropped.

Instead, the union is asking for a few more days off each year. The demand for cost of living adjustments on pensions was shelved, replaced by a request for a small cash grant for retirees. Across the board, the UAW leadership dropped all major demands that would have meant real gains for auto workers.

Worse yet, the demands Woodcock did put forward served to divide the UAW. Woodcock proposed a two-tiered system for the SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) fund

(Continued on page 4)



**The Fight Against Racist  
Terror in Chicago... page 2**

**After Mao: What Next?..... see p.8**

# Defeat Racist Terror in Chicago!

## Cops Halt March on Nazi Headquarters



A spokesman for the Revolutionary Socialist League addresses August 21 rally.

CHICAGO—Cops halted a march against racist terror and segregation led by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement on August 21. The 250 marchers were headed for Marquette Park on the southwest side when the cops stepped in.

Thousands of racists attacked a similar march on July 17 while on-duty cops stood by and watched.

Numerous off-duty cops were identified in photographs of the racist mob. On August 21, a solid line of cops massed one-half mile from the all-white Marquette Park neighborhood to stop the march.

Chicago is the most segregated city in the U.S., and Marquette Park is now the center of racist activity in the city. From its headquarters at 71st

and Rockwell, the Nazi Party churns out its racist filth and offers bounties for Black skins. Racist attacks are on the rise throughout the city—for example, Blacks trying to use public beaches have been beaten repeatedly—but the white-punks operate most openly in Marquette Park. Black pedestrians have been set upon; in May, one was stabbed 22 times. On June 6, hundreds of thugs organized by the Nazis and the KKK invaded the nearby West Englewood community, beating any Blacks they could find.

Marquette Park and all-white Gage Park are Mayor Richard Daley's strongholds as a result of the 6,000 cops and the thousands of patronage workers living in these two neighborhoods. Catering to its base, Daley's political machine has failed to enforce Chicago's open housing legislation and has pledged to "stabilize" the area, i.e., keep it all-white.

The Daley machine makes sure the lily-white neighborhood gets decent public services while West Englewood and other Black areas are denied the same. The all-white residential pattern of the Marquette Park neighborhood is also preserved by the banks. The banks reject the applications of Blacks who apply for mortgages in the area.

The Nazis, cops, bankers and Daley all have different methods, but they all aim at keeping Chicago segregated

and keeping Blacks on the bottom. The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement's marches have been an important step in the struggle to defeat these enemies and the racist system they defend. They are the only organized attempt to build a response to the wave of racist terror.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the King Movement have erred by focusing almost exclusively on winning the right to march to Marquette Park, rather than also emphasizing the fight for decent jobs and housing for all. A fight for jobs and housing could mobilize mass support in the fight against the racists.

The King Movement has also made the serious mistake of calling for police protection. The story of the marches shows once again that the Black community really needs to be protected from the cops—the off-duty pigs in the racist mobs, the on-duty pigs who wink at the racists.

Recently, however, the King Movement took an important step in the right direction by initiating the Trade Union Committee to Fight Racist Attacks and Secure Democratic Rights in Chicago. This committee already involves the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, the Postal Action Committee, SUBS (a caucus in the Chicago Teachers Union), the Shoemakers, the Boilermakers and other unions.

Unity by Chicago's working class, Black and white, can defeat the racist campaign. On the other hand, if the Nazis and the bosses are able to divide the working class and pick off Blacks, their next target will be the trade unions and white workers.

The Trade Union Committee can build strong unity between the unions and the Black community. By championing the slogans of decent housing and jobs for all and organizing union members to stop the racist attacks, it can begin to attract hundreds of militants from the Black community. By beginning a union educational campaign against the racist terror and the aims of the Nazi and KKK racists, union members can be won to the anti-racist struggle. Through this activity, a strong movement to defeat racism based on a union-Black alliance can be built in Chicago. □

## Steelworkers: "Join the Fight!"

The Torch reprints below an open letter signed by 19 steelworkers, including supporters of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus. The letter urges fellow steelworkers in Locals 65, 1033 and 1014 of the USWA to join the fight against racist terror in Chicago, both by supporting the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement and by working to build union support for the struggle. The letter was distributed in mid-August to build for the August 21 march.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

As members of the USWA we are concerned about the level of racist violence that is taking place in the city, and what it will do to our union. On August 8th some young white thugs in the East Side pulled a young Black off his motorcycle and beat him senseless. There were two similar vicious attacks in the area in June. There are undoubtedly many more such incidents that we don't hear about. In and around Marquette Park brutal assaults on Blacks have become everyday events.

The message of the racists is clear. They want to turn Chicago into an armed camp. They want to deny Blacks the right to even pass through "white turf" like the East Side. The Nazis and the Klan, in fact, are trying to provoke a race war. These plans mean death for the labor movement, and they must be defeated.

As unionists we understand that without unity among the workers of all races and nationalities we will be unable to defend ourselves from the steel companies. Next spring the USWA will be entering a new contract round. Without unity we won't be able to fight for a decent contract. Racist violence threatens to destroy the unity which we have labored to build in our union over the years. If Blacks are unable to exercise their most basic democratic rights, such as the right to walk the streets unmolested; if Chicago is turned into an armed camp;

then our unions will be destroyed, for all practical purposes.

We live in a time of reaction. Everyone is familiar with Watergate, but most workers are not aware of the anti-labor offensive coming from the halls of Congress, the Courts, and the White House. The restrictions by the Supreme Court on the right to strike, boycott, and organize, as well as government restrictions on minimum wage laws are one example. Another is the systematic union-busting aimed at government workers—from the \$3,000 wage cut enforced against San Francisco public construction workers, to the massive layoffs and plunder of pension plans of government workers in NYC to the wholesale firing of unemployment office workers in a Chicago local for daring to go on strike. Likewise, our 120,000 brothers and sisters in the United Mine Workers are literally fighting for their lives over the issue of coal mine safety, against the gang-up of the courts, companies, and their own International.

The trend is clear. We can expect more vicious attacks against labor in the future, and we had better stiffen our backs. This means strengthening our unity and solidarity—following the magnificent example of our brothers and sisters in the coal mines. The spreading climate of racism threatens just the opposite. If it goes unopposed it will split us apart; it will leave us defenseless against future

(Continued on page 15)

## USWA Local 1033 Takes Stand Against Racist Terror

CHICAGO—Black workers at Republic Steel have increasingly been the victims of a growing wave of racist violence. Now, officials of Local 1033 of the United Steelworkers (Republic) have publicly spoken out against the attacks. Rank and file pressure forced

Local 1033 President Frank Guzzo to take the action and to criticize Mayor Daley and the Chicago City Council for their silence and inaction in the face of racist attacks.

The pressure on Guzzo comes from the increasing involvement of rank and file steelworkers in the struggle against KKK- and Nazi-led racists. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) has been actively building this fight. In June, the RSC launched a campaign against the steadily increasing racist attacks by calling for Local 1033 defense guards to be formed to patrol the area to protect workers from racial violence. Further, the RSC proposed that the union launch an anti-racist publicity campaign and give official union support to the anti-Nazi marches in Marquette Park.

It was at the June Local 1033 union meeting that the RSC put forward its motion calling on the union to establish workers' defense guards. Guzzo opposed this motion. He argued instead for a motion calling for "immediate and vigorous action by Mayor Daley and Police Superintendent Rochford" to track down and

(Continued on page 15)



Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus contingent at August 21 anti-racism march.



# LABOR IN STRUGGLE

## Abel Forces Dominate USWA Convention Johns Withdraws Candidacy

### Setback for Sadlowski

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) opened its week-long constitutional convention in Las Vegas on August 30. The convention was the latest in a series of battles between the forces backing retiring USWA President I.W. Abel and those supporting reform candidate Ed Sadlowski. These two camps are competing for national union offices in elections planned for next February. The Abel forces emerged from the convention with a clear victory.

Just before the convention opened, the Abel camp announced it had patched up a major split in its "official family." Two different pro-Abel slates had announced their intention to seek executive board posts, including the presidency. Incumbent Vice-President John S. Johns, one of the pro-Abel candidates for USWA President, announced his withdrawal in

favor of a "unity" slate headed by District 34 Director Lloyd McBride.

The reunification of the Abel forces represents a setback for the soon-to-be-announced presidential bid of Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski is currently Director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary). Sadlowski is hoping to get elected by riding a wave of rank and file anger at continued company attacks and the lack of a fight by the USWA. But Sadlowski himself offers little more than vague promises of "union democracy."

The incumbent leadership won overwhelming approval for all its policies at the convention. Most important, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) was reaffirmed. The ENA, negotiated by Abel in 1974, robs steelworkers of their right to a coordinated national strike.

While Abel and his crew sang the



I. W. Abel addresses Steelworkers' convention in Las Vegas.

praises of the ENA, and criticized the "outdated conception of strikes," Sadlowski and his followers offered little resistance. They did not oppose the ENA as such, but concentrated on a motion calling for a membership vote on the ENA. This motion was

defeated. Similarly, Sadlowski-sponsored motions calling for direct membership ratification of the national contract and rolling back last year's big dues increase were also defeated.

The entire convention was held in an atmosphere of hysterical red-baiting by the Abel forces. Charges of "outside influence," "communist take-over" and "revolutionism" were continuously hurled at Sadlowski and his supporters. These red-baiting attempts were designed to whip up right-wing sentiment against Sadlowski—who is no revolutionary in any event—and to strengthen the bureaucracy's ability to clamp down on oppositionists who are to the left of Sadlowski.

The witch-hunting on the convention floor was supplemented by the brutal beating of a Sadlowski supporter, Cliff Mezo, outside the convention hall.

Abel's big convention victories are not based on real strength within the USWA membership. Convention delegates are rarely elected democratically. The convention was stacked in favor of the bureaucratic machine that now controls the union.

Despite their bureaucratic control, the Abel forces are in serious trouble and feeling the pressure of the ranks. In nationwide local elections last spring, opposition candidates won sweeping victories throughout the country.

The strength of these opposition forces provides the base for Sadlowski's strong presidential bid. Many militant steelworkers are supporting Sadlowski as "better than Abel." But Sadlowski is not trying to organize steelworkers to fight for their needs. There is no active rank and file movement, nor does Sadlowski have any intention of building one. Sadlowski is not organizing demonstrations against the ENA. He is not supporting and encouraging local strikes against rotten conditions in the plants. He downplays the key issue of the right to strike.

Sadlowski is not making any effort to mobilize workers in struggle; his victory will not represent a real advance for steelworkers. As the convention showed, the fight to win back the right to strike, and turn back the years of losses steelworkers have taken, will have to be organized by rank and file steelworkers themselves. Revolutionary must lead this fight. □

## Construction Workers Face Sharp Attacks On Wages and Working Conditions



New Jersey construction workers demand jobs.

Building trades workers across the country are facing a full-scale assault on their wages and working conditions.

In New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and other major cities, building trades workers are taking pay cuts of up to 34 percent. Benefits and overtime rates are being slashed by a similar amount. In Los Angeles a new category of worker, the pre-apprentice, is being created. Until recently, five journeymen worked with one apprentice, but the new arrangement allows two pre-apprentices for each journeyman. The employers can now replace the better-paid skilled workers with unskilled workers who will get less than one-third of a journeyman's wage and almost no benefits. Work rules and job classifications that gave construction workers some protection are now being gutted.

The union leaders are accepting these cuts in response to massive unemployment in the industry (nearly

30 percent) and an open shop drive by a section of the employers. Where the unions are stronger (New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, etc.) the employers are forcing the unions to accept wage cuts and the changing of work rules to lower the employers' costs. Where the unions are weaker (the South in particular) the employers are attempting to bypass the unions and drive them out of whole sections of the industry. About 60 percent of all construction is now non-union, twice what it was 10 years ago.

In many areas, such as New York, the cuts are being arranged through a deal between the union bureaucrats and certain contractor groupings over the question of "rehabilitation" work, remodeling of already-built homes and offices. When the construction industry was booming, much of this work was non-union. Since there was enough construction of new homes, apartments, offices and highways to keep most union members employed,

the bigger contractors and the unions weren't interested in "small-time" rehabilitation work. It was left to the smaller contractors and their non-union workers. Today, the bigger contractors and the unions want "in" on the rehabilitation work. Using the unions' desire to have the rehabilitation jobs available to their members, the bigger contractors are demanding, and getting, the unions to agree to cuts in wages and work rules. These contractors contend they need the cuts in order to compete with the smaller, non-union contractors.

### REACTIONARY POLICIES

Instead of militant struggle, the building trades unions have relied on a policy of a highly reactionary relationship with the contractors. For years, they have discriminated against Blacks, Latins and other minority workers (for example, by keeping them out of apprenticeship programs) and have refused to organize non-union construction. Today, the unions are paying for this.

To beat back the employers' offensive, the unions must break from their reactionary policies. They must launch militant organizing drives to unionize the non-union workers and clean out all their racist practices, eliminating discrimination in the unions and on the job, and recruiting oppressed workers into their apprenticeship programs.

But this is only half the job. They must help launch a struggle for a massive public works program, at union scale wages, and paid for by the capitalists. With the inner cities in a state of complete decay, for example, there is plenty of construction work to be done. Such public works projects could provide plenty of jobs for the presently unemployed construction workers as well as unemployed workers outside the industry. □

# Shut Auto Down . . .

(Continued from page 1)

as a way to protect high seniority workers in a period of heavy layoffs. Instead of fighting to make the companies guarantee full SUB for all workers during layoffs, Woodcock called for taking money out of the main fund to set up a special fund. Further, Woodcock called for an extra wage increase for skilled workers to "widen the gap" between skilled and production workers in the UAW. Both these proposals mean privileges for skilled and high seniority workers



Leonard Woodcock.

at the expense of production workers and younger workers.

Ford and the other auto companies naturally agree with Woodcock's approach. The two-tiered SUB fund is fine with them, because they know they can manipulate such a system to their advantage and end up with lower SUB payments overall. They are quite willing to give a few more pennies to the skilled workers—as long as the money comes out of production workers' pockets.

Ford would naturally like to push the attack on auto workers as far as possible—without provoking a major strike. The auto bosses know there is lack of rank and file organization in the plants and that the Woodcock leadership has failed to make any efforts at a rank and file mobilization. They would like to see if they can turn this to their advantage and—within the confines of their basic agreement with Woodcock—wrest some more concessions which even Woodcock would prefer not to give up.

Thus, Ford issued a hard-line proposal on August 31 demanding a long series of major concessions from the UAW. This proposal was revised only slightly in the September 10 "offer" (for details of Ford's "take-away plan," see article on this page).

The Ford executives aren't out to win this proposal. To wrest such massive concessions from the UAW would provoke a long strike and a bitter struggle. With production up, and auto key to the entire economic recovery, no one in the ruling class wants a long strike, least of all the auto bosses who might come out the losers in an all-out fight. Ford merely hopes that by making big threats, some inroads can be made.

Earlier, it had looked like the contract would be settled without a strike. This was because the entire ruling class had expected 1976 to be a "year of labor peace." But the developing strike wave in the U.S. (see page 5) has put pressure on the negotiations.

When workers across the country are striking and winning gains, as in the recent rubber strike, auto workers are not likely to accept a rotten contract unless Woodcock makes the pretense of a fight.

Thus, what is shaping up is a short strike to dissipate anger and militan-

cy in the UAW ranks and to soften up the ranks for a sellout. Such a strike would also give the UAW and Ford the opportunity to work out the specifics of a settlement.

A short strike followed by a Woodcock "compromise" would be a big defeat for the UAW membership. Any contract which doesn't make advances on the most important issues facing auto workers—jobs, job security and working conditions—or which further divides the various sectors of the UAW, will mean that today's rotten conditions in the auto plants will only get worse.

But if auto workers show they are willing to stay out and threaten the

auto bosses' new "boom," Ford and the others will change their tune and begin to offer concessions to get auto workers back in the plants.

In order to mobilize the power of the UAW ranks and prevent a Woodcock sellout, auto workers must organize their forces. As a start, strike committees of the rank and file are needed to put pressure on the UAW tops and, where possible, to take over the conduct of the strike.

The most important way to increase auto workers' strength is to spread the strike to all four auto companies. Auto workers are not just fighting Ford, but are in fact fighting the combined and coordinated power of the entire auto industry. UAW officials argue that striking only one auto maker puts competitive pressure on the target company, forcing it to settle and establish a pattern. But in

an industry as highly monopolized as auto, where the bosses of the various companies cooperate with each other to beat back the demands of the workers, "competitive pressure" is not a serious factor in a strike. The auto companies long ago agreed that strikes were a time for the bosses to maintain a united front against the workers—they do not use strikes to try to push their competitive advantage. Thus, the main impact of striking only one company is to divide auto workers and seriously weaken the impact of the strike.

Auto workers must organize to turn Woodcock's "show strike" into a serious strike, to replace his worthless bargaining proposals with serious demands that meet auto workers' needs and to turn a potential defeat into a victory for the entire labor movement. □

## Ford's "Take-Away Plan"

The following are the highlights of Ford's contract proposal to the UAW:

•Wages: Ford has "offered" a 43-cent to 82-cent wage increase over three years (approximately 3 percent per year). This is nothing but the annual productivity increase automatically included in every UAW contract since 1948. But it's not even that. Ford is refusing to include all of the COLA money from the last contract into the new base rate. This means that the 3 percent increase is figured on a smaller amount than it should be. So Ford's proposal adds up to a wage cut from what auto workers would be getting by the standards of the old contract.

•Benefits: Since the wage base rate is also used to determine benefits, Ford's refusal to include all the COLA money into the base also means a cut in benefit contributions. In addition, the company is demanding that the workers pay for part of their health insurance with money diverted from their COLA increases.

As a precedent, they are using the 1973 contract in which the union agreed to take 10 cents from COLA to pay for the dental plan.

•Absenteeism: Under the current contract, workers with less than 20 years' seniority start losing vacation time if they have more than 35 unexcused absences. Ford now proposes a graduated scale in which, for example, a worker with one year seniority would start to lose vacation time after only five unexcused absences. The company also proposes to take away the right to union representation and the grievance procedure when workers are disciplined for unexcused absences and lateness.

•SUB: Ford agrees "in principle"

with the union's proposed two-tier, back-up system for high seniority workers, but they refuse to make substantial additional payments to the SUB fund. The company proposes that the money for the extra fund should come from cuts in other areas of the SUB plan: lowering the maximum funding, contributing less to the credit union, making eligibility for short work week benefits more difficult, and cutting individual SUB payments.

•Probation: Ford wants to length-

en the probation period from 90 days to six months. Ford also is demanding that the wages of new hires be cut to \$1 an hour less than those of non-probationary employees. At present, there is a three-month, 45-cent differential.

Ford's proposal to increase probationary periods does not just attack new hires; it weakens the entire workforce by increasing the percentage of workers who at any given time lack full union rights and benefits. □

## Auto Workers in Argentina Defy Military Regime

In the first week of September, Argentine auto workers launched a massive and bitter strike in direct defiance of the ruling military dictatorship. The strike began when workers organized slowdowns in several plants. After a week it had spread to Ford, GM, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat. Up to 20,000 workers joined the strike.

On September 11, the bourgeois press reported that the strike was over, but gave no details concerning the outcome.

While the immediate issue in the strike was wages, the auto workers were in fact challenging the entire package of "austerity" measures adopted by the brutal Videla regime. (See "Argentina Today: Land of Terror," page 10.)

Following the military coup of March 24, economics minister José

Martínez de Hoz removed all price controls. Prices jumped 100 percent between March and May and have risen another 15 percent since then, even according to the regime's own figures.

Wages were raised a tiny 10 percent in June and 12 percent in August—too little to make a dent in this huge cut in real wages suffered by Argentine workers. And, as a result of the business recession deliberately engineered by Martínez de Hoz, auto production has been cut. One hundred thousand auto workers are working only 15 days per month.

The generals' first goal after taking power was to stop strikes and terrorist actions, which had forced Argentine capitalists to grant wage concessions. To stamp out strikes, they have banned all union activity, arrested thousands of union members and officials and taken over the General Confederation of Labor and 35 national unions. In this context, the auto strike was a direct challenge to the entire military dictatorship.

The government and imperialist-owned auto firms reacted brutally to the strike. The government issued a decree making strike activity punishable by 10 years in prison. Strikers were arrested and marched out of the plant at gunpoint. Ford threatened that all workers on strike after September 9 would be fired.

Under the pressure of this attack, workers reportedly returned to their jobs at two Chrysler plants, but the strike held out longer at GM, Ford and other firms. The present strike may have ended, but the struggle of Argentina's auto workers will continue.

Victory to the Argentine Auto Workers!  
Their Fight Is Our Fight!



# Strik

## Auto S

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San Francisco city

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# Strike Wave Gaining Strength

## Auto Struggle Can Spark Upsurge

The auto contract expires in the middle of a growing wave of strikes. This makes the auto contract fight, always a key test for U.S. workers, especially crucial this year.

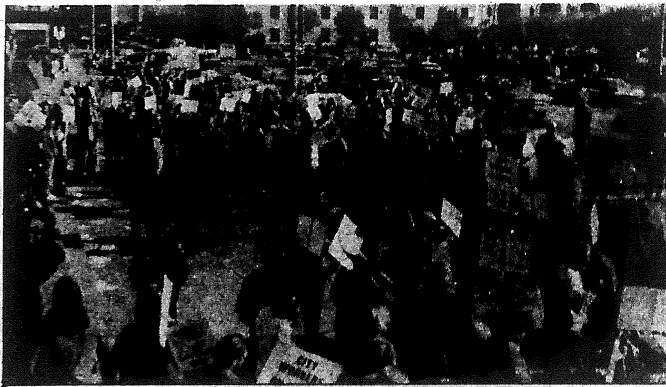
The ruling class thought that 1976 would be a year of "labor peace." They wanted to settle major contracts without strikes and without making any important concessions to the working class. But hundreds of thousands of angry workers upset their plans. Since March, there has been a growing wave of national and local strikes spreading to industries throughout the country.

This spring, rank and file militancy forced Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons to call the first nationwide strike of drivers covered by the Master Freight Agreement (MFA). Although the strike was limited and

was called off after a few days without major gains, it showed the growing militancy of the Teamster rank and file. Cannery workers, United Parcel workers, brewery workers and car-haulers—all members of the IBT—also struck this year.

In April, San Francisco workers were on the verge of a general strike. A strike by public employees facing wage cuts gained widespread support from the San Francisco working class before trade union officials finally pushed across a rotten settlement.

Hundreds of other strikes by public workers continued through the spring and summer. They included the biggest hospital strike in the nation's history, waged by New York's District 1199. The 1199 strike sparked the first DC 37 strike ever against New York's municipal hospitals.



San Francisco city workers on strike last April.

## Long Rubber Strike Ends; Ranks Win Key Demand

Seventy thousand rubber workers ended their four-month strike against the nation's major tire producers early this month. The long strike forced the rubber bosses to grant the largest increases in wages and benefits won in any major contract this year.

The United Rubber Workers (URW) won its key strike demand—unlimited cost-of-living adjustments. Rubber workers also won a general wage increase of \$1.35 per hour over three years. These gains, plus advances in pension benefits, health and welfare contributions and an extra 40-cent per hour raise for skilled workers add up to a projected 36 percent increase over the next three years. The average for major contracts this year had been roughly 32 percent.

This settlement was won only through the militancy of rank and file rubber workers. It was this militancy which forced the URW leadership to strike all four major tire producers (Goodyear, Goodrich, Uniroyal and Firestone) rather than follow its normal and weak "one-at-a-time" strategy. It was the rank and file who maintained the strike for 130 days, making it the longest strike in the history of the rubber industry.

The URW membership engaged in militant activity throughout the strike. Rubber workers defied court injunctions, fought with the cops to maintain mass picketing and stopped scab production at a number of locations. These actions were taken

despite the URW leadership's opposition to any militant tactics.

The rubber companies had counted on the lack of strike funds and the weakness of the URW bureaucracy to force rubber workers back to work on the companies' terms. Instead, URW members lived on savings, loans and

(Continued on page 15)

In July and August, 100,000 coal miners wildcatted against government and court interference in union affairs. The strike lasted a month despite the opposition of the entire UMW leadership.

The bitter four-month strike by rubber workers has just ended. This was the longest strike in the history of the rubber industry, and one of the longest strikes in any major industry since World War II.

This strike wave signals an important change in the class struggle in the United States.

For the past several years there has been a lull in the class struggle. A divided and demoralized working class has not been able to build a serious defense against employer and government attacks.

This lull reached its lowest point during the 1974-75 recession. The huge number of layoffs and the higher general unemployment cut the ground out from under the workers. Laid-off workers had no way to fight back; workers with jobs were afraid of losing them and were reluctant to struggle. Using the economic crisis as a club, the capitalists intensified their attack on the workers. Real wages were driven down; working conditions were worsened; inadequate social services were cut even more.

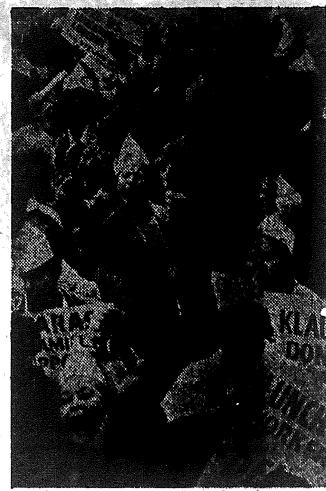
The most oppressed sections of the working class were hit hardest: Blacks and other minority workers, women workers and non-unionized workers. Workers in the public sector where unions are weak also took a beating. The gap widened between skilled and higher-seniority workers (largely white) and the less skilled, lower-seniority and specially oppressed workers. This division further weakened the working class as a whole.

The rotten leadership of the unions did nothing to organize a struggle to defend the workers' living standards and conditions.

The current economic upturn has led to recalls from layoff and to new hiring. Workers feel more sure of keeping their jobs. These factors have begun to renew the workers' confidence. After years of retreat, the workers are determined to turn the attacks around. The strike wave has begun to reverse the workers' defeats.

But the strike wave has important weaknesses:

•The struggles, with the exception of the miners' strike, have all remained under the firm control of the official union leaderships. The potential strength of the workers, corralled by



New York school workers demand benefits.

the no-struggle policy of the union bureaucrats, remains untapped. Efforts by rank and file rubber workers to force a full shutdown of the industry by mass picketing, for example, were stopped by union officials. The rank and file workers are angry, but there is little organization and leadership to cohere their militancy and give it a unified impact.

•Class consciousness and class solidarity remain at a low level. Strikes have been isolated and limited to bread and butter issues. Gains have been fairly small. Revolutionary ideas are only beginning to receive a hearing from the majority of the working class.

The strike wave must be strengthened. The fight to build a class-conscious rank and file leadership and to widen the movement's demands goes hand in hand with the fight to strengthen and unify the developing movement.

The struggle in auto is key.

The auto contract struggle traditionally sets the pace for other industries. Auto is a giant industry at the heart of the economy—steel, glass, rubber and dozens of other industries depend on auto for much of their sales. Auto pits the workers' strength against one of the ruling class's strongholds. And workers in other unions look to the UAW contract fight because of the union's size, strength and reputation for struggle.

If auto workers can beat Ford, GM and Chrysler, the confidence and determination of other sections of the working class will grow. The impact of a serious struggle in auto will be multiplied many times over.

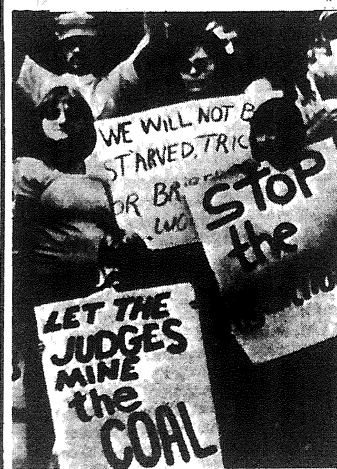
Build the Strike Wave!

## Coal Wildcat Makes Gains

Coal miners gained a partial victory in their four-week wildcat strike, which ended on August 11. Nearly 100,000 miners struck to stop the courts from attacking local wildcats. The wildcat began when a federal judge issued an injunction and levied huge fines against West Virginia Local 1759 for striking over an arbitrator's decision. He threatened to jail the entire membership of the local unless they went back to work. The militant strike forced the judge to drop all fines and charges against members of the local. But the miners did not win their demand for an end to court interference in the miners' struggle against management.

The miners' strike ended when UMW President Arnold Miller threatened to expel all strikers from the union and place striking locals under trusteeship unless the miners immediately returned to work. Even then, a few areas stayed out in response to attempts by coal companies to fire militants in reprisal for the strike.

A rank and file national strike committee was organized just a few days before the strike ended. This was a valuable gain for the ranks. The next battle for rank and file miners will be at their union convention, which starts on September 23 in Cincinnati. Militant miners are seeking to make the local right to strike the key demand in next year's contract negotiations.



Miners and their families fight the courts.

as highly monopolized as the bosses of the various cooperate with each other ck the demands of the "competitive pressure" is s factor in a strike. The ies long ago agreed that a time for the bosses to united front against the ey do not use strikes to their competitive advan- the main impact of one company is to divide s and seriously weaken of the strike.

ers must organize to turn "show strike" into a s, to replace his worthless proposals with serious at meet auto workers' s turn a potential defeat ry for the entire labor

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tion period from 90 days s. Ford also is demanding es of new hires be cut to ss than those of non-pro- employees. At present, ee-month, 45-cent differ-

posal to increase probab- ds does not just attack weakens the entire work- easing the percentage of at any given time lack ghts and benefits. □

Argentina regime

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e raised a tiny 10 percent 12 percent in August— ake a dent in this huge ages suffered by Argen- And, as a result of the sion deliberately en- Martinez de Hoz, auto s been cut. One hundred o workers are working per month.

s' first goal after taking stop strikes and terrorist h had forced Argentine grant wage concessions. ut strikes, they have union activity, arrested f union members and taken over the General a of Labor and 35 na- In this context, the auto direct challenge to the y dictatorship.

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pressure of this attack, rtedly returned to their Chrysler plants, but the ut longer at GM, Ford rms. The present strike ded, but the struggle of auto workers will con-

y to the Argentine auto Workers! Fight Is Our Fight!



## Dupree On Trial Following Police Attack on Muslims

NEW YORK CITY—On August 2, the trial of Lewis 17X Dupree opened. Dupree is charged with murdering a cop, Phillip Cardillo. On April 14, 1972, Cardillo entered Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 in New York, in what Louis Farrakhan, the Mosque's minister, called an "unprovoked, wanton and possibly premeditated attack on a place of worship."

Police are trying to excuse their attack on the Mosque by claiming that it was made in response to a report of an officer in distress.

The state is charging that Dupree shot Cardillo with the cop's own gun. But the state is not offering as evidence the bullet that killed Cardillo.

The prosecution intends to call a "mystery witness" who will testify against Dupree. The only "mystery" about this witness is why he will be allowed to testify. He came forward only after the Patrolman's Benevolent Association offered a \$25,000 reward.

On August 3, Judge Evans ordered lawyers not to speak to the press about the case. Since then the judge has backed down and allowed lawyers to provide the press with transcripts and photographic evidence from the trial. The judge's reason for the gag attempt was that the lawyers might use the press to prejudice the jury. The real reason is that he wanted to quietly railroad Dupree off to jail.

## Demonstrators Demand: Free Lureida Torres!

NEW YORK CITY—On August 12, 50 people picketed the Federal Courthouse here demanding that Lureida Torres be free.

Several months ago, Lureida Torres was called before a grand jury set up to investigate the bombings in New York in 1975. These bombings were attributed to the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of Puerto Rico (FALN).

The grand jury attempted to get information from Torres about the activities of the FALN and about her own political affiliations. She steadfastly refused to answer the questions. Because of this the state threw her in prison for "contempt." She has been there since June 24. Defense attorneys for Lureida Torres have pointed out that the investigation "targeted the whole Puerto Rican independence movement" for attack. The investigation is being used to give the FBI information, not only about the bombings, but about all organizations involved in the fight for Puerto Rican independence. Lureida Torres' contempt for the ruling class's attempt to police liberation movements is justified.

The August 12 demonstration is part of the nationwide Campaign to Free Lureida Torres, initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The campaign is now sponsored by 50 organizations and individuals.

Free Lureida Torres!

## State's Case in Shambles in Carter/Artis Frame-Up

The second trial of Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis is scheduled to begin on October 12. They will be tried on the original 1966 indictment charging that they murdered three men in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar.

Passaic County Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys recently dropped plans to get new indictments charging Carter and Artis with being "accomplices," since he can't figure out who they were accomplices to.

In 1974, the first Carter-Artis trial, held in 1967, was exposed as a frame-up. Arthur Bradley and Alfred Bello, two ex-prisoners, were the key prosecution witnesses at the 1967 trial. At the time they testified that Carter and Artis had left the scene of the murder with guns in hand. In 1974 they repudiated their testimony, revealing that the prosecutor, who had the power to send them back to prison, had forced them to lie to the court.

In 1975 Alfred Bello retracted his recantation. His revised statement says that Carter and Artis were not the killers but were at the scene of the murders.

Through Bello's new story and the testimony of Bradley, and Annie Ruth Haggins (a third witness "discovered" during a 1975 grand jury investigation) the ruling class hoped to continue to tie Carter and Artis to the murders.

This plan has now completely collapsed. In mid-September, Bradley revealed that he was visited in Boston last month by an assistant prosecutor and two investigators from Passaic who pressured him to testify for the prosecution and offered to pay his plane fare back to New Jersey for the trial. Their club over Bradley is a recent indictment on assault with intent to rape charges, which Bradley claims are false.

Today, the prosecution's case rests entirely on Haggins. She is the only other person who could corroborate Bello's statement, but has been unable to pass a lie detector test. So Bello's statement stands alone, proving nothing, while the criminal maneuvers of the prosecution are more and more exposed.

On September 10, Superior Court Judge Charles S. Joelson ruled that the trial be transferred from Paterson to Jersey City in Hudson County, because of prejudicial pretrial publicity in Passaic County. Although Joelson rejected defense attorneys' motion to move the trial to Newark in Essex County where there is a larger Black population which is sympathetic to Carter and Artis, Joelson's order is a victory for the defense.

Today, the prosecution is clutching at straws. The 1967 trial has been shown to be a frame-up. All the ruling class's attempts to save face can only further expose the racist frame-up of two innocent Black men.

—FH

# San Quentin 6 Trial Reveals Gov't Plot

Garry: Now sir, can you tell the court and the jury what was your last completed assignment here in the northern part of California?

Tackwood: To assassinate George Jackson.

Garry: To do what?

Tackwood: To assassinate George Jackson.

This was the testimony given to Charles Garry, lawyer for the San Quentin Six, by former police lieutenant Louis Tackwood, agent of the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department.

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On August 12, after 24 days of deliberation, the jury in the trial of the San Quentin Six returned a verdict. Only three of the six Black and Chicano prisoners—Luis Talamantez, Willie Tate and Fleeta Drumgo—were acquitted.

Hugo Pinell, who proved that his actions on August 21, 1971, were in self-defense, now faces two life sen-

in the prison yard.

The phony charge that all six were co-conspirators was exposed by former police lieutenant Louis Tackwood, who named three different government agencies that were actively involved in a plot to kill Jackson. Hugo Pinell's testimony earlier this year also shot the state's case full of holes.

## PINELL'S TESTIMONY

Pinell told the court that on August 21, 1971, Jackson returned to the Adjustment Center from a visit with his lawyer. Jackson prepared himself for a strip search, placing some legal papers and his cap on a table. As he did this, a guard, Paul Krasenes, drew a gun on him. Since no guns are allowed in the prison except on the walls and towers, Jackson knew this was a plot on his life. Another guard, Urbano Rubiaco, went toward Jackson. Jackson kicked Rubiaco in the chest and knocked the gun from Krasenes' hand.

Jackson was able to retrieve the gun and ordered Rubiaco to open the cells of all the other prisoners on the tier. Pinell, when his cell was opened, tied up the two guards overpowered by Jackson plus a third who arrived. While Pinell was tying the guards with bedsheets, he heard a shot outside.

Pinell ran to the door and saw Jackson lying on his back in the yard. Jackson rolled over and tried to crawl but was too injured to do so. Another prisoner pulled Pinell away from the door, telling him that it would be suicide to go outside.

Later, Pinell said, he heard more gunfire.

Even after all this was told in court, the state went ahead with its cover-up of the real conspiracy. The state went ahead shedding crocodile tears for racist guards it never gave a damn about. And the state went ahead with its attempt to blame the San Quentin Six for a conspiracy that never existed.

Because Luis Talamantez and Fleeta Drumgo were acquitted, they have been paroled. Willie Tate's acquittal means he will not be sent back to prison.

There was no crime committed by the San Quentin Six. There was only a government plot to kill George Jackson carried out by brutal prison guards. Spain, Johnson, and Pinell must be freed! □

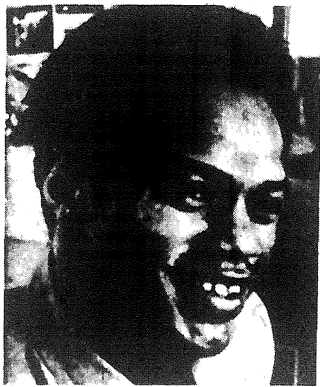


George Jackson.

tences for assault on two prison guards.

David Johnson, who was not even involved in the events surrounding the assassination of George Jackson, was also found guilty of assault.

Johnny Larry Spain was found guilty of the murder of two prison guards and conspiring with Jackson in a supposed escape attempt. This verdict came despite a psychiatrist's testimony supporting Spain's statement that he is unable to remember anything from when his cell door opened until he found himself running



Fleeta Drumgo (left) and Hugo Pinell.



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## Inmates Strike NY Prisons

Almost exactly five years after the 1971 uprising, prisoners at Attica Correctional Facility launched a general strike. On August 23, 1,975 prisoners out of a total of 1,982 refused to do their school and work assignments. The strike lasted six days before it was defused by prison administrators.

The demands of the Attica prisoners included: 1) that inmates be paroled after serving five consecutive years, regardless of their sentences; 2) that prisoners be placed in facilities closer to home to make visiting by families easier; 3) that "good time" be accumulated on a "day-for-a-day" basis. Other demands centered on specific conditions at Attica.

Though the strike had organization and a considerable degree of unity, the ruling class managed to end it with a handful of small concessions and a lot of empty promises. The only real gains were a relaxation of visiting rules, the installation of showers and a

promised liberalization of parole.

As in the uprising of five years ago, the prison administrators promised no reprisals. In the meantime, the absences of each prisoner from work and school were carefully logged in inmates' records. The administrators obviously have no intention of keeping their promise. One prisoner, Winston Mosely, has already been put in solitary confinement for passing out strike leaflets.

Despite the limited nature of the gains and the treachery of the prison officials, the Attica strike has sparked struggles throughout New York State. On August 30, the day the Attica inmates ended their strike, the prisoners at Great Meadows Prison began their own general strike. And the next day, prisoners at Greenhaven went out. Resistance to oppressive prison conditions continues to grow.

Power to the Prisoners!  
Attica Lives!

## Harrises Get Maximum Prison Terms

On August 31, William and Emily Harris were sentenced to maximum prison terms of 11 years to life. Parole is technically possible after six years and eight months. But capitalist "justice" and the bourgeoisie's offensive against the working class and the left mean the Harrises will inevitably serve far more than this minimum.

The Harrises were indicted on criminal charges: armed robbery, kidnapping and auto theft. But these charges were only a smokescreen. In reality the Harrises were tried and convicted for being members of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Their real "crime" is being uncompromising opponents of U.S. imperialism.

The Harrises correctly made politics the center of their pre-sentencing statements to the court. They delivered sharp attacks on U.S. atrocities against the American Indians, the Vietnamese, students at Kent State and others—all committed, of course, in the name of "democracy." Bill Harris declared: "We're going to prison not because we are a threat to people, but because our ideas are a threat to the way society is organized."

The trial, a fraud from start to finish, bears Bill Harris out. It saw gross abuses of even bourgeois justice—crude attempts to bias the jury, several failures to disqualify obviously prejudiced jurors and repeated refusals to declare a mistrial after these and other abuses were brought to light.



Emily and William Harris.

Judge Mark Brandler imposed the maximum possible sentence allowable under the law for a first offense. Such a harsh sentence was designed as a warning to the Harrises and the entire revolutionary left. The ruling class is trying to intimidate anyone who fights imperialism.

This is the crux of the matter. Those who fail to demand freedom for the Harrises, because of the Harrises' mistakes over how to fight imperialism, betray the solidarity of the working class and all oppressed people under attack by the ruling class.

The Harris case exposes the thorough corruption of the ruling class and its flunkies.

Mark Brandler, the so-called "judge" of the Harrises, cares nothing for justice. He wants the Harrises to

## 1971 Attica Rebellion: Its Spirit Lives On

Five years ago, on September 9, 1971, the historic Attica rebellion began. Over 1,200 prisoners took over D and B blocks as well as D yard of the maximum security prison. Over 40 hostages were taken. For four days the prisoners governed themselves and demanded that the state treat them as human beings.

On September 13, after four days of ruling class tricks to convince the prisoners to cease their rebellion, the ruling class crushed the rebellion by force, killing 39 inmates and hostages.

The rebellion at Attica began in response to the brutality and racism that prop up the prison system. Attica was tremendously overcrowded. Authorities threw the prisoners into segregation for little or no reason. The guards were racist and sadistic.

In the months preceding the rebellion, prisoners at Attica repeatedly requested reforms. They got empty promises in return—but no results.

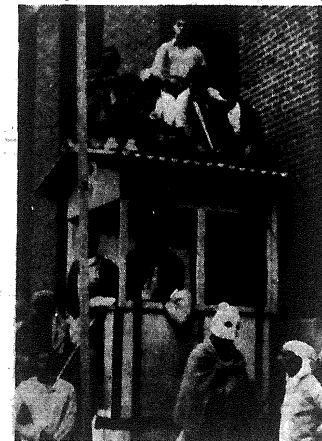
In July of 1970, 450 inmates in Attica's metal shop held a sit-down strike. After two days they won higher wages. On August 22, 1971, the day after the ruling class murdered George Jackson, hundreds of Attica prisoners wore black armbands and staged a one-day protest fast.

On September 8, 1971, two prisoners, one Black and one white, were beaten and thrown into segregation. The next morning all hell broke loose. After breakfast, instead of letting the prisoners enter the yard for exercises, guards attempted to return them to their cells. One guard, Robert Curtiss,

shouted racial epithets at the prisoners. He was pushed to the ground. Prisoners overpowered a few other guards who attempted to aid Curtiss.

Prisoners forced open the gate at "Times Square" (the entranceway to all other areas of the prison) and, by 10:30 a.m., were in control of the prison.

The prisoners then elected leaders



Solidarity during 1971 Attica rebellion.

according to cell blocks and drew up a list of 33 demands. The essence of these demands was the right to be treated as human beings. The state's response to this was to use trickery, lies and slander—then murder.

Demands that the state agreed to were left so vague as to mean nothing or were outright lies.

The state attempted to limit the access of observers sympathetic to the strikers. Meanwhile, bourgeois liberals came and went.

In the negotiations, Commissioner Oswald promised countless times that there would be no reprisals. These promises were nothing but lies.

At the same time, the ruling class began a propaganda campaign, spreading horror stories of hostages being murdered, castrated and raped. Actually, if the Attica rebels can be criticized for anything, it is their leniency toward the prison guards.

When the prisoners refused the 28-point ultimatum of the state, the assault began. At 9:46 a.m. on September 13, tear gas was dropped into D yard. State troopers and prison guards armed with rifles, shotguns and submachine guns began the slaughter of the Attica rebels.

In addition to the 39 inmates and hostages who were murdered, over 80 more were wounded. Prisoner leaders Sam Melville and L. D. Barkley were singled out and shot. The prison was returned to the butchers.

Then the tortures began. Inmates' faces were shoved into the mud. Guards threw lighted cigarettes on them. The prisoners were forced to run a gauntlet of club-wielding guards and troopers to get to their cells. Medical attention was withheld from suspected leaders who had been injured.

The ruling class used all of its force to drown the 1971 Attica rebellion in blood. But the state was unable to break the spirit of Attica. The resistance continues today. □

rot in jail so that he can climb the scum-covered steps to success in the United State's legal establishment. He is a lying hypocrite who wants only to increase his power and fame at the expense of militant fighters against imperialism.

The Harrises, in contrast, are willing to lay down their lives in the fight against one of the most cunning and vicious ruling classes in the history of humanity. They refuse to recant or repudiate their beliefs. They fight for revolution and the future of humanity. As Emily Harris said, "For the society I think we have a potential to achieve, we're not willing to give lip service to our ideals; we get no satisfaction with words."

Defend the SLA!  
Free the Harrises!

# CHINA IN CRISIS

## Part Three: After Mao: What Next?

By Jack Gregory

*On September 9, Mao Tse-tung died. The following article on the present crisis in China was written shortly before his death.*

*The analysis put forward in the article is in no way altered by Mao's death. Rather, as the article points out, Mao's death can only intensify the political crisis in China and open the way for further mass struggle against the state-capitalist rulers.*



Anti-Teng rally of shipyard workers.

Mao Tse-tung launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to strengthen state-capitalist rule in China. As we have seen in the previous parts of this series, Mao aimed to increase the economic surplus available for industrialization by exhorting the Chinese people to work harder and make greater sacrifices. To further strengthen the state-capitalist regime, he sought to overcome the historic tendencies toward decentralization of power in China. This demanded weakening the hold of regional party bureaucrats.

To implement this approach, Mao needed to defeat his factional enemies within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and within the economic administration. To do this, Mao set out, under the banner of the Cultural Revolution, to mobilize the masses outside the CCP and among the lower party cadres. Promoting slogans of equality, an end to bureaucratism and the revolutionary rule of the masses, Mao was able to attract many students and young workers to his struggle against the majority of Party senior cadres led by Liu Shao-chi.

But, as the history of class struggle shows, when one section of a ruling class tries to activate the oppressed classes to intervene in a faction fight within the ruling class, the oppressed masses often go beyond the limits acceptable to the ruling class as a whole. Often they strike out for their own class

interests. This is precisely what happened in the Cultural Revolution in China.

In January of 1967 a wave of strikes swept China's key cities—Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking, Canton, Nanking. This strike wave was the biggest China had seen in 40 years.

Mao sought to use the mobilized students and youth to defuse this enormous working class upsurge. "Divide and rule," a classic tactic of the ruling class, had unforeseen results in China of 1967.

In return for scabbing on the workers' strikes, Mao promised his young supporters that their organizations would rule directly. Taking this promise at face value, the Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels organized the "Shanghai Commune." But Mao had other ideas. As soon as the strikes were under control, Mao began bringing the Cultural Revolution to a halt. He established the "3-in-1" Committees, through which the army was given the major responsibility for governing. And he chastised the Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels for going "too far."

### Mao Tries to Turn Back

But this turn-about was not as easy to accomplish as Mao might have hoped. Once having been mobilized to fight for revolutionary ideals, the Chinese youth were not so easily tricked. They refused to believe that Mao had turned his back on the struggle against privilege and bureaucratism. Hundreds of thousands of young Chinese students, workers and peasants split away from the official mass youth organization (Workers Headquarters) and formed dissident groups—Second Regiment, Workers Third Headquarters, the Red Revolutionaries and others. Each of these organizations claimed over 100,000 supporters.

In Kwantung and Kwangsi Provinces, railways were hijacked and pitched battles fought between the rebel youth and the army. All in all, the rebel forces claimed 30 million supporters.

The most significant of the dissident tendencies was Shen Wu-lien (the Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee), a coalition of over 20 rebel organizations. Starting from Mao's call for equality, the right to rebel and other revolutionary ideals, Shen Wu-lien went further than Mao had dreamed when the Cultural Revolution began.

Shen Wu-lien declared that China was not ruled by the workers and peasants, but by a "Red capitalist class." This class was made up of party, government and army officials. Shen Wu-lien denounced the "3-in-1" committees, and advocated destroying the CCP and building a new revolutionary party. Finally, it called for smashing the army and the entire state apparatus and replacing it with a Paris Commune-type state in which the working class ruled directly.

"We publicly declare that our object of establishing the People's Commune of China can be attained only by overthrowing the bourgeois dictatorship and the revisionist system of the revolutionary committee with brute force. Let the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie tremble before the true socialist revolution that shakes the whole world! The China of tomorrow will be the world of the Commune."

(Manifesto of Shen Wu-lien, 1968)

Unfortunately Shen Wu-lien retained its illusions in Mao. Not realizing that Mao's promises of revolutionary democracy and equality were never meant seriously, Shen Wu-lien stopped at criticism



of Mao. Never did Shen Wu-lien expose Mao as the "Red capitalist" he really is, and call on the masses to break with him.

### Proletarian Threat

Despite fatal weaknesses, Shen Wu-lien and the other rebel organizations created terror among the Chinese state-capitalists. The threat of masses of workers joining forces with the revolutionary youth to struggle to overthrow state capitalism forced the warring Party factions to pull together. The threat of proletarian revolution—real workers' rule in place of empty rhetoric—signalled it was time to bring the Cultural Revolution to its end. Mao rushed headlong into the arms of his old party enemies. Better, better by far, the "capitalist roaders" than the socialist revolution.

### Mao's Deal

The reconciliation within the Party, under the threat of the mass struggle, was effected by a deal between Mao and Chou En-lai. Although Chou had remained a supporter of Mao during the Cultural Revolution, his whole approach was much closer to that of Liu Shao-chi. But, unlike the other leading administrators, Chou understood the importance of

Mao and Mao's ideology to win to hold the country together economic growth. Most important understood the need to end the

For his part, Mao recognized diplomatic maneuvering, smooth feathers and administering quietly and efficiently. To the struggle and unite the state required a man of special ability. Chou was the man to do the

The deal between the factions forward. Mao was restored to his clicable stature, directly challenging "Tse-tung Thought" was to be party leaders were whipped by other side, Chou was to be rehabilitate all but a tiny hard party and government officials. Hsiao-ping, the "number two" behind Liu, was recalled. Many old-time administrators were allowed old development strategy with concessions to Mao.

The final ingredient in the deal China's foreign policy. Seeking from the military to domesticate Chinese state-capitalists abandoned stance and began an orientation and Western imperialism—an showing its true colors today.

At root, the deal between represented a stalemate. No faction won decisively, not clearly defeated. The dispute beneath the surface.

This deal was not put into practice took time to actually wind Revolution and isolate and organizations. It took time to party cadres and repair the state administration. And it took the pro-West orientation in years between 1967 and 1971 which the deal was proposed.

China, from 1972 to the present continued jockeying for position factions. It is this maneuvering various "campaigns" so highly press. Increasingly disturbed by return to material incentives a Liu's program, the "Reds" have paigns such as the anti-Confucius



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Mao and Mao's ideology to win the masses' loyalty, to hold the country together and to generate economic growth. Most important, Chou, like Mao, understood the need to end the factional strife.

For his part, Mao recognized Chou's talents for diplomatic maneuvering, smoothing over ruffled feathers and administering the huge country quietly and efficiently. To end the inner-party struggle and unite the state-capitalist class required a man of special ability. Mao realized that Chou was the man to do the job.

The deal between the factions was straight-forward. Mao was restored to his previously invincible stature, directly challenged by no one. "Mao Tse-tung Thought" was to be supreme. Provincial party leaders were whipped back into line. On the other side, Chou was to be given free reign to rehabilitate all but a tiny handful of the purged party and government officials. Even Teng Hsiao-ping, the "number two capitalist roader" behind Liu, was recalled. Most important, the old-time administrators were allowed to apply their old development strategy with only minor concessions to Mao.

The final ingredient in the deal was the shift in China's foreign policy. Seeking to shift resources from the military to domestic development, the Chinese state-capitalists abandoned their independent stance and began an orientation to the U.S. and Western imperialism—an orientation which is showing its true colors today.

At root, the deal between the two factions represented a stalemate. No issues were decided. No faction won decisively, nor was any faction clearly defeated. The dispute was left to simmer beneath the surface.

This deal was not put into practice all at once. It took time to actually wind down the Cultural Revolution and isolate and disband the rebel organizations. It took time to rehabilitate the old party cadres and repair the shredded party and state administration. And it took time to arrange the pro-West orientation in foreign policy. The years between 1967 and 1971 mark the period in which the deal was proposed and consolidated.

China, from 1972 to the present, has seen the continued jockeying for position by the two main factions. It is this maneuvering that explains the various "campaigns" so highly featured in the U.S. press. Increasingly disturbed by Chou and Teng's return to material incentives and other aspects of Liu's program, the "Reds" have launched campaigns such as the anti-Confucius campaign to



Chou En-lai's body lies in state in Peking last January.

increase their relative strength in the party without breaking the truce. In each case, however, the "experts" have been able to end the campaigns by taking them over or otherwise defusing them.

## China Today

Today China's large scale problems remain. Although China has maintained a substantial growth rate in the past few years, all the contradictions of economic development on a capitalist basis remain. The majority of workers and peasants live at or near a subsistence level. Huge inequalities exist. For example, professors earn 10 times what manual workers get. Poverty is widespread in the countryside so there is a tremendous desire on the part of the peasants to migrate to the cities. But there is no room for them in the cities, since the economy is not expanding fast enough. The tendencies toward decentralization of the country still remain, and still threaten to tear the country apart in times of crisis. In a word, all the class antagonisms remain.

These contradictions are heightened by the experiences of the Cultural Revolution. Over one million Red Guards were exiled to rural areas. Here they cause enough disturbances for the state-capitalists to run attacks on "ultra-lefts" in the provinces.

But most important, the working class, which flexed its muscles during the Cultural Revolution, is more and more conscious of its strength. In 1975 the largest series of strikes since 1967 swept China. At Hangchow the workers' strike was so large and determined that it could only be broken by sealing off Hangchow and sending in army troops.

This is the context for the crisis in China today. Since the reconciliation between the factions did not solve the problems, eliminate the dispute or give one faction predominance over the other, inner-Party peace was extraordinarily dependent on the close working relationship between Mao and Chou. As long as these two maintained their alliance and kept the two factions at a truce, business could proceed as usual. But what would happen when Chou and Mao left the scene?

## Who Will Rule After Mao?

The replacement of top leadership in the party and state apparatus under state capitalism presents difficult problems for the ruling class. The tremendous contradictions within these societies require authoritarian government to hold the country together. With one individual holding a tremendous amount of power in his hands, the problem of picking a successor is a tricky one. As all the contradictions of the society are reflected within the single ruling party, all the inner-party struggles are reflected and intensified in the struggle for succession.

Today Chou is dead and Mao is dying. Can the Chinese ruling class maintain the allegiance of the workers and peasants without Mao? Can the two factions agree to compromise their differences in the interest of maintaining state-capitalist rule in China? Can men of the caliber of Mao and Chou be found who can work together? The task of picking

the successors to Mao and Chou threatens to unleash the contradictions barely hidden below the surface.

Until 1971, Mao's hand-picked (and constitutionally designated) successor was Lin Piao. But Lin was eliminated in 1971 when he opposed the pro-West turn in China's foreign policy. In the absence of Lin, there was no single figure with the agreed-upon qualifications and authority to take over. Teng Hsiao-ping was Chou's choice for successor. But Teng was too closely associated with Liu Shao-chi and too distrusted by the entire "Red" faction.

Under pressure from "anti-rightist" agitation, Teng was removed last April. In his place, Hua Kuo-feng was promoted from Acting Premier to Premier. Hua appears to have no strong independent following in the Party and little prestige among the masses. His two qualifications are his administrative skills and, more important, his lack of ties to either of the main factions.

Hua's appointment will maintain the stalemate between the factions, but only temporarily. From all appearances, he will continue the "moderate" policies of Chou and Teng, while enforcing Teng's banishment and giving the "Reds" greater access to propagandize the masses.

But it is not clear that Hua can solidify himself in office. And it is not clear that the state-capitalists can prevent the succession crisis from becoming a social crisis of national proportions.

## Crisis Nears

Hua and the entire state-capitalist class are left to maneuver in the shadow cast by the Cultural Revolution. Will the Chinese workers and peasants remain quiet as the state-capitalists work out their problems? Or will they seize the opportunity offered by the split in the ruling class to fight for their own interests? This question cannot be answered today. Only time will tell. But the masses have already given some indications of their feelings.

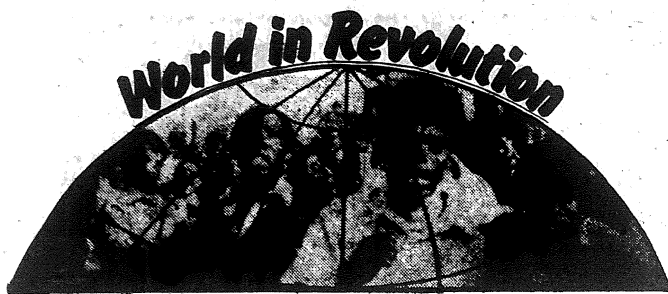
When Chou En-lai died last spring wreaths were placed in Peking's Tien An Men square. When the wreaths were removed, over 100,000 people rioted. The army was called in to subdue it. Although the riot was blamed on Teng, Teng did not have the power to call out thousands of people for a violent conflict with the police, militiamen and army. Nor would he have done so if he could.

The masses acted on their own. They were notifying the bureaucracy that they are not prepared to watch on the sidelines while the bureaucrats decide their fate. The workers and peasants of China want a say in determining who governs them and how they are governed. The masses are prepared to enter the struggle once again.

This time, there will be no Mao to command their loyalty. This time, there are millions of veterans of the Cultural Revolution—workers will no longer be so easily misled by the spokesmen of the "Red" faction. This time, if the political crisis is extended to involve the masses themselves, the revolutionary goal of a workers' and peasants' government of China may become a reality. □



ONG LIN PIAO & CONFUCIUS



## London Police Riot at West Indian Carnival

Black teenagers in London fought a bloody battle with police at a West Indian Carnival festival August 30. By official count more than 450 people were injured, over three-quarters of them police.

Police had flooded the Carnival (which is held every year in the Notting Hill district of London) with 1,600 officers. Scotland Yard was responding to pressure from racists in the Conservative Party, who had demanded that the Carnival be completely banned. The huge police contingent was a racist provocation—Blacks attending the festival were surrounded by a wall of white police.

The trouble began when dozens of police charged into the crowd after a woman screamed that she was being robbed. According to one Black witness: "I saw a crowd of policemen and they were giving a Black boy a terrible hiding with their truncheons. He was bleeding badly. Then a group of Blacks waded in to help him and before I knew it all hell let loose."

Notting Hill was the scene of white mob attacks on Blacks in 1958, when West Indian immigrants began to move into the area. Today, unemployment among Black and Asian youth is 18 percent, three times the national average. Victims of racism and a declining economy, Black teenagers are often on the receiving end of the cops' sticks. All this exploded into rebellion on August 30 when the cops swung their sticks one time too many.

## Irish Republic Enacts New Laws to Crush IRA

The Dáil (parliament) of the Irish Republic has passed a series of new laws aimed at crushing the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA is fighting for the independence of neighboring Northern Ireland from England, basing many of its operations in the Irish Republic.

The new laws provide seven years in prison for membership in the IRA, 10 years for recruiting members for the IRA and 15 years for participating in "unauthorized military exercises" (in other words, IRA training or actions). The laws also empower the police to hold prisoners seven days without bail or trial.

Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave points to the IRA assassination of the British Ambassador to Ireland and the bombing of a special anti-IRA court as proof that the IRA is a threat to the Irish state. But these actions were not aimed at overthrowing the Irish government—they were part of the IRA's fight for independence for Northern Ireland, and for survival in the Republic.

The real purpose of Cosgrave's laws is to prevent the IRA from operating in the Republic—and thereby cripple its actions in Northern Ireland. Underneath the scare talk, Cosgrave is simply acting in the interest of Irish capitalism and British imperialism against the IRA.

## India's Gandhi Seeks Further Repressive Measures

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India has proposed new laws that will give her virtually unlimited power. The laws increase powers already existing under the State of Emergency that has been in force for over a year. They will allow the government to ban "anti-national activities and associations"—in other words, any opposition to the government. The right of the courts to review legislation will be reduced. The President (who is the prime minister's rubber stamp) will have the right to amend the constitution single-handedly.

Gandhi claims that a "revolution" to "end poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity" has been underway for the last year. This so-called revolution has helped no one except employers and the middle class.

Under the State of Emergency, all strikes are illegal. Workers continue to strike despite the ban, but the rate of strikes has fallen by 80 percent. On the other hand, in one Indian state, employer lockouts have risen 83 percent. And workers will not receive their traditional annual bonuses this September.

Despite claims of anti-corruption moves, official corruption continues. "The size of my take has tripled," boasts one cop. "I tell my 'client' I run a greater risk since the Emergency." Peasants were to be given a better deal. But a move to give the central government, rather than the states, control over agriculture was defeated by big landowners who control the Congress Party in the states.

Gandhi's new powers are intended to crush any opposition to the government by India's masses, who have been mercilessly attacked under the State of Emergency and are beginning to wake up to this fact.

## Thai Students Force Right-Winger Back Into Exile

Four days of student demonstrations and riots forced Prapas Charusathien, hated ex-chief of Thailand's secret police, back into exile on August 23. Prapas had returned to Thailand only five days earlier, supposedly for medical treatment. He had been in exile since 1973, when the military regime of which he was a part was overthrown following massive student demonstrations.

Prapas' second expulsion from Thailand was a setback for the developing right-wing activity in the military. Thailand's present coalition government has recently taken steps away from U.S. domination. It first expelled U.S. troops and then opened talks with Laos and Vietnam. Thailand's military frowns on these events, and open right-wing agitation has begun.

Had Prapas been allowed to remain, it would have been a clear sign that the left was weak and unable to defend the minimal democratic gains won in the 1973 revolution. Prapas would have become a leader and rallying point for the right. Instead, the left has won a test of strength.

—CH and LR

# Argentina Today: Land of Terror

On August 20, right-wing Argentine terrorists massacred 46 leftists and dumped their machine-gunned corpses on a country road. This is the second mass execution in recent weeks. On July 3, the right-wing death squads assassinated 40 leftists, including priests and nuns.

The death squads are working hand in glove with the military dictatorship headed by General Jorge Videla. The generals are clearly out to exterminate the left. They give their unofficial blessing to the growing fascist movement to smash the left and the trade unions—whose very existence is a threat to the regime.

Argentina's 600,000 Jews face the threat of a pogrom. Right-wing newspapers accuse the Jews of disloyalty, and Hitler's speeches and other Nazi documents are freely sold on newsstands.

Since the coup of March 26, the Videla regime has opened up a campaign of harsh economic "austerity" and murderous terror. To shore up a sick Argentine capitalism, economy minister José Martínez de Hoz has forced prices and unemployment up while cutting wages.

Strikes have been banned. To attract foreign investment, Martínez de Hoz is prepared to sell out the last vestiges of Argentina's economic independence. A new law guarantees that foreign investors can send profits abroad virtually tax-free. The government oil monopoly has been relaxed to lure imperialist oil investment.

### REPRESSION

Argentina today is a country of terror. Anybody can be arrested at any time. Amnesty International, the London-based organization concerned with the rights of political prisoners, estimated in May that between 20,000 and 30,000 people had been arrested in two months. Of these, many thousands have been tortured and killed.

Much of the terror is carried out by the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA). This organization for assassination began killing people two years before the coup. The government pretends it is trying to stop it, but the links between the AAA and the police are an open secret. In thousands of killings by the AAA, no one has ever been arrested. The reason is simple—the AAA is funded and operated by the government. Members of the AAA even drive the same unmarked Ford Falcons that are standard for the cops. Dozens of times, armed men with police IDs have arrested people who have never been seen alive again.

The danger is worst for refugees who fled to Argentina earlier from

right-wing coups in Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay and, above all, Chile. Since the March 26 coup, there have been no sanctuaries left for these exiles. According to some reports, the government has forcibly deported 1,300 refugees into the hands of the Chilean hangmen. One victim was Edgardo Enriquez of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), who is now presumably dead.

On June 9, men in Ford Falcons invaded a UN refugee camp in Buenos Aires and ransacked the records. Two days later, scores of refugees were arrested. On July 19, 30 Uruguayan exiles were kidnapped on the streets and in their homes. These are typical incidents.

On the same date, the dictatorship murdered Mario Santucho, head of the



Right-wing AAA gunmen.

ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army), the revolutionary guerrilla organization. Santucho was killed with his comrade Enrique Gorriaran Merlo in a gun battle with government soldiers not far from Buenos Aires.

Videla and the whole Argentine junta is supported and sponsored by the U.S. ruling class. In June, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger told Martínez de Hoz in Washington that the U.S. would back the junta to the hilt.

In contrast, strong working-class protests against the Argentine terror in some European countries have pushed France's Francois Mitterand, Portugal's Mario Soares and other European Social Democratic leaders to issue a call for free elections and civil rights. These pro-capitalist leaders are not really anti-Videla, but they know the growing terror is leading to sympathy abroad for the Argentine left. Their message to Videla is: "Put your house in order."

### OUR TASKS: SOLIDARITY, EXPOSURE

Today, U.S. workers must build international solidarity with the Argentine workers and leftists to expose the murderous nature of the Argentine junta. The U.S. government's aid to Videla must be exposed and fought. Internationally, the left must join in a determined campaign to expose Videla's fascist plot and defend the Argentine working class against the rightist butchers. Defeat for the working class in Argentina will only weaken the workers of the U.S. and the whole world. □



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# South Africa . . .



Armed government-organized scabs transported to Soweto to attack strikers.

(Continued from page 1)

coast manufacturing belt.

The government tried to claim that the strike was the result of "intimidation." It is obviously impossible to intimidate two hundred thousand people into staying off work, especially when employers are sending truck convoys under police guard to bring them to work. The cry of "intimidation" was merely one of the countless hysterical lies issued by spokesmen for the racist government.

In a further attempt to defeat the strike, the government appealed to Blacks to arm themselves with clubs against the "intimidators." (Normally it is a crime for Blacks to carry clubs or sticks, much less firearms.) On the second day of the strike, armed thugs attacked strikers and demonstrators. The attackers were said to be Zulu migrant workers lodged in a Soweto hostel. The world's bourgeois press played up the attacks with headlines such as "Blacks Fighting Blacks in Soweto" and mourned over the "evils of tribalism."

This, too, was all a lie. The Zulu migrants are a tiny minority of Soweto's 200,000 Zulus, most of whom joined the strike. The clashes were between strikers and government-organized scabs—not between tribes. This became obvious when police stood with folded arms as strikers were attacked by roving bands of armed thugs. Black reporters managed to get photographs of Zulus entering Soweto in heavily armed convoys. A Black reporter for the Rand Daily Mail overheard a police officer telling the Zulus: "If you damage houses (government property), you will force us to take action against you. You have been ordered to kill only the troublemakers."

The attempt by the government to set Blacks fighting among themselves failed. The three-day strike ended as it began, in solidarity, with at least three-quarters of all Johannesburg's Black workers off the job.

## APARTHEID IN CRISIS

The powerful mass struggle has thrown the ruling regime into crisis. The racist white minority government's base of support has been further narrowed. On August 21, leaders of seven of the nine "Bantustans" met in Johannesburg to denounce the Bantustan policy. (The Bantustans are the "tribal homelands," made up of 13 percent of South Africa's worst lands, which the government plans to "give" Blacks in exchange for their few remaining South African citizenship rights.) These Bantustan leaders, previously

loyal to the regime, declared: "The only language they (the government) are prepared to listen to is violence."

They demanded the end of all racial laws and the freeing of all persons held in detention. The meeting knocked an important prop of support out from under the government's policy.

The mass rebellion has produced a widening split in the ruling class itself. Calls for reform have come from a section of the white owners of the mines and factories, including the powerful Transvaal Chamber of Industries. These elements, along with important British and American imperialist firms with billions in South African investments, believe that more concessions than Vorster is willing to make are required to stem the tide of revolution.

The loss of the support of previously loyal Black leaders and the splits in the ruling class itself have forced the government to vacillate in its response to each new wave of mass struggle. In a speech to a white crowd on August 19, James Kruger, the Minister of "Justice," stated in typical Afrikaner style: "The Black man knows his place—and if not, I'll teach him his place. They always say they will overcome—but I say we will overcome." But four days later an increasingly nervous government was

forced to claim that Kruger was "quoted out of context."

The government has also been forced to back off from its traditional hard-line "no concessions" stance. A series of token reforms have been made in hopes of putting an end to the "disorder." For example, the Vorster government reversed an earlier decision that Blacks in the segregated townships could not own their houses. The government is also rumored to be planning to expand the powers of the township councils, a long-time demand of white liberals who realized that the Black struggle would sooner or later explode unless reforms were made. Meetings with township officials (Black "leaders" who have long acted as the government's puppets) and "homeland" leaders are scheduled to be held in October.

Despite vacillations and token concessions, the government's main weapon is still repression. The Bantustan policy and all other fundamentals of apartheid have been repeatedly reaffirmed. Thousands of Blacks, including virtually every radical Black leader who could be found, have been arrested. As of this writing, nearly 350 Blacks have been murdered and hundreds more wounded by police bullets and clubs.

But these repressive measures have failed to crush the mass rebellion. It is this failure that has produced a crisis and has brought forward a layer of white "moderates" calling for "reform."

It is important to understand clearly that these white South African "moderates" are all supporters of white supremacy. Apartheid (complete separation of races), the Bantustan scheme and other policies of the present government are all methods of maintaining white supremacy. The white opposition parties have traditionally supported other methods, but they do not challenge white supremacy itself. Neither the industrialists, the opposition parties or any of the important white newspapers or churches have called for fundamental rights for Blacks—the abolition of all racial laws and one man, one vote.

White supremacy is not merely a system of daily brutality and insult by the white minority toward the Black majority whose country they have stolen. Apartheid cannot be separated from South African capitalism. The institutions of white supremacy are essential to maintaining the exploi-

tation of the Black proletariat—the very basis for South African capitalism. Thus the question in South Africa is not one of reform, but of revolution.

Sections of the white capitalist class can and do call for higher wages for some Blacks and Black entry into skilled occupations—reforms in the white supremacy system which would make better use of the country's labor supply. They can call for "better" education or other reforms. But they cannot and will not call for putting power in the hands of the Blacks, since this would immediately undermine their social rule and their ownership of vast mineral and industrial wealth.

This means that the struggle against apartheid is in fact a struggle against the entire state power in South Africa. It is a struggle to defeat its armed forces, smash its administrative and legal machine and tear down its jails. It is a struggle to strip the white ruling class of power, privilege and property. It is a struggle to seize the resources that belong only to Black South Africans, the wealth that is the fruit of Black South African labor and Black South African labor alone.

This requires war to the end. The Black proletariat is the only class in South Africa numerous enough, concentrated enough, and potentially organized enough to carry through such a fight. This is the force that can give leadership to the rest of the oppressed people—the unemployed in the townships, the rural and "homeland" populations, the "Colored" and Asian masses—and rouse them to settle accounts forever with apartheid.

The South African masses are struggling for self-rule, for an end to oppression and for power in the land of their birth—a land where they have been slaves for two hundred years. They are struggling for all that is theirs. These aims mean more than simply gaining majority rule. They can only be fully won through socialist revolution—a revolution in which the proletariat itself takes control of the factories and mines, establishes the armed power of the oppressed masses and builds a new state based on this power. The freedom and self-rule for which the masses are struggling can only be won through proletarian revolution and the creation of a workers' and peasants' state. □

## "Coloreds" Join Anti-Apartheid Struggle

Blood ran in the streets of Cape Town September 3 as students and workers marched in the downtown business district and battled police. The mass demonstrations began two weeks of struggle by "Coloreds"—the South African racists' term for people of mixed ancestry.

Demonstrations and street fighting continued throughout the weekend—while Henry Kissinger and South Africa's arch-racist prime minister, John Vorster, were conspiring in Zurich to find ways to sabotage the struggle of the Black masses across all of southern Africa.

Police charged the crowds and saturated the downtown area with tear gas, driving the demonstrators back over pavements still stained with the blood of their murdered comrades.

But the struggle continued. During the week of September 6-10, demonstrators set up roadblocks, stoned police cars and set government buildings on fire in townships all around Cape Town. Riot police responded with bullets, killing at least 35 youths including a boy of eight. In Paarl, a wine-growing center near Cape Town, hundreds of students and workers



Kissinger and Vorster meeting last June.

stoned shops and cars in the business district.

The entry of the "Colored" masses into the current battles against white supremacy deepened the crisis of the apartheid regime. The rebellion was touched off by solidarity with the Black protests that had taken place

earlier in Cape Town and elsewhere, and by arrests of community leaders, including the chairman of the Labor Party, the strongest "Colored" party.

White liberalism in South Africa has long tried to use "Coloreds" as a buffer between the white ruling minority and the Black masses. Since they have "white blood," the liberal white racists regard them as more "civilized" than Blacks. "Coloreds" were allowed to vote for white members of parliament until 1956. Last June, a government-appointed commission recommended restoring this right to try to bribe the "Coloreds" by giving them a "stake in the system." The report was rejected. Even as the struggle in Cape Town continued, Vorster was promising 10,000 cheering whites at a September 9 rally that "Colored people" would never sit in parliament alongside whites.

The fundamental interest of all the oppressed masses in South Africa is the same—totally smashing the racist South African capitalism which denies all of them human dignity. The rebellion in Cape Town shows that the "Colored" people are joining Black South Africans in this struggle. □

# LETTERS

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

## Steel Local Condemns Thug Attacks in Union

Dear Torch,

I'm writing to inform your readers of recent events in our international union (United Steelworkers of America—Editor) and our Local, 1033, where some important victories were won by the Revolutionary Steelworkers' Caucus at our last union meeting.

On July 26, at 7:20 a.m., a sniper shot Ben Corum for daring to leaflet USWA District 37 union members at Hughes Tool Company in Houston, Texas. Brother Corum is a member of the USWA, Steelworker Fightback and a supporter of District 31 Director Ed Sadlowski. While direct proof is not yet available, all indications point to the Abel machine or its local affiliates as responsible for this cowardly shooting.

Two days before the shooting, pro-Abel forces twice stopped Sadlowski people from distributing literature. At Armco Steel in Houston, an international rep helped local union officers grab leaflets and force the people from the gates. The next day five carloads of pro-Abel thugs forced Steelworker Fightback people from the gates of

U.S. Steel in Bayton. The following day Ben Corum was shot. The .22 or .25 caliber slug tore into his neck and barely missed his spinal column.

Abel has denounced the thuggery and stated that there is no proof that it was done by union members. At the same time he launched an attack on Sadlowski (without mentioning him by name) for bringing "outsiders" into union affairs. Abel also sent a hypocritical letter against thuggery to all the union locals—a letter which can only be characterized as a slanderous attack on union militants and the left generally. In an underhanded way it attempts to blame the violence on oppositionists within the union and urges the "motherhood and apple pie" brigades of his machine not to allow themselves to be provoked. How this works out in practice can be seen at the last USWA International Convention held in Las Vegas last week.

At the Convention, one of Abel's international staffers beat up Cliff Mezo, a Sadlowski supporter and member of the Rank-and-File Caucus

from Local 1010 (Inland Steel). Brother Mezo got beat up while attempting to photograph what he claimed were irregularities in the issuing of credentials to the delegates. His camera was smashed and he suffered lacerations of the face and a swollen eye. Abel stated that he knew the identity of the staffer, and that he had disciplined him, but he would not reveal his name. Furthermore, Abel stated that the goon had been provoked, and he strongly implied that Mezo was to blame for being the attacked! So much for Abel's concern about thuggery in the union.

Abel is running scared because his machine faces the most serious challenge to date in a likely Sadlowski race for the presidency next spring.

The victory we won at the August 24 meeting of Local 1033 (Republic Steel, South Chicago) was a stiff resolution condemning the cowardly attack on Ben Corum (see below—Editor). The vote was virtually unanimous. We also fought once again for a union-sponsored \$3,000 publicity campaign in Chicago's East Side, to condemn the racist attacks on Black workers passing through this neighborhood. The vote was on a motion to overrule the chair, since the presiding officer, V.P. Ernest Hayes, was too scared to allow a vote on the motion

itself, and ruled it out of order. While we lost on this one we gained the strong support of a third of those present—a great increase of support over the June total. A Supporter of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Chicago

### RESOLUTION

Local 1033 condemns the cowardly shooting of Steelworker Fightback member Ben Corum in front of the Hughes Tool Co. in Texas last month. We have strong reason to believe that said cowardly attack was meant to influence the coming presidential elections in the USWA, inasmuch as Bro. Corum was distributing literature about the ENA, and other issues affecting our union.

Let those forces beware who would through violence attempt to silence debate on crucial questions facing the membership at this critical time in our union's history. The rank-and-file of the USWA and of Local 1033 will not stand for it. No amount of violence can save the ENA from its deserved fate.

## Ohio Prisoners Organize Nine-Day Hunger Strike

*Below is a letter received by the Torch from two prisoners on Death Row of the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility, Lucasville, Ohio. The warden has taken steps that all but deny prisoners on Death Row their right to have visitors. The prisoners are trying to make these measures public, and organize a fight against them.*

*We urge our readers to protest the repressive measures described by the prisoners.*

*Write to:  
Director George F. Denton, or  
Governor James Rhodes  
Department of Rehabilitation and  
Correction  
1050 Freeway Drive, North, Suite 403  
Columbus, Ohio, 43229*

I want to relate to you exactly what we are fighting so intently to keep. Our visits. Effective the 17th of August, we will no longer be permitted to visit in the same manner we have visited since we came here. The changes are:

1) Visits will no longer be nine hours long. We feel this puts an undue hardship upon our visitors coming from distances sometimes as much as five hundred or more miles. Often the traveling time to get here will be greater than the time you are permitted to visit.

2) No food will now be permitted in with a visitor. Until this change in rules our family had the pleasure of bringing us a home-cooked meal at least once a month. With the quality of institution food, a home-cooked meal can be the most enjoyable thing we experience.

3) No more than five people are to be permitted in to see someone at one time. Are they saying that we are now not permitted to have a family larger

than five people? Or are they going to tell us to pick out our five favorite brothers and sisters and let them come while the rest of the family sits home!

4) We are no longer permitted to visit in the regular visiting area. We are now forced to visit in the area "kitchen." My main complaint against this area is not the location, but the complete lack of any sort of vending machine, comfortable chairs, or anything to at least make the place appear as a visiting room. The chairs are wooden, hardback chairs, with no sort of cushion. The lack of machines deprives us and our visitors of even a simple cup of coffee or Pepsi.

Let me tell you that I have just concluded five days of complete fasting in protest of this thing. We did not end the fast as a result of being defeated, but we felt there was a more

concrete way to show our utter disgust and protest to the recent changes that have been implemented toward us. Still, there are two men that have taken the fast a step further, and have vowed to never accept another meal until the administration sees the wrong they have done. These two men are now in the sixth day of the strike. Procedure in something of this nature is to take the men to the hospital after the eighth or ninth day, and attempts to be fed via an I.V. bottle are forced upon the men.

When this happens, they have assured everyone that they intend to tear the needle out of their arm! Since this strike began, six days ago, the warden or anyone of any sort of authority has flatly refused to talk with us. We have filed a petition with the warden, Arnold Jago, with no response. Several guards made the comment that he could, and would, "wait us out." Apparently he still feels this way. Personally, and speaking on behalf of Tai'lar as well, his beliefs and opinions mean absolutely nothing to us. But, when he attempts to force these warped, ignorant, and very senseless ideas upon us, then it

becomes a matter that we are forced to act against. We do not intend to sit back and watch Executioner (Warden) Jago enforce these ideas of his while two fellow inmates die as a result.

Meanwhile Tai'lar and I have devoted ourselves to the cause, and have begun to contact every possible person that may be of some support. We will continue until we get some sort of satisfaction, or the warden has our fingers broke and our typewriters taken away for "making waves."

**In Struggle,**  
Carl E. Osborne  
#142-532  
Tai'lar CX Hancock  
#141-342

*The Torch has just received a new report on the struggle at Lucasville. The hunger strike lasted nine days. Small concessions were made by the prison administration but, as Osborne states in his new report: "We strongly feel they have given us nothing close to what we wanted." Osborne concludes: "All this has just made me more determined to fight this thing to the end. Together, we can overthrow this mockery called 'right.'"*

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# The Many Hats of Jimmy Carter

On November 2, the U.S. ruling class will once again offer the people an opportunity to choose their exploiter for the next four years. Few events have inspired so much apathy. The candidates themselves disagree over little and few people believe that the outcome of the elections will affect their own lives in any decisive way. Fewer than half of those eligible are likely to vote.

The ruling class wishes its politicians were more inspiring, less likely to dampen people's faith in flag, motherhood and apple pie. In their view, capitalism's "image" needs propping up.

U.S. imperialism, through its role in Vietnam and elsewhere, has lost its "democratic" mask. The basic corruption and dishonesty of the bourgeoisie's government has been exposed to millions through Watergate, the CIA revelations, the Pentagon Papers and the Washington sex scandals. Countless empty promises made to Black people in the 1960s are, today, no longer even made, much less fulfilled. Millions, Black and white, are without jobs. The cities rot.

The ruling class wishes it had a strong, popular and decisive leader. Instead it has Gerald Ford. These circumstances have led Jimmy Carter, a mediocrity from Plains, Georgia, who promises "a government that's honest and that's filled with love, competence and compassion," to hope



farmland he owns is still worked by Black tenant farmers.

Jimmy Carter claims he is "for the working man."

Carter, running for president with the support of the AFL-CIO, claims he is for repealing union-busting "right to work" laws. He calls the tax system "a disgrace to the human race" because businessmen have unfair privileges.

Jimmy Carter's record is consistently anti-labor.

When a businessman audience groaned at the news that Carter would consider reforming the capital gains tax, Carter grinned and said, "I said



"girl" well past middle-age. When they grew elderly, Southern racism dropped "boy" or "girl" in favor of "uncle" or "aunt." Mrs. Carter offers "Aunt Rachel" and "Uncle Jack" as proof of Carter family respect for Black people. This is nothing short of offering pure and simple Southern racism as evidence of the "progressive outlook" of the Carter family.

Moreover, as the Carter family well knows, in that period in the South, "Aunt Rachel" or "Uncle Jack" might well have been lynched if they failed to call a white man "Mister!"

Carter makes much of two incidents in supporting his claim to be a fighter for Black rights. He once urged his church to let Blacks inside during services, and he refused membership in the local White Citizens Council, the terrorist organization that attacked civil rights workers. The truth is, none of the white upper crust in Plains or elsewhere joined the White Citizens Councils. They left the dirty work to others. When Carter's church refused to admit Blacks, Carter never raised the issue again.

Carter voted "white" down the line when he was chairman of the Sumter County School Board in the '50s. Once, whites protested when a new Black school was planned in a location that would force Black and white children to walk on the same street. Carter promptly proposed moving the Black school. (He later withdrew the motion, but only because of its "staggering costs.") He voted to award sick pay to white teachers but not to Blacks. He voted to alter the start of school to make Black children available to pick cotton.

Carter ran for state senator in 1962 and won. In 1966 he ran for the Democratic nomination for governor. He ran as a "moderate," and lost to Lester Maddox, who had gained national attention by organizing mob action to keep his Chicken Shack segregated.

When Carter ran again, his opponent was ex-Governor Carl Sanders, who had a reputation as a liberal. Maddox, ending his term as governor, was running for lieutenant governor. This time, Carter ran as a racist. He defined himself as "a local Georgia conservative Democrat... basically a redneck." He denied that he had ever supported the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. Five days before the primary he made a well-publicized visit to an all-white private school, saying he wanted to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education."

Private schools throughout the South have only one purpose—to avoid integration—and "private education" is a code word for "segregated education."

Carter carried out a mud-slinging operation, racist style, against San-



that he will become the next president of the United States.

Who is Jimmy Carter?

Jimmy Carter claims he is an honest man.

"If you ever have any questions or advice for me, please write. Just put 'Jimmy Carter, Plains, Georgia' on the envelope, and I'll get it. I open every letter myself and read them all."

Jimmy Carter is a liar.

All mail sent to Jimmy Carter in Plains is forwarded to his Atlanta headquarters and opened by his staff. Carter doesn't open any of it. He doesn't read it either.

It's a small lie—but it's typical.

Jimmy Carter claims he is a "man of the people."

Carter calls himself a "peanut farmer." His speeches recall his childhood, when "my house had no running water or electricity."

Jimmy Carter is a wealthy capitalist.

Carter's family, though short of cash during the Depression, were landowners who had 300 Black tenant farmers working for them. Their income came from the tenancy-sharecropping system that kept Southern Blacks in bondage from the end of Reconstruction to World War II.

Today, Carter is a rich businessman. He is a speculator on the commodities market. He does not farm peanuts, he buys them from peanut farmers, shells and stores them. The

I'd consider it, not that I'd do it." As for his stand on "right to work" laws, in 1970, Carter attacked his opponent, Sanders, for favoring the repeal of these laws.

Jimmy Carter claims to be for peace.

Carter claims today that he was for withdrawal from Vietnam for years.

Jimmy Carter has always been an arch-supporter of U.S. imperialism.

Carter never criticized the war until 1971 and thought the Democrats should support Nixon's war policy in 1972. As late as April 1975 he wanted to send \$600 million to Saigon to hold up the crumbling U.S. puppet regime.

Jimmy Carter claims to champion the struggles of Black people.

This is the biggest and most shameless lie of all.

Jimmy Carter is an open and vicious racist.

Carter's family was considered "liberal"—but only in pre-1950s Southern terms. According to Carter's mother: "When any of the Blacks who lived on our farm died, we would go to the funeral, and we'd be the only whites there." Carter's father, she adds, "was kind to nigras.... At home, my husband wouldn't allow any of the children to say of an older (Black) person, 'Rachel.' They had to say 'Aunt Rachel' and 'Uncle Jack.'"

In the South of those days, Black men and women were called "boy" or

ders. Showing a picture of Sanders on the same platform with Hubert Humphrey, he said it proved Sanders would sell Georgia out to ultra-liberals. Sanders was a part-owner of the Atlanta Hawks basketball team, so Carter's staff men got a picture of Sanders celebrating a victory with Black ball-players. They sent it to white barbershops throughout the state.

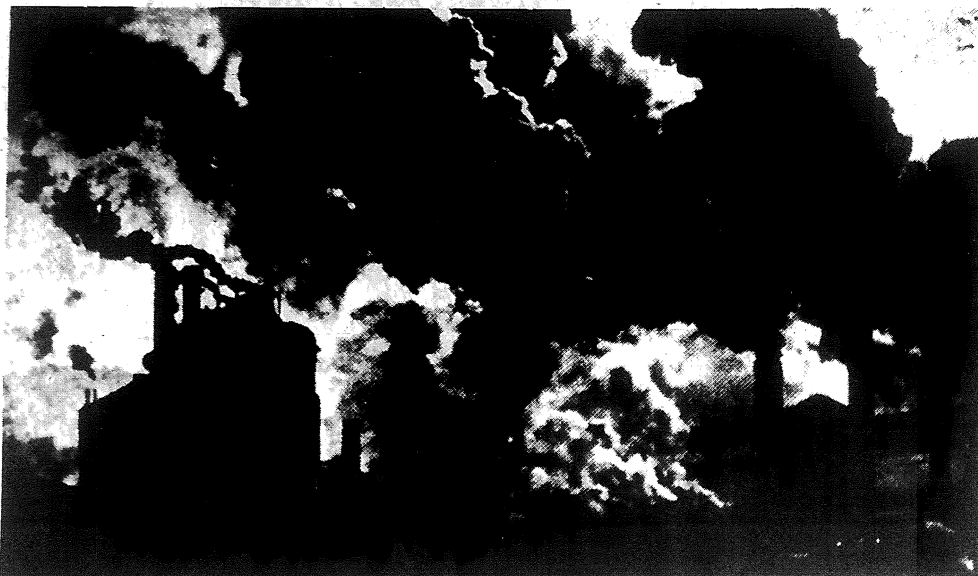
The primary results reflected Carter's appeal to the dirtiest racism. Carter got only 7 percent of the Black vote, Sanders 93 percent. Carter won the nomination. In the general election campaign he declared, "I am proud to have Lester Maddox as my running mate." He said Maddox represented "the essence of the Democratic Party." The Carter-Maddox ticket won.

After his election, Carter changed his tune. "The time for racial discrimination is over," he said. In 1974, he hung a portrait of Martin Luther King Jr. in the Georgia Capitol. This, however, was after he decided to run for president and thus was in need of a new image. Carter spelled this out when he reassured a voter who complained because he hadn't supported Wallace in 1972: "There are times when two men working toward the same end can accomplish more if they are not completely tied together. I think you will find that Governor Wallace understands this."

Carter has certainly developed to the full the most necessary talent for a bourgeois politician—talking out of two, three or more sides of his mouth.

But to be the president of the United States, the supreme leader of U.S. imperialism, means being more than a switch hitter. It means being a racist, an imperialist, and an enemy of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world. This, despite the rhetoric about "honesty, truth and compassion," is just what Jimmy Carter is. □





## Coke Ovens: Looking Into Hell

"The government sets 'allowable' levels for all sorts of dangerous substances. But are these levels set for the workers' health or for the health of the capitalists' profit?" This was the question asked in a recent Torch article, "Capitalism: Earning a Living Means Dying." Republic Steel's Chicago plant provides still another concrete answer to this question.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), a bureau of the federal government, is making Republic build a shed over its local coke ovens, at a cost of \$7 million. This is supposedly to clean up the air. Sheds do clean the air in the vicinity of the mills. But there is one small catch. They do it by trapping all gases, dust and other particles inside the coke oven batteries where the workers are. They turn the already dangerous oven atmosphere into a real hell.

A militant who is a member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers' Caucus (RSC) at the Chicago plant gave us some gruesome details about these sheds and about life in the coke ovens. He mentioned a union-sponsored study of 112 oven workers at the Wheeling-Pittsburgh plant in Monessen, Pennsylvania. The study showed only 44 percent with disease-free lungs. The other 56 percent had widespread emphysema and black lung, which had previously shown up on company x-rays but had gone unreported! These are chilling statistics that speak about the capitalists' cynical hell-bent drive for profit regardless of the cost in workers' lives.

Coke-making is one of the most hazardous industrial jobs.

Coke is pure carbon. To produce it, coal is baked at 1,600° to 2,300° F, in the absence of air. These temperatures drive the volatile gases out until a hard carbon residue is left. Twenty to 35 percent of the original coal is baked off in the form of vapors and gases.

The ovens are loaded through a larry car—a process which accounts for 60 percent of all the pollution. A tremendous dust is kicked up by dumping 16 to 20 tons of coal at a time into an oven.

And, naturally, before the coal can be dumped, the workers have to open the oven lids. This creates a strong draft from the hot oven gases to the cool air. Hydrocarbons, steam, carbon monoxide, hydrogen sulfide, plus extremely dangerous phenols and

cyanides, rush out into the atmosphere of the workplace.

During the baking, the lids and doors supposedly seal the ovens. Usually, though, the lids and doors leak. Even the oven walls leak. All these gases escape through these leaks constantly and at great pressure. Later, pushing the coke out with a ram again creates a huge draft and kicks up billowing clouds of black dust.

On contact with air, any coal not completely reduced to coke bursts into flame. The coke is "quenched" with cold water to minimize combustion and a massive steam cloud carries ammonia and particles into the air. Little wonder that a steelworker at a USWA conference stated: "What we know frightens us... what we don't know scares us to death."

A study by an expert, Dr. J. W. Lloyd, concludes that coke oven workers are two and one-half times more likely to die of cancer than other steelworkers (whose cancer rate must already be far above the national average). For cokers with five years experience the cancer death rate leaps to 10 times that of other steelworkers (to say nothing of emphysema, black lung, and related diseases!) The new EPA-ordered sheds will simply make this gruesome situation far worse.

The sheds operate by trapping the air inside the work site and, in theory, sucking it up through fans. But, as the RSC member pointed out, there is no system of fans capable of handling the massive pollution that is created.

The EPA doesn't care about modernizing the coking process to prevent this pollution, or even to fix up the leaks. Many of the ovens were built before World War II, and a large percentage, before World War I. To clean them up would require a tremendous outlay of capital. Most would have to be scrapped. So the EPA in most cases opts for trapping the air in. Clearly, "environmental protection" has little to do with workers' lives.

OSHA, the government agency supposedly in charge of occupational health and safety, has yet to say one word publicly about the coke oven sheds. No basic operating standards have been set. This is not surprising since any standards for the sheds that would even begin to ensure safe working conditions would force the closing of every one of them.

Moreover, existing OSHA clean air standards for the workplace are rid-

culously low. Conditions acceptable under OSHA standards would be considered an official "Environmental Emergency" under EPA clean air guidelines for the outdoors. As bad as all health and safety standards are, the government is clearly far more concerned about the "general" atmosphere—which the bourgeoisie itself must breathe—than it is about conditions faced solely by the working class.

This isn't the end of the story. Safety and health violations affect Black and Latin workers far more than other workers.

In 1968, Black workers constituted 28 percent of unskilled labor and 18 percent of the semi-skilled production workers, but they had only 6 percent of the skilled jobs—where wages, working conditions and safety and health matters are all, relatively speaking, far better than for the other two basic categories.

## International Campaign Saves Mario Muñoz

The international campaign to save Mario Muñoz has succeeded. Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean union leader, was granted a UN-sponsored safe conduct from Argentina to Austria, which gave him political asylum. He arrived in Vienna on August 4.

Muñoz was a leader of the Chilean miners' union during the Allende government. He was one of the few labor leaders who opposed Allende's Popular Front alliance with bourgeois parties and the military. He called for workers to organize armed defense against the right. When the military overthrew Allende in September 1973, Muñoz fled over the border to Argentina.

The Argentine military coup on March 24 led to a witch-hunt against the left, including exiles from other countries. Mario Muñoz was a special target. For three months after the coup he was in hiding, facing either instant execution or deportation to Chile if captured. Later, while staying in a UN refugee center, Muñoz and 12 other Chilean refugees were arrested by Argentine police. Fortunately, international protests resulted in their release.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), along with the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, initiated a "Committee to Save Mario Muñoz." The PDC is in political sympathy with the U.S. Spartacist League. The campaign was endorsed by the Revolutionary Socialist League, as well as a wide range of leftist, labor and liberal-bourgeois organizations and individuals around the world.

On August 6, six European countries agreed to accept 2,000 refugees from Argentina. Muñoz was one of the first to arrive in Europe.

Muñoz's wife and children are still trapped in Argentina, as are thousands of other refugees along with tens of thousands of Argentine political prisoners. Even in Europe, the refugees are not safe. Arbeiterkampf, a German radical newspaper, reports that the Danish government is trying to deport Carlos Flores, a member of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), to Chile.

The campaign for the safety of Chilean and Argentine political prisoners must be continued. □

While the picture has improved some in eight years, it has not basically changed. The figures for Latin workers (who are placed in a category called "white" in the statistics) are as bad or worse.

These figures hide far more than they reveal. Nationally, Blacks represent one-fifth of production workers and more than one-fourth of the unskilled. However, in the filthiest, most dangerous or unhealthy jobs—such as the coke ovens or blast furnaces—Black and Latin workers represent a far higher percentage of the unskilled and semi-skilled categories than is true of the industry as a whole. (Statistics on this issue are very hard to get, because the capitalists find it convenient to muddle up the picture by using only industry-wide figures). Coke ovens, blast furnaces, and the like, however, are overwhelmingly staffed by Black and Latin workers.

The USWA hacks from Abel on down are powerless to act because they are tied lock, stock and barrel to the murderous capitalist system and its steel barons. For the past five years they have whined about how OSHA is "powerless," "caving in to industry pressure," "abused by the President," and so on. But it is these union "leaders" who have sabotaged the ranks' struggle for improved working conditions.

In 1947 and again in 1952 steel workers made the companies detail work rules in the contract. The workers fought from 1952 to 1959 to extend this gain, but in 1959 the bureaucrats gave back to the companies their "right" to run production without union "interference." And in 1973 the ENA was signed, which surrendered the strike weapon until 1980.

USWA members must fight to win power over work rules and safety conditions. This means a fight to smash the ENA and make the local strike a real weapon in the ranks' hands. It means a fight to disband the "joint union-management safety committees"—pure frauds which gain the workers nothing and give the company a free hand in the shops. It means a fight to create union safety committees, led by rank-and-filers on the shop floor with the power to stop production over safety violations. □

## Sudá

(Continúa de pág. 13) no se hicieran re los oficiales. mu gros que por actuado como los y líderes de las " tendrán lugar en

A pesar de lo concesiones vaci del gobierno es La política del B otras partes fun heid han sido r veces. Miles de virtualmente ca que se ha podid arrestados. Al este artículo cas asesinados y ci heridos por las b los policías. I represivas no h rebelión de mas cual ha produ impulsado a una blancos que llan

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## Open I

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The opposition rest of the un setting up unio protect the mem to their real out are made clear article in which l members have st 'self defense pat officials fail to workers... Thi part in such acti president. We h police and help that's all I can

Meanwhile, C proven time and far more likely t mob than to d attack.

The activities militants put th machine. Guzzo head off opposi growing solidar workers and the fight racism.

BUREAU CAP

Guzzo, like o union leaders, ha serious fight ag bureaucrats, wh capitalism, do n undermine one o pillars of this sy pression of Blac minority workers division in the w over, to really fig requires a mass union rank and f ized to stop Nazi are likely to recog the power to wa against racism a would mean a car housing, a strugg harassment and a in the plants, the



# Sudáfrica . . .

(Continúa de página 16)

no se hicieran reformas. Mitines con los oficiales municipales (líderes negros que por mucho tiempo han actuado como los títeres del gobierno) y líderes de las "patrias de las tribus" tendrán lugar en octubre.

A pesar de los titubeos y de las concesiones vacías, la arma principal del gobierno es todavía la represión. La política del Bantustan y todas las otras partes fundamentales del apartheid han sido reafirmadas repetidas veces. Miles de negros incluyendo virtualmente cada líder negro radical que se ha podido encontrar han sido arrestados. Al momento de escribir este artículo casi 300 negros han sido asesinados y cientos más han sido heridos por las balas y las macanas de los policías. Pero estas medidas represivas no han podido aplastar la rebelión de masas. Es este fracaso el cual ha producido la crisis y ha impulsado a una capa de "moderados" blancos que llaman por "reformas."

Es importante entender claramente que estos sudafricanos blancos "mo-

derados" todos son apoyadores de la supremacía racial blanca. El apartheid (la separación completa de las razas), la política del Bantustan y los otros métodos del actual gobierno todos son métodos de mantener la supremacía racial blanca. Los partidos blancos de oposición tradicionalmente han apoyado otros métodos, pero no retan la supremacía racial blanca misma. Ni los industrialistas, ni los partidos de oposición, ni uno de los diarios blancos importantes ni las iglesias han llamado por los derechos fundamentales de los negros—la abolición de todas las leyes raciales y por un voto por cada persona.

La supremacía racial blanca no es meramente un sistema de brutalidad e insulto por parte de la minoría blanca hacia la mayoría negra cuyo país se han robado. El apartheid no puede ser separado del capitalismo sudafricano. Las instituciones de la supremacía racial blanca son esenciales para mantener la explotación del proletariado negro—la base misma del capitalismo sudafricano. Secciones de la clase capitalista blanca pueden llamar y sí llaman por sueldos más

altos para algunos negros y la entrada de negros a las ocupaciones calificadas—reformas en el sistema de supremacía racial blanca que harían mejor uso de la mano de obra del país. Ellos pueden hacer el llamado por mejor educación y otras reformas. Pero ellos no pueden y no van a llamar por poner el poder en las manos de los negros porque esto inmediatamente socavaría su dominación social y su propiedad de sus vastas riquezas minerales e industriales.

Por eso la cuestión en Sudáfrica no es una de reforma, sino de revolución.

## GUERRA HASTA EL FIN

Esto significa que la lucha contra el apartheid es de hecho una lucha contra el poder entero del estado en Sudáfrica. Es una lucha para derrotar sus fuerzas armadas, aplastar su maquinaria administrativa y legal, y derribar sus cárceles. Es una lucha para despojar a la clase gobernante blanca del poder, el privilegio y su propiedad. Es una lucha para apoderarse de los recursos que les pertenecen a los sudafricanos negros solamente, y la riqueza que es el fruto del trabajo de los negros sudafricanos y solamente del trabajo de los negros sudafricanos.

Esto requiere la guerra hasta el fin.

El proletariado negro es la única clase en Sudáfrica lo bastante numerosa, lo bastante concentrada, y potencialmente lo bastante organizada para llevar a cabo tal lucha. Esta es la fuerza que puede darle liderato al resto de la población oprimida—los desempleados en los municipios, las poblaciones rurales y en las "patrias," las masas de "color" y asiáticas—y despertarlas para que se liquiden las cuentas con el apartheid una vez por todas.

Las masas sudafricanas luchan por registrarse a sí mismas, para ponerle fin a la opresión y por el poder en su tierra natal—una tierra donde han sido esclavos por doscientos años. Luchan por lo que es de ellos. Estas metas significan más que simplemente tener la mayoría en el gobierno. Solamente pueden ser ganadas completamente a través de la revolución socialista—una revolución en la cual el proletariado mismo toma control de las fábricas y las minas, establece el poder armado de las masas oprimidas y construye un nuevo estado basado en este poder. La libertad y el derecho de registrarse a sí mismas por el cual las masas están luchando pueden ser ganados únicamente a través de la revolución proletaria y por la creación de un estado obrero y campesino. □

# Open Letter . . .

(Continued from page 2)

prosecute the attackers. The ineffectiveness of Guzzo's motion is proven by the fact that since June, the police have only "tracked down" three racist attackers; each received only a six-month suspended sentence!

The opposition of Guzzo and the rest of the union bureaucracy to setting up union defense guards to protect the membership is the tip-off to their real outlooks. Guzzo's views are made clear in a Daily Calumet article in which he says: "Some union members have stated they will initiate 'self defense patrols' if police and city officials fail to protect black steelworkers. . . . This local will have no part in such activities as long as I'm president. We have to depend on the police and help from the alderman; that's all I can do."

Meanwhile, Chicago's cops have proven time and again that they are far more likely to be part of a racist mob than to defend Blacks from attack.

The activities of the RSC and other militants put the heat on the Guzzo machine. Guzzo acted only to try to head off opposition arising from the growing solidarity of Black steelworkers and the RSC's campaign to fight racism.

## BUREAUCRATS SERVE CAPITALISM

Guzzo, like other reformist trade union leaders, has no desire to wage a serious fight against racism. These bureaucrats, who support and serve capitalism, do not wish to seriously undermine one of the major social pillars of this system: the racist oppression of Black, Latin and other minority workers and the resulting division in the working class. Moreover, to really fight the racist attacks requires a mass mobilization of the union rank and file. But once mobilized to stop Nazi-type scum, workers are likely to recognize that they have the power to wage a broader fight against racism and its results. This would mean a campaign for jobs and housing, a struggle against police harassment and a fight to end racism in the plants, the unions and in the

society as a whole.

This is the last thing Guzzo wants. But Guzzo also knows that to maintain control of the ranks, he must look like he wants to fight racism. His motion, which he will do his best to sabotage, is designed to defuse the growing movement in the mills.

The fight against racism must become a mass struggle. The union bureaucrats will have to be forced to take action that is more than a token gesture. Steelworkers must build their own union defense organization to avoid having to rely on the police and the city government. As part of the fight for a revolutionary party to lead the struggles of all workers, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus will continue the struggle. □

# Local 1033 . . .

(Continued from page 2)

attacks. It is an acid eating away at our unions from the inside. In the words of the Trade Union Committee Against Racism, speaking of Marquette Park:

"Once we allow the government—actively on the side of the mob through police provocateurs—to tell a small group of Black people that they don't have the right to peacefully protest in white Chicago, how long will it be before they tell Black and white strikers that we can't picket together? How long will it be before the same police-inspired mobs are preventing integrated unions from meeting in their communities? How long before we are being urged to return to the days of Jim Crow unions and locals—the days of a weak and divided labor movement?"

Brothers and Sisters, this letter is to invite you to become active in support of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. We must build solidarity today through this struggle for equality and self-defense, if we are to remain strong tomorrow. We plan to march this Saturday, August 21st, to affirm the rights of Black people and to end racist violence. We ask all of you to do the same, and to join with us to get Locals 65, 1033, and 1014 to support this fight. □

# Rubber . . .

(Continued from page 5)

food stamps. They withstood serious hardships, didn't crack under the economic pressure, and stood firm behind their major demands.

URW President Peter Bommarito made no effort to stop production in almost one-half of the industry, which continued to operate during the strike. Because of this, there were no serious tire shortages in the auto industry, taking auto industry pressure off the rubber companies. Instead of spreading the strike, Bommarito relied on a consumer boycott of Firestone products. Consumer boycotts can be a useful supplement to an effective strike, but Bommarito used the boycott as an excuse for not halting all tire production.

## BOMMARITO'S SABOTAGE WEAKENED STRIKE

Because of Bommarito's sabotage, rubber workers ended up with a contract that falls short of what they needed—and what could have been won. Despite the gains made, the \$1.35 wage increase doesn't make up for the \$1.65 that rubber workers lost to inflation over the life of the last contract. The settlement means that rubber workers' real wages (what their

paychecks will buy) will be lower in 1979 than they were in 1973. The cost-of-living agreement doesn't start providing adjustments for inflation until next April, and even then the percentage increases won't keep up with inflation. Further, the URW leadership dropped one of its main demands—"30 and Out"—which would have made rubber workers eligible to receive their pensions after 30 years' employment regardless of their age.

In addition to these weaknesses, the contract sets lower wage scales for URW members at so-called distressed plants. These are mostly non-tire plants, which the rubber companies say are unprofitable to operate at union wage scales. The very notion of "distressed plants" in the context of the rubber industry, which is a huge international conglomerate, is absurd.

Despite these concessions by Bommarito—concessions that did not have to be made if the URW leadership hadn't betrayed the ranks at every turn—the URW strike is a victory for the entire U.S. working class. Rubber workers beat back a major anti-union offensive by the rubber companies and won substantial gains. Moreover, the URW strike gave a major boost to the strike wave now developing in the U.S. The example set by the rubber workers will be followed by other workers in the coming months. □

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