

Reconstruct  
the  
Fourth  
International!

# TORCH

Newspaper  
of the  
Revolutionary  
Socialist League

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 12/25¢

DECEMBER 15, 1977-JANUARY 14, 1978

STACK 3 OVERSIZE

## South African Whites Rule Out Reforms

# Apartheid Must Be Overthrown

PER SEC.

FEB 24 1984

NYPL

Stephen Biko, the leader of the Black consciousness movement in South Africa, was severely beaten by the racist security police, until he developed brain damage. He was bound hand and foot—naked—in a cell for 12 days. Then, still shackled and naked, he was thrown in the back of a car and driven 700 miles from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. Stephen Biko died—murdered by the white South African dictatorship—on September 12.

These facts were brought to light at the government inquest into the death of Stephen Biko. But on December 2, the government magistrate handed down his verdict—no one was criminally responsible for Biko's death.

The Black people who had packed the courtroom throughout the inquest made it perfectly clear what they thought. When the cops' lawyer began his summary at the inquest, the Black militants marched out chanting "Amandla!" (Power!)

**"They have killed Stephen Biko!"**

And after the verdict was read, Black militants held a demonstration in front of the court. Defying the cops armed with rifles and attack dogs, they raised their fists in the Black power salute and chanted: "They have killed Stephen Biko!"

One young Black woman summed up the verdict. "Unjust! The injustice was committed by the state, so how can they find the state guilty?"

Several days earlier, on November 30, the whites—  
*(Continued on page 17)*



Declaration of war. Black youth give Black power salute at Stephen Biko's funeral.

sección  
en  
español

## 180,000 MINERS STRIKE COAL BOSSES



Coal miners begin strike December 5.

The United Mine Workers (UMW) union is on strike in the eastern soft-coalfields. Thousands of miners in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania began walking off the job several days before the strike deadline. By December 6, 180,000 had stopped work, beginning what is expected to be a long battle for a new contract.

In this strike, the coal miners face off against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the U.S. government. The BCOA represents the combined strength of the large coal companies like Peabody, Consolidated, and Amax, as well as the even larger capitalist corporations like U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, and Standard Oil of Ohio. These larger corporations own and stand behind the coal companies. At stake is the survival of the militant rank-and-file miners' movement and the UMW as a real force in the coalfields.

Union negotiators are demanding:

- Full restoration of medical benefits. Medical benefits were cut during the summer. Instead of full coverage, miners now pay 40 percent of their doctor bills and up to \$250 for hospital stays. This is one of the most important demands for rank-and-file miners.

- Refinancing of the Health and Welfare Fund. Presently, company funding is tied to productivity and

hours worked. The Fund is near bankruptcy. Union members' medical benefits were canceled the day they went on strike. Pensions will be cut back in January.

- Equalization of pensions for 81,500 retired miners. Pensions for miners who retired before 1976 amount to \$250 per month. Miners retiring after January 1, 1976, receive \$400 a month.

- Safety. Specific demands include a union safety representative, an emergency medical technician and a trained rescue team at

*(Continued on page 3)*

**TROTSKY  
ON THE  
MOST  
OPPRESSED**

See page 12



# our readers write...

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 562,  
N.Y., N.Y. 10036

## "I shall not be free until all poor, oppressed and working class people are free"

Dear Comrades:

The September 11, 1977, "Prisoners' Messages to the Day of Solidarity" pamphlet is a small victory for the RSL and revolutionary socialist prisoners across America. It is a triumph for the RSL because it is a clear demonstration of your efforts to move the struggle forward by involving prisoners in it. Who is more downtrodden than prisoners in this country, or for that matter in any country? It is a victory for the RSL because it clearly shows that prisoners can be united in action if the effort is only made to bring that unity into being. You made that effort.

And for prisoners it is a victory because it shows us that we are not alone in our just battle against the forces of injustice behind the walls of these Atticas, Walla Wallas, Somers, Trenton State Prisons, Ohio Reformatories for Women, etc. That is something which most of us needed to know, for at times it appears otherwise.

Now to move on to the Oct./Nov. 1977 issue of the **Torch/La Antorcha**. Before making comments on a few articles I would like to thank the **Torch** staff for seeing that my case gained a little coverage. It is a fact that I need all of the publicity I can receive. I have no illusions about justice in this country, and certainly not in the State of New Jersey. If I am to be freed through the Courts, it shall be only because a substantial number of people demonstrated a passionate interest in my case, and raised collective, socialist revolutionary hell to liberate me from this Bantustan in New Jersey. I know that I am worth more to my enemies while I am incarcerated than I would be if I were semi-free. I know that America's quasi-judicial/correctional system is nothing more than a capitalist tool used to intimidate and control those poor, oppressed and working class people who would dare to strike a blow for their liberation. I know too, however, that if and when I am restored to my status of semi-freedom it will not be the end of my struggle. For I shall not be free until all poor, oppressed and working class people are free, that's regardless of whether they are in or out of prison.

As Brother Malcolm X once

said, the whole of America is a jail. "If you were born Black," he said, "you were born in jail." That is true, but I wish to stretch it further: If you were born poor, a woman, or a minority in a capitalist country, then you were born in jail. That's what capitalism means to poor and oppressed people—jail, prison, concentration camps, Bantustans...

**Torch's** article on building "Worker's Defense Guards" is timely. The organization of such "Worker's Defense Guards" is exactly what Malcolm X attempted to do in 1965 before he was assassinated. The Black Panthers also tried it, only they didn't call their defense teams guards; that was in '68 or '69. I am pleased to see that the RSL is on the proper path. Protect the people, guide their revolutionary actions—that is the duty of us toilers for socialism. The RSL is fulfilling that duty.

Yet there is cause for warning. Malcolm's efforts were crushed. So were the Panthers. They both encountered the same problem: a lack of efficient organization, a lack of financial resources for legal funds, and a lack of "people resources" in general. In building the "Worker's Defense Guards," the RSL must strive diligently to avoid those if the "Worker's Defense Guards" concept is to become an effective reality.

Towards the socialist revolution!  
RLL

## Jamaican portworkers support U.S. dock strike

The following is a leaflet/petition published by the Kingston Portworkers' Committee for Solidarity With the U.S. Portworkers' Strike.

Since October 1, U.S. portworkers at 30 Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports in the U.S. have been on strike. The workers, who are represented by the International Longshoremen's Association, are striking to defend their jobs and in support of claims for guaranteed wages. The shipping capitalists have taken advantage of the growing use of containers to throw some 60,000 portworkers out of work so far.

As a result of this strike we have seen a large number of ships being turned away from U.S. ports and sent to Bustamante Port here in Jamaica. In sending the ships here, the U.S. and local shipping and port employers' associations hope to use Kingston portworkers to smash the U.S. portworkers' strike.

## "That rubbish about love your enemy is foolish"

Peace:

I hope this letter arrives at a time when you are in the strongest of mind and in the best of spirits. I received your post card about a week ago, and I would like to thank you for placing me on the **Torch/La Antorcha** mailing list. I have recently had the opportunity to read the September 14-October 15, 1977, issue of the **Torch**. I enjoyed the article on Attica-South Africa/Same Enemy-Same Fight. So many of the revolutionary papers I read have gone very pacifist. I am happy to see that the **Torch** sticks with aggressive struggle (armed Revolution). It's the only way. The pigs are not just going to get up and walk off, it would be nice if they would, but they're not, and the people must face reality.

To relieve ourselves of oppression can only happen when the people are ruling the gun and are not at the receiving end. People are scared of revolution. Many people are misled as to what a

revolutionary is and what his or her goals are. They must realize that all that rubbish about love your enemy is foolishness, and unless we pick up the gun we will always be defeated.

A revolutionary loves the people, that's the reason he is a revolutionary in the first place. We are not mass, cold-blooded murderers as the imperialist media projects us as. But we do not believe in oppression of the Blacks, lower-class whites, and oppressed people as a whole. We stand for justice and equality for all. And not the imperialist kind. We demand freedom for the people and are willing to lay our lives down for the struggle. Don't see your enemy as the nice guy with the suit and tie, see him as the cold-hearted, non-caring dog he is. Death to the pig.

**Workers! Do not ignore the struggles of our brothers/portworkers in the U.S. Give them your support by:**

- 1) Signing this letter which will be sent as a gesture of solidarity to the U.S. portworkers through their union.
- 2) Getting as many of your co-workers as possible to sign this letter.
- 3) Building a half-hour sympathy strike as a concrete

action in solidarity with the U.S. dockworkers strike.

4) Pressuring the officials of your union to condemn the Shipping Association of Jamaica and the local port-employers and shipping companies for their role in breaking the U.S. portworkers' strike.

These actions will form a significant step in unifying the international working classes around their own interests. This is a crucial part in the struggle to smash capitalism and imperialism—the international system of exploitation that oppresses all the working people of the world.

## Stop the deportations!

Dear **Torch/La Antorcha**:

The RSL of Los Angeles participated on 11-19-77 in a demonstration on both sides of the border in San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Mexico, to "Stop the Deportations!" and "Stop the Carter Plan Against Undocumented Workers!" We joined in solidarity with the demonstration sponsored by the Call to Action Committee of LA, which consisted of SWP and CRSP (Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party) and others. Due to poor, half-hearted organizing by the San Diego SWP, the San Diego demonstration of only about 50 people was an absolute flop. Six **Torch/La Antorcha's** were sold in San Diego.

Later Saturday evening we all joined in a demonstration in Tijuana, Mexico, called by the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party) of Mexico, affiliated with the Mandeliste Fourth International. In contrast to the poor showing in San Diego, about 250 participated in this highly spirited militant demonstration and march to the border. Perhaps another 200 Tijuana citizens, who were clapping and cheering on the banner-carrying demonstrators from the sidewalk, joined in the march to the border chanting "Raza si! Migra, no!" and calls to "Open the Borders!" and "Stop the Deportations!"

Your RSL comrade-reporter-in-demonstration was, needless to say, overwhelmed with optimism and enthusiasm in Mexico. About 50 RSL leaflets (Spanish translation reprint of recent **Torch/La Antorcha** article "Defend Undocumented Workers!") were passed out in the heart of the demonstration which had blocked off all traffic at the intersection of 2nd and Constitution streets in downtown Tijuana. Twenty **La Antorcha's** were sold to the Mexican comrades, compañeros y companeras. They grabbed for the openly displayed Spanish section of the RSL newspaper which they obviously had never seen before! Even PRT readers of "Bandera Socialista" ("Socialist Banner"), the PRT newspaper, were interested in and introduced to **La Antorcha**!

Yours in class struggle,  
CMV, RSL Sympathizer  
Los Angeles, CA

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# Coal Miners Under the Gun

## Bosses Want to Shackle Ranks



Right to strike is key issue in coal strike.

The key issue in the coal contract negotiations is the miners' right to strike. The strike is the miners' chief defense against the murderous conditions in the mines. The coal bosses and the union leadership want to take this weapon away from the rank-and-file of the UMW.

This attack is aimed at the heart of the miners' movement. Over 100 miners have been killed in the mines this year. Thousands more have been seriously injured. Without the right to strike, the miners will be defenseless against horrible working conditions.

### ATTACK ON MINERS' MOVEMENT

Behind the attack on the right to strike is the bosses' attempt to cripple the United Mine Workers union (UMW). The bosses want to crush the militant miners' movement to prepare the industry to meet the demand for more coal. This demand has grown since the 1973 oil embargo sparked the energy crisis. Carter's energy plan calls for doubling coal production by 1985. This means more speedup and more deadly working conditions for the miners.

In opposing the right to strike the bosses claim that every miner's grievance can be settled through arbitration. This is a lie. While thousands of grievances are backlogged in arbitration, the miners are being forced to work unsafe mines.

### MILLER STANDS WITH BOSSES

The Miller leadership stands with the bosses against the striking miners. To cover his sellout role, Miller is demanding a "limited" right to strike. This proposal would give each local the right to strike over grievances, but outlaw the roving picket. This would prevent miners from spreading a strike to other mines. Without this support, strikers at individual mines would be unable to stand up against the giant coal companies. Miller's demand is in fact a thinly disguised attack on the rank-and-file miners.

The central difference between the coal bosses and the union leadership is the bosses' refusal to make any concession on the right to strike.

The bosses don't believe that Miller can control the ranks no matter how limited the strike is. For the last five years, the bosses have played along with the Miller leadership in trying to squash the wildcats. Now, the bosses want to take the miners head-on.

This confrontation has been brewing since the late 1960s. Fighting for black lung benefits, improved pension and widow benefits and mine safety, miners wildcatted out of the control of the union leadership. In response, liberal politicians and the government stepped in and backed Arnold Miller against the gangster leadership of Tony Boyle. They hoped Miller's election as president of the UMW would pacify the growing miners' movement. But even after defeating Boyle in December 1972, the tough-

talking Miller leadership was unable to discipline the ranks of the UMW.

The miners have been in open rebellion since the 1974 contract sellout was forced down their throats. They have wildcatted over 5,000 times in the last three years. Most of the strikes were called over health and safety issues. Each time, Miller tried and failed to force the miners back to work.

Recently, the government and other industry forces launched new attacks on the miners. The Arbitration Review Board, which is responsible for the final settlement of miners' grievances, recently declared that miners could be fired for wildcatting or even passing out literature calling for a strike. Congress has joined the attacks by proposing a section of the Labor Reform Bill which gives the fed-

## 180,000 Miners Strike Coal Bosses

(Continued from page 1) every mine. Over 400 miners have been killed in the mines since the last contract was signed.

- Higher wages. Miners now make about \$60 a day. The union is demanding an increase to \$100 a day.

- Restructuring of the grievance procedure. Over 5,700 grievances have been sent to arbitration since the last contract. Only 116 decisions have been returned. The coal bosses use the grievance procedure to avoid dealing

with miners' grievances. The refusal of the bosses to settle miners' grievances at the mines is one of the major causes of the wildcat strikes which have swept the coalfields over the last years.

- The right to strike over local grievances by majority vote. (See article above.)

So far, the BCOA negotiators, led by a representative of U.S. Steel, have refused to seriously discuss the union's demands. The bosses threaten to hold up negotiations until the question of how to stop the wildcats is settled. The bosses are demanding that the union give up the right to strike, completely. And more, they want miners with unexcused absences to be penalized the full amount of the companies' contribution lost to the Health and Welfare Fund.

The real fight is not at the bargaining table. Miners in the coalfields know that any contract which doesn't include the right to strike will leave them unable to defend any gains that are made. The life of the union, which

eral courts the power to stop a wildcat and "stranger" (roving) picketing. Both actions undercut the miners' right to strike.

On top of this, the coal bosses and the UMW leadership have started red-baiting the miners. Focusing on the Miners Right to Strike Committee, which is supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, the bosses are trying to do two things.

### REJECT RED-BAITING

First, they want to isolate union militants from more conservative, anti-communist miners. Second, they want to isolate the miners' struggle from the rest of the working class. Those workers who fall for this bull are playing right into the bosses' divide-and-conquer strategy. Every militant must be defended.

The present strike has forced the miners' backs to the wall. The union leadership has allowed major buyers to build up a four-month stockpile of coal. The miners have no strike fund and their personal savings were eaten up by a 10-week wildcat late this summer. Health benefits were eliminated as soon as the strike began. A long, isolated strike will leave the miners with the choice of surrendering or starving.

The government's claim that it will not take sides in the coal talks is a lie. If the miners are able to hold out, and the coal supply runs low, the government will order the miners back to work by declaring a "national emergency."

It is possible to turn this situation around. With support from other sections of the working class, the miners can win. Miners and militants

throughout the labor movement must begin now to build this support. Resolutions and funds supporting the miners must be fought for in every local in every union.

Steelworkers should be the backbone of this support. Since they work in closely related industries, workers in the mines and in the mills are natural allies. Moreover, 60,000 steelworkers have lost their jobs in the last year. Many of the same companies behind these layoffs own mines and are involved in the negotiations with the UMW. If steelworkers have any hope of getting back their jobs, they can begin the fight by supporting the miners.

Dock workers are another key part of the support needed by the miners. Dock workers can stop foreign coal from being imported to break the strike by refusing to unload it at the ports. The recently settled dock strike demonstrates the power of the dock workers' union.

### ALL MINERS MUST UNITE

Along with these workers, miners must appeal to their fellow miners in the western states. Miller must be stopped from settling the western coal contract until all coal contracts are settled. Other western miners, some of whom are organized by the International Brotherhood of Operating Engineers, must be convinced to honor the strike and not allow western coal to be used against their UMW brothers and sisters.

The struggle to defend the miners is the struggle of all working and oppressed people. The capitalist system is falling apart. The bosses' solution is to beat down the working class one section at a time.

For years, the miners have been out in front fighting the bosses at every turn. Now, their necks are on the chopping block. A victory for the miners would be a major advance in the struggle of the whole working class against the exploitation and brutality of U.S. capitalism. □

represents 50 percent of the coal mined in the U.S., and the lives of over 800,000 miners and their families depend on a successful strike. □



Coal miners and their families fight government's efforts to smash their struggle.



# LIBERALS CANNOT FREE WOMEN



Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford and Lady Bird Johnson at IWY Conference. Ruling class had nothing to fear from this conference.

From November 18-21 the International Women's Year (IWY) Conference met in Houston, Texas. Over 15,000 people, mostly women, went to Houston as delegates or observers.

The agenda for the conference was discussion and voting on resolutions on questions affecting women. Twenty-five resolutions were passed, including ones on abortion, childcare, the Equal Rights Amendment, lesbian rights and the special oppression of minority women.

These resolutions now go to President Carter, who is supposed to make recommendations to Congress on legislation.

## Government sponsored IWY conference

The IWY Conference was called and financed by the U.S. Congress. The government appointed all the commissioners for the conference, who proposed the agenda and appointed nearly 20 percent of the delegates.

The rest of the delegates were elected by state conferences, which were in most cases tightly controlled by the Democratic Party.

In fact, the whole conference was basically a Democratic Party affair. Most of the commissioners and many of the delegates were Democratic Party politicians or well-known supporters of Carter.

The opening session of the conference made all this obvious. Bella Abzug was the presiding officer for the conference. Barbara Jordan, a Black Democratic congresswoman from Texas, made the keynote speech. And amid a lot of hurraing, three "first ladies" were on the stage at the opening—Lady Bird Johnson and Rosalynn Carter, with Betty Ford thrown in to make it all look non-partisan.

## What is the Democratic Party up to?

The Democratic Party that is calling, financing and controlling women's conferences is the same Democratic Party pressing the attack on all working and oppressed people. But there is no contradiction between these two "activities" of the Democratic Party.

What the Democrats (and the whole ruling class for that matter) fear most is the independent struggle of workers and oppressed people—a struggle they don't control. Such a struggle threatens to go beyond limited reform demands to a struggle against the rule of the capitalists

themselves.

What the ruling class wants to do, whenever possible, is to stop struggles from breaking out. But sections of the ruling class disagree over how to handle those struggles that do happen.

The liberal Democrats and the other bourgeois liberals have one strategy. Rather than forcing a head-on confrontation with these struggles and movements, the liberals try to take them over and maneuver them into safe bourgeois channels.

To accomplish this, the liberals try to win the masses' confidence through a lot of fancy promises and by getting a few reforms, a few sops. They try to isolate, break up and push out left-wing forces. They say that militant struggle isn't necessary because they'll take care of everything. When they have the movement

under their control, they turn the struggle into safe, pro-capitalist limits.

With all the guts taken out of the struggle, the liberals have a free hand to push down the masses. Old gains are stripped away; new attacks are pressed. And the workers and oppressed people are left without the fighting organization and leadership to do very much about it.

All this the liberals do under their "friend of the people" cover!

That's what the liberal Democrats' strategy is. That's why they were perfectly happy to sponsor a conference on the oppression of women—and why they made sure it was tightly under their leadership. It's the same thing that Carter is trying to pull in southern Africa, and it's the same thing the liberals do everywhere.

## Fight for socialism

The oppression of women is very real. Women are discriminated against in getting jobs, and get lower wages when they have one. Women bear most of the responsibility in the home and for child-rearing. Women face physical and sexual abuse from husbands, lovers and sadists on the street. And because of economic necessity and the passivity that society teaches, women frequently can do very little about it. Women are told that they shouldn't or can't have an abortion, but then must see their children starve when welfare is cut back. Society teaches, in both open and sneaky ways, that women are inferior—that we aren't as strong as men, that we are too emotional, that we can't think logically.

Working-class and oppressed wo-

men don't even have the options middle-class women have. They suffer super oppression. They are oppressed not only because they're female, but because they're workers, or Black, or Latin, or Asian, or gay.

No amount of middle-class and ruling-class controlled conferences is going to change all that. No amount of fancy proposals to Carter is going to make a damn bit of difference.

Women's oppression is rooted in the system—capitalism. The struggle to free women from all the bonds of oppression means a struggle against the capitalist system. It means struggling for the needs of the masses of women independently of the capitalist liberals. It means building a strong, working-class movement, with a revolutionary leadership. And it means fighting to expose all those leaders—first and foremost the liberals—who pretend to be for women and other oppressed people, but who hold the struggle within capitalism.

It means showing all working and oppressed people that the fight for women's liberation is part of the fight for the socialist revolution—the liberation of all the people ground down by capitalism. □

## Bryant Picketed in Chicago

Anita Bryant returned to Chicago on November 29. The RSL joined with several other left-wing groups and individuals to call a demonstration to protest Bryant's attacks on gay women and men. About 100 people attended the demonstration.

In its call for the demonstration, the RSL leaflet pointed out that since the June 7 defeat of the gay rights statute in Dade County, Florida, the ruling class has stepped up its attacks on gay women and men.

For instance, Arkansas and New Hampshire have reinstated their "sodomy" laws. The Supreme Court has upheld the "right" to fire a gay teacher. The police are increasingly raiding gay bars. And physical assaults on gays are on the rise.

The RSL leaflet also pointed out that the attack on gays is only part of the attack on all workers and oppressed people. "The 'Right to Life' anti-abortion movement, the reintroduction of the death penalty, and the growth of the Nazi Party and KKK are all products of the increasing climate of repression and reaction fueled by the defeat in Dade County." The KKK has even offered to "protect" Bryant at any of her appearances.

The National Gay Task Force, Gay Life and other pro-Democratic Party liberals opposed the November 29 demonstration against Bryant. They say that we should use "more constructive" means to win gay rights. The liberals want us to wave the American flag, look and act "respectable" and—most of all—rely on the Democratic Party. In fact, they act as the agents of the Democratic Party inside the movement against gay oppression. They work to discourage struggle and to prevent unity among gay people and between gays and other oppressed and working people. They try to isolate and discredit revolutionaries. That is why they have singled out the Revolutionary Socialist League for attack while praising other "socialists."

The liberals must be swept aside if gay women and men are to win their rights. Only an uncompromising struggle against the ruling class ending in socialist revolution can destroy gay oppression. □

## WOMAN BE FREE

the fight is on for mankind to develop to forward united workers in front and woman free must be free from wage slavery sex slavery distorted relationships without love just a body machine of sexwork for housework drudgework and woman free to be a person for herself for society not an extension appendage of A man and woman free from nature turning out children one a year or every other year for different men or A man and woman free

from nuclear family engage in All productive work for society and woman free from emotional physical economic dependence on A man free from being walking breathing decoration decorative possession for envy of friends no dignity working woman head up woman of working man off your knees organize your mind unionize your labor struggle forward take your place in history you the part the start revolutionary workers vanguard

**STAND UP  
BE FREE**

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middle-class and lled conferences is l that. No amount to Carter is going bit of difference. sion is rooted in ism. The struggle m all the bonds of a struggle against m. It means strug- s of the masses of tly of the capital- means building a class movement, y leadership. And o expose all those foremost the lib- i to be for women d people, but who within capitalism. g all working and that the fight for is part of the fight volution—the lib- sople ground down

## Picketed Chicago

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Task Force, Gay Democratic Party e November 29 nt Bryant. They d use "more con- o win gay rights. us to wáve the and act "respect- f all—rely on the

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Mexican workers caught by U.S. Immigration agents about to get returned to Mexico. U.S. Imperialism plunders Mexico but refuses to let Mexican workers work and live in the U.S.

# CAPITALISM IN CRISIS LOOKS FOR SOMEONE TO BLAME

BY ULYSES RODRIGUEZ

Capitalism finds itself in the worst economic crisis since the last depression in the 1930s. It is looking for some minority to blame for this economic crisis. The section of the working class that is most at hand is undocumented workers. After all, the government knows there is not going to be any answer from one of the most oppressed sections of the working class.

## Election fraud

The government of President Carter, under false promises, won the support of the Chicano working class. But now the working class in general is beginning to see what a great farce the change of Presidents every four years is. The working class is now seeing that the change of an individual for another one is not going to improve their economic situation. That's because one candidate, as much as the other one, represents the ruling class and not the working class.

The working class must see what role the state and all its representatives play. The workers must see that the state is not neutral. It is a tool of the bourgeoisie to maintain the working class and oppressed under its control.

Carter is trying to get rid of some pressure from the Latin Community by naming Leonel Castillo Director of Immigration. Castillo is nothing else but a puppet of the ruling class, and the working class must not trust him for a moment. Carter knows that it is impossible to stop the migration of undocumented workers to this country. What he is trying to do is to keep them under control. Carter's so-called amnesty plan is a total farce, and we should expose it as such. Instead of giving some concessions, it divides the working class at the time the workers must be united.

## Immigration steps up raids and deportations

The attacks of the capitalist ruling class are increasing day by day. Immigration and the police are attacking the undocumented workers and deporting them. In Los Angeles, California, Immigration has raided a lot of factories and has arrested hundreds of workers. It uses violence against them and treats them like criminals, as if they were to blame for the poverty that exists in their countries. Women are deported without giving them the chance to call to their homes. Most of them have children that they leave with somebody else to take care of them, so

that they can go to work.

In many factories, the bosses take advantage of the condition of undocumented workers to exploit them more. They pay them miserable wages. They also call Immigration on payday, so that they can deport the workers and the bosses can keep the wages of two weeks.

It is of vital importance that all the working class unite with the undocumented workers to defend the rights of every worker against the system that oppresses us. The capitalists say that the undocumented workers come to take the jobs of the North American workers. But all the undocumented workers know that is not true. And all the workers should know that this is only a lie. It is one of the many tactics of the capitalists to divide the working class and divert their attention from the real problem. The reality is that the capitalist system in its epoch of decay is not able to give jobs with decent wages to the workers. The capitalists

try to blame a section of the working class for their decay because they know that their end is getting closer.

The truth is that the undocumented workers take the jobs that North Americans do not want because wages are low and the jobs are the dirtiest jobs. The undocumented workers have to take them because they have no alternative. Because their countries continue to be pillaged by the imperialist United States, the workers find themselves forced to migrate to other countries in order to feed their families.

The undocumented workers are accused of getting benefits from Welfare, benefits from unemployment, when that is a lie. When an undocumented worker is unemployed, he or she doesn't collect any benefits because he or she is afraid of being deported. A great number of them work without social security or with a social security that is not theirs. All the money that is deducted from their checks they never

# U.S. Government OK's Child Labor



"It was so hot in the fields. My mother did not make me hurry, but some of the mothers would yell at the children because they wanted them to pick faster so they could make more. I have seen children crying in the field. I would feel so sorry for them. Ladies get tired, so you know little children get tired."

Carter's minimum wage law contains a provision allowing 10-year-old children to work as agricultural laborers.

The law allows children to work in hand-harvest agriculture between June

1 and October 8, but no more than eight weeks altogether, and only outside of school hours. The law was passed at the demand of western strawberry and Maine potato growers. Surprise! The period the children are allowed to work coincides with the harvest season of these growers.

## Law protects growers, not children

The protective provisions of the law are bullshit from beginning to end. They protect the growers, not the children.

The law says: "The children must commute to their jobs daily." They can't live in a labor camp like adult farmworkers. That means the growers don't have to worry about housing and feeding them. But there's no law against farmworkers' children living in horrible migrant labor camps with their families.

The law also says that children must not be exposed to pesticides. That's a sick joke! All crops are sprayed against pests, and anyone who harvests them is exposed to deadly poisons every minute of the day. The only way to protect children from pesticides is to keep them out of the fields. At least one Senator was heard to say that it's good for kids to be out in the fresh air, and they'll be better off working than

get back in any form. They pay taxes like any citizen. The difference is that they never receive anything back. All these injustices and outrages show that the ruling class is in its death agony. It grasps desperately to whatever is in its way.

The working class must unite if it does not want to be dragged down by a dying system that oppresses us. We must guide ourselves toward a society where the workers will own the means of production, where they will not be wage-slaves, where the workers will show that they don't need the bosses, that we can have society based on the leadership of the workers themselves.

## Fight to build revolutionary party

We have to fight for the construction of a revolutionary socialist party that will be capable of guiding the working class towards a better society, towards a better life. That only means towards a socialist society.

This is not going to happen peacefully. Nobody will deliver it to the workers. The working class must fight for it and acquire it by any means. The working class must fight for their liberation, for the liberation of our brothers and sisters in all the world through our only weapon—socialist revolution.

Our motto is struggle, our goal—victory! □



Demonstrators picket office of N.Y. Congressman Mario Biaggi to fight for rights of undocumented workers.

getting in trouble.

According to the law, child workers will be paid at piecework rates, and the Secretary of Labor has the right to set the minimum wage. But, in fact, there'll be no minimum at all. Even adults kill themselves with speedup, trying to make a day's pay on piecework. Children can't work as fast, and their rate of pay will be lower. Kids could work all day and wind up with only a couple of bucks.

And who's going to check if they work during school hours? The government couldn't enforce that rule even if they wanted to.

## Put capitalism out of business

In order to employ child labor, employers must apply to the Secretary of Labor, proving hardship to the industry. If they can prove that not enough children over 12 are available, they can get a permit to employ children 10-12 years old. In other words, the growers have to show that they'd go out of business if they hired adult workers and paid them a living wage. This just shows that capitalism is dying, and maybe the capitalists would go out of business if they couldn't hire child labor. It's time that we, the working class, put them out of business for good. □



## Carl Osborne is still on death row

Carl Osborne is a death row prisoner at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville. He is fighting for his life.

Osborne was framed up for the 1974 murder of Hermalee Ross. The trial was a farce from start to finish. Handpicked witnesses against Osborne said anything the prosecutor wanted them to say. After the trial the state backed down on promises that were made to these "witnesses." They then revealed that the state had made deals with them. Still, Osborne has been unable to get the new trial that he is pushing for.

Now, Osborne is trying to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. To do this, he needs \$100.

This is the last step that Osborne can take in his legal battle for freedom. We urge our readers to donate to Osborne's defense.

Contributions can be sent to: Ernest Wallace, 6057 Maple Canyon Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43229.

## Coxsackie prisoners fight rotten conditions

DECEMBER 2—Forty young prisoners in the New York State Correctional Facility at Coxsackie seized three hostages and barricaded themselves in a cellblock for 12 hours. The action was taken to force the administration to allow media representatives into the prison to expose the rotten living conditions and lack of educational opportunities in the medium-security prison.

The prisoners, aged 16 to 21 years old, released the hostages unharmed after the prison keepers promised to meet their demands. One prisoner leader said that they were ready to die rather than continue to live in the "hellified conditions" of the prison. The rebels demanded improvements in medical and dental care; better mattresses and food; and an end to dehumanizing prison regulations. The youths also criticized the prison educational programs for not including job training useful on the outside.

The prisoners' final demand was for no reprisals. The prison keepers agreed, but three days later state corrections officials said that the prisoners would face disciplinary court action. If convicted, the prisoners will be forced to serve more time. The demands of the prisoners are supposedly "under consideration" by the administration.

Defend the Coxsackie Prisoners!

## Bosses try to frame militant postal worker

The New York Bronx postal bosses are moving to frame up militant Black women at Wakefield Station. On December 7, the postal inspectors broke into the lockers and cash boxes of Ruth Adams and two of her fellow window clerks. The postal pigs did this without any witnesses present. This is a violation of their own regulations.

The bosses are out to fire Ruth, in particular, by any means possible. They want to make an example of her because she has exposed how management has violated the contract in order to discriminate against Blacks and women. She has refused to be bought off. And she has organized to fight back with her fellow workers.

The inspectors are trying to use divide-and-conquer and confusion tactics against Ruth. They are trying to pressure the other two workers into making up stories to finger her. They are also holding back on charging Ruth with anything in the hope that people will be lulled into thinking that Ruth will not be charged with anything at all. But we should all know what the pigs are really up to. We urge all postal workers to organize to stop the frame-up and fire those responsible for it.

The Postal Action Committee is participating in organizing to defend the Wakefield workers. For more information contact: Postal Action Committee, PO Box 524, New York, New York 10036.

## Free Joan Little!

On December 7, New York cops captured Joan Little. She fled from a minimum security prison in Raleigh two months ago. The New York state bosses plan to hold hearings to send her back to North Carolina. If the state is able to get away with this, Joan Little's life may be in danger.

In 1974, a white prison guard at the Beaufort County Jail in North Carolina tried to rape her. In self-defense, Joan Little killed the guard. The state of North Carolina put Little on trial for murder. A militant movement was organized across the country to force white racist "justice" to back down. The movement won. Joan Little was acquitted.

After this acquittal, however, Little was returned to prison to finish the sentence she had been serving. In prison in North Carolina, Little feared for her life. "Legally" she had been acquitted of murder. But every prison guard, every administrator and all the bosses of North Carolina saw Little as a threat. This whole system holds itself together by beating down oppressed people when they fight back. And Joan Little is a Black woman who fought back and won in a country where Black people get murdered for nothing. This is why she fled.

Working and oppressed people must act now to stop any plans for extradition of Joan Little. A united working-class movement was organized to win Joan Little's legal battle. Now an even more powerful movement must be built to save her life and win her freedom.

—FH and PA

# Walla Walla Prisoners Organize Their Forces

Since the end of the 14-week prisoners' strike at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, prisoners have been fighting to build organizations that continue the struggle for the prisoners' rights and needs. (See Torch-La Antorcha, Vol. 4, No. 8, for details on the strike.)

## Newsletter informs people outside

One organization that has been built, with outside help, is the United Families and Friends of Prisoners (UFFP). So far, this organization has published a newsletter that informs people on the outside about what is going on at Walla Walla. Through the newsletter, people on the outside of the prison are being informed of the results of the strike. They are also being told of three immediate demands that have not yet been met by the administration. These demands are:

- Release all prisoners on administrative segregation status unless the warden can show a clear and present danger to prison security and order.

- Full use of the ISU yard and the provision of adequate recreational equipment on each tier. Exercise periods should be substantially longer than one hour.

- Direct access to the prison law library for ISU prisoners who have active litigation pending in the courts.

Through the work of the UFFP, working and oppressed people on the outside of the prison are able to lend support to the struggles of prisoners at Walla Walla.

## Prisoners fight sexism

In the prison, an organization called Men Against Sexism (MAS) has been built. A letter to Torch-La Antorcha describes some of its activities. "We have implemented several programs aimed at increasing the quality of life for gay and passive prisoners. We meet the 'chain' (the transporting prison bus) each week and provide orientation, safe cells and escort service for vulnerable prisoners. We are also working on pulling gay and passive prisoners out of protective custody and giving them what support and protection we can provide. We write articles and do other forms of anti-sexist education within the population. We want to conduct workshops on such subjects as rape, masculinity and homosexuality, but we have not yet obtained the time and materials necessary to do so."

## Sexism divides prisoners

Men Against Sexism is an important organization among prisoners. Since the prison keepers use sexism to keep prisoners fighting among themselves, it is important for gay prisoners and their straight brothers and sisters to build organizations of self-defense. Too often, even revolutionary prisoners do not understand that the keepers use all the anti-gay lies to divide brothers and sisters behind bars. And the division leads to murder—in the past year at McNeil Island Federal Prison

in Washington, three gay prisoners have been assassinated. The formation of self-defense organizations like Men Against Sexism is an example to all prisoners.

Initially, both the UFFP and MAS were working with an organization called the Prisoners Justice Committee (PJC). But within the PJC, a totally reformist leadership took control. What was supposed to be an organization of the prisoners at Walla Walla became an organization of one or two outside "leaders." These leaders decided, without the prisoners' say-so, who could attend the outside meetings of the PJC. And these "leaders" watered down the demands of the PJC, also without the say of the prisoners. In fact, when revolutionary prisoners fought against this, they were forced to resign from the PJC.

## Reformists left with shell of organization

The UFFP and MAS were forced to break ties with the PJC. Now, the PJC is falling apart. The reformist "leaders" won the name PJC, but are left with a shell of an organization.

Despite the set-back that the destruction of the PJC represents, prisoners at Walla Walla built organizations and an amount of outside support. Readers of the Torch-La Antorcha can aid the brothers at Walla Walla in their struggle. A prisoner writes: "We need letters of protest to the warden and the Governor here demanding to know what they are doing for Gay Rights, and to free Mark and Danny (Mark LaRue and Danny Atteberry, two prisoners still being held in administrative segregation)." We encourage readers of the Torch-La Antorcha to extend this support. □

## Support the Prisoner Literature Fund

In the past year, the Torch has greatly expanded its coverage of prisoners' struggles. The number of prisoners who read the Torch and correspond with the Revolutionary Socialist League has also increased significantly.

The RSL provides revolutionary literature to prisoners to the extent that we can. Also, large numbers of prisoners receive free subscriptions to the Torch.

Lack of funds keeps us from sending prisoners all the literature they want. Thus, to increase the amount of literature we can send we are launching a "Prisoner Literature Fund." We encourage all readers of the Torch to donate to this fund so that we can supply prisoners with revolutionary literature. Those who can make a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively for providing prisoners with revolutionary literature.

(Send contributions to: Prisoner Literature Fund, P.O. Box 562, New York, N.Y. 10036.)

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JOIN WITH US! BUILD THE PARTY!

# Make the Prisons Schools of Revolution



*In recent months, prisoners have been writing to the Torch/La Antorcha about the need to build unity.*

*To build real, lasting unity, prisoners—like all other working and oppressed people—need a strategy. The purpose of this article is to open up discussion with prisoners and other working and oppressed people about what prisoners can do to wage a united fight against the oppressors.*

*We encourage prisoners and other sisters and brothers to write to the Torch/La Antorcha about what they think of this article, about questions and disagreements as well as what people find useful. Only through discussion and debate will we be able to build a unity that is based on a thorough agreement of what our tasks are and how to achieve them.*

What goes on in the prisons today is what capitalism is all about. While the rulers of this country make all sorts of democratic sounding speeches about "human rights," prisoners are isolated, harassed, beaten, maced and drugged. From the strip cells to the behavior modification programs, the prisons reveal the true nature of the capitalist system. Only a few—the capitalists—live well. And in order that they live well, everyone else gets beaten down.

But the rulers of this country beat down more than prisoners. In fact, the outside society looks more and more like the prisons. Capitalism is falling apart. And as their system

decays, the capitalists will turn the whole country into one big prison-house, in order to ensure their profit rates.

The capitalist system is thoroughly rotten. It must be completely torn apart. There is no sense in trying to reform this misery. War, racism, sexism, slums and unemployment are built right into the capitalist system.

## Workers must control

There is only one way to make sure that the working and oppressed people will live in a society that is based on freedom and equality—and that is if the working and oppressed people control the whole society. From the way the factories and transportation systems are run to the ways the laws are made, working and oppressed people have got to take charge. The only way to take charge is to break up the rulers' state, throw all the corporate managers and bourgeois politicians out of work and into prison, smash up any reactionary organizations that stand in the way and run the society for ourselves. This means carrying out the socialist revolution.

To build this fight in an organized way, our biggest task is to build the revolutionary party. We have to build a party of the most advanced section of the working and oppressed people. We need an organization of people who agree on the nature of the

capitalist state, who agree on the need to tear this state apart, and who agree that "liberation" is only liberation if the working and oppressed people control the society.

This past summer, people began to move against the capitalists' attacks. From the upsurge in the gay movement to the blackout rebellion in New York, people fought back. All the signs point to more rebellions and mass demonstrations.

Who will make sure the rulers are not able to divide and disorganize the struggles of the people? Who will fight the racist and sexist lies of the rulers? Who will unite the people with a program that stands for equality and liberation?

Only the most advanced, the most dedicated fighters among the working and oppressed people. And only if they are organized into a hard, democratic centralist revolutionary party.

Prisoners can play a major role in building this party. Many of the people in the prisons are more political, more conscious of what has to be done than many of the working and oppressed people on the outside. Because of the conditions they face, many prisoners see through this so-called democratic system. It is extremely important that prisoners see themselves as a part of the vanguard

of the working and oppressed people.

The capitalists want to make the prisons concentration camps. Revolutionaries want to make the prisons schools of revolution.

The ruling class couldn't stop Malcolm X from becoming a revolutionary while he was in prison. Steel bars and concrete didn't stop George Jackson from learning revolutionary politics and becoming an organizer for these politics. Through their experiences and their desire to train themselves, they were able to use their time in prison against the rulers of this country.

This is the biggest task of our sisters and brothers in the prisons—to train themselves and others to dedicate their lives to the struggle of the working class to control society. To do this, you have to study Marxism. You have to know just what is this state we are up against. You have to learn how the successful revolutionary battle in Russia was built. You have to learn how the strategy and tactics that revolutionaries used in the past are applicable today. Study is a must for anyone who wants to be a revolutionary. And one thing you've got in prison is time to study.

## Collective study and discussion is best

Prisoners should study collectively. It is through discussion of revolutionary politics and questions of how Marxism applies today that people learn with and organize each other. The Revolutionary Socialist League has held many study classes with working and oppressed people who have been interested in joining the RSL. The RSL will do as much as possible to ensure that prisoners also can build these kinds of study classes. We can make Marxist writings avail-

(Continued on page 17)

## "It's Better to Die Fighting. . ."

Dear Comrades:

Greetings of solidarity and unity in struggle to you. I do hope my letter will find you in the best of everything at this time. As for myself, thanks, for I'm feeling like my old self again.

I sure would appreciate any teachings I could get on the politics of the RSL. It's really a nice feeling to read your letter and know that you're fully interested in my overall revolutionary education, for that's something I badly need.

You keep asking me how I feel about the RSL and the work that is being done by the RSL. Well, I just think that I should let you know that when I first wrote to the Torch-La Antorcha, it wasn't for the want of something to do, but for the right thing to do. I first wrote to you after weeks and weeks of making up my mind that of all the other political groups, the RSL was the one that suits me the most, because like myself, they're not in the least afraid to fight the system for the rights of poor and working-class people.

Everything I ever read from the Torch-La Antorcha was always like food into my fighting soul, for in the Torch I saw how the RSL stands up and fights. Most other political papers I read, instead of them fighting the capitalist system, they're fighting among themselves and each other. You will not find this in the RSL. Sure, I realize that the RSL may have internal problems, but there was never any group that didn't have their own problems and there's never going to be any. But the Torch doesn't make their problems come before that of the people. That's why the RSL is the only meaningful revolutionary party to me.

Brothers and sisters, I think it will be a good thing for me to hear from other RSL members and get myself more in the main stream of the works of the party. Yes, that's a real good move to make for me. I don't need to tell you I do need all the education I can get, we all do, for we never stop learning or fighting, because there are always going to be people with greed. Our struggles can never be over until this world is fully free from the greeds of capitalism. It's a long and hard fight, but the end is the reward, and when we reap that reward, then that's the day we can look back and smile with the joys of satisfaction and accomplishment. When we look back we will be able to look at people and see them with smiles of real happiness.

You give my love to all my other brothers and sisters down there. Tell them I said I'm fighting right alongside of them. And if and when the need should be, die alongside of them, for it is better to die fighting that which is slowly killing you, than to sit down and die at their will. You all take best care of yourselves, and keep your fingers crossed for me too.

Yours truly in struggle,  
FJ



# SCAA Fights U.S. Support to Apartheid

After six months, the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid's picket line at Carson, Pirie, Scott's department store in Chicago has won a victory. Carson's, a major downtown store, was chosen as Chicago SCAA's first target in a campaign against Kruggerand sales. The Kruggerand is a gold coin sold by the South African government to raise money for the racist apartheid system. Now Carson's no longer sells the Kruggerand.

Only two weeks earlier Carson's vowed to continue selling the Kruggerand. They said their coin collection wouldn't be complete without it. SCAA intensified its boycott efforts with the approach of the Christmas shopping period. On Saturday, November 26, the picket line turned into a victory rally and marched on a bank and TV station also promoting the Kruggerand.

## What is SCAA?

Workers and revolutionaries in this country have no interest in the imperialist exploitation of Africa and the Africans. Our interest lies in the growth of the African revolutionary movement. One year ago, the Revolutionary Socialist League launched SCAA to build a movement against U.S. aid to South Africa's racists. We have chapters in New York, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles.

For over a year SCAA has shown

is changing. In South Africa, the struggle is becoming more intense. The government is stepping up its repression, and Black people are moving toward revolutionary struggle. The stage is being set for revolution and civil war.

This prospect has frightened U.S. imperialists. They have \$2 billion invested in South Africa and are afraid to lose it. The imperialists are also afraid a revolution in South Africa would spur revolutions elsewhere in the region.

Because of this, the U.S. government is pretending that the U.S. stands for change in South Africa. Carter and his flunky, Andrew Young, want the Vorster regime in South Africa to loosen up the apartheid system a little, to try to prevent the regime from being overthrown. The imperialists even talk about the need for "Majority Rule."

Now that the imperialists are getting worried, the liberals have picked up on the "Majority Rule" slogan and have become more active. But the purpose of this slogan is to hide the real game of U.S. imperialism, which is to oppose any meaningful changes.

Blacks in South Africa must drive the imperialists completely out of the area. This means overthrowing the apartheid system which protects imperialist profits. Blacks must rule. The imperialists have no right to enslave them. But the only way the



SCAA pickets forced the Carson, Pirie, Scott Department Store in Chicago to stop selling the South African Kruggerand.

the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza* which portrays the oppression of Blacks in South Africa. We have demonstrated, marched, and held educational forums. Last January, SCAA in New York helped to shut down Ipi-Tombi—a racist play sponsored by the South African government. This play said that Black people in South Africa are childlike and happy.

In Chicago, SCAA has campaigned against Kruggerand sales since last June. In Detroit, SCAA has attacked Kruggerand sales at Manufacturer's Bank.

## SCAA vs. liberals

When SCAA formed, few people in the U.S. were interested in the struggle in South Africa. Today this

Black masses can rule is through a Black workers' revolution—a socialist revolution. Peaceful reform is a suicidal illusion.

SCAA stands for the victory of the Black workers' revolution in South Africa. We work to expose the con game of Carter and Young. We also work to expose the liberals who fall into line behind their calls for "peaceful reform" and "Majority Rule."

SCAA is building a revolutionary movement against U.S. support to apartheid. The heart of this movement will be Black workers and youth. They will be joined by all workers, students, and youth who understand the need for workers' revolution. Together they will make up part of the revolutionary movement in this country. Join with SCAA to stop U.S. support to apartheid.



White soldier tortures unarmed Zimbabweans as part of racist government's war against national liberation fighters.

# Zimbabwe: Smith Tries Last-Ditch Maneuver

White minority rule is crumbling in Zimbabwe (called "Rhodesia" by the white settlers). As the armed liberation struggle builds, thousands of whites—who were less than 5 percent of the population to begin with—are fleeing the country each week. But Prime Minister Ian Smith is making a last-ditch attempt to save white control.

On November 23, Smith's army launched an attack on two guerrilla bases in neighboring Mozambique. These are bases of the Patriotic Front, a united-front army of the two nationalist organizations fighting to end white minority rule. In a four-day orgy of destruction, the Rhodesian army slaughtered over 100 refugees—mostly women and children. Hundreds more were seriously injured. At least one of the liberation army camps was wrecked.

The Smith government claimed that they had wiped out 1,200 guerrilla fighters. But Smith's figures were denied both by the Patriotic Front and the Mozambique government.

The day after the bloodbath began, Smith announced a new scheme to protect white control under the cover of Black majority rule. He struck up a deal with three sellout Black politicians: Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Chief Jeremiah Chirau.

As part of the deal, Smith demanded certain "safeguards" for the whites: 1) veto power in any new government; 2) white control of the army and the courts to crush the Black liberation movement and preserve the whites' stranglehold over all the country's wealth.

Only after the Black politicians agreed to these guarantees did Smith agree to one-person, one-vote majority rule. For good measure, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau promised that the white rulers could keep up to one-third of the seats in a new legislature. No doubt these sellouts would join up with the white bloc there.

The whole deal is a fraud from beginning to end. If this arrangement is actually set up, the country would appear to be ruled by Blacks. But the white capitalists would continue to have the wealth and the real power. To hide the truth, a few Black puppets would sit in the government and the Black masses would be given some political rights. In other words, the country would be the same old plantation, but now with Black slave-

drivers and a few Black masters.

Smith's deal with the Black politicians has put the U.S. and British imperialists (as well as the Black capitalist rulers in southern Africa) on the spot. Right now, they are trying to arrange a deal that will include the Patriotic Front. The imperialists expect the Patriotic Front will take over from Smith. And they want to make sure they set up a Black, neo-colonial regime that will protect their interests.

In particular, they want to end the struggle in Zimbabwe, to try to take the heat off South Africa—where the imperialists have their main economic interests. But they're worried about Smith's plan. They're not sure whether Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau can trick the Zimbabwean and South African masses into believing that the plan is a victory.

But if Smith and company are able to force the fraud down the throats of the Zimbabwean people, the imperialists will probably switch sides. They'll junk the Patriotic Front and hail the Smith deal as a victory for the national liberation struggle.

What makes it particularly sticky for them is that the Patriotic Front has promised to keep fighting, even if the scheme goes through.

## Patriotic Front is also pro-capitalist

All workers must support every blow the Patriotic Front strikes against Smith's racist regime. But we must realize that the Patriotic Front's leaders are also pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist. They are not for overthrowing capitalism and setting up a socialist society. They want to be the rulers of a Black capitalist state. And they will allow the imperialists to keep their control over Zimbabwe's economy.

The African liberation movements have been sold down the river time and again by neo-colonialist swindlers. From Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya to Agostinho Neto in Angola, misleaders have taken power in the name of the masses—and then made their deal with the imperialists.

The Zimbabwean people will never be free until they reject all pro-capitalist traitors. The oppressed workers and peasants must join together in a struggle to kick out the imperialists and their neo-colonialist puppets, and set up a genuine workers' government. □

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Erskine Burrows

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# MANLEY BANS MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAMAICA

Prime Minister Michael Manley, of the People's National Party (PNP), is stepping up political repression in Jamaica. In November, Manley reinstated the ban on all political meetings, marches and demonstrations. This ban had been lifted only a few months ago. He has also threatened to clamp down on newspapers critical of his rule.

The official reason for these measures is to combat the growing "crime wave." This is complete hypocrisy. Manley knows the driving force behind the crime is the "tribal warfare" (poor PNP youth pitted against poor JLP youth) which is raging out of control.

Manley's PNP supports this means of dividing the ghetto youth and the working class just as much as the opposition Jamaica Labor Party (JLP).

Manley is also hinting about a threat from the forces of "reaction." He never says just who he means, but he wants his supporters to think of the JLP. This propaganda campaign began with the announcement that D.K. Duncan, leader of the PNP Left, was mysteriously poisoned. Then came the Penthouse expose of CIA involvement in "Operation Werewolf," last year's JLP plot to overthrow Manley with U.S. help.

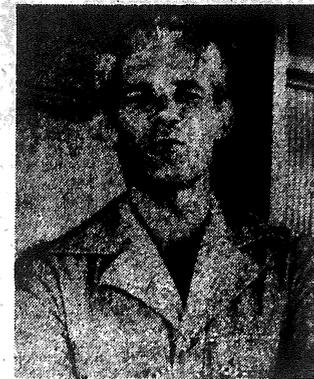
Manley knows that even if some elements within the JLP still dream of a coup, they no longer have U.S. or CIA support. Carter just announced \$62 million of aid for Manley. This is part of his plan to make Jamaica the showcase of U.S. support for Black governments, that is, for U.S. neocolonial rule.

But if the U.S. is now supporting Manley, why is he raising the ghost of last year's U.S. sponsored "destabilization"? Part of this is to bully the JLP into shutting up. Despite its reactionary politics, the JLP has picked up some mass support through denouncing Manley's economic policies for crushing the working class and poor.

For the most part, however, Manley's pressure against the JLP has a different purpose. Manley needs to be able to break strikes, smash the working class, and lock up genuine revolutionaries. But he can't just do this straight out without exposing the "democratic socialism" that he uses to hide the capitalist nature of his government. To work around this problem, Manley is trying to create a political climate where he can say that revolutionaries and all workers

who fight against his attacks are reactionaries working for the JLP.

Manley made the tactic clear in his speech to the 19th Congress of the National Workers' Union (PNP-controlled labor organization). He warned that any group seeking to gain political support through criticizing the problems in the economy was aiding reaction. And he attacked workers who went on strike or demanded higher wages as playing the same subversive role. □



Michael Manley.

## Guyana Sugar Workers Still Battling Government



Striking Guyana sugar workers, ready for militant action.

The sugar workers of Guyana are waging a four-month-long strike which has become an all-out battle with the government. The workers—members of the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers' Union (GAWU)—have defied the government, the churches, the press, and

their own Trade Union Congress (TUC).

The GAWU workers are demanding \$215 million in Guyanese dollars. The government owes them this sum in profit-sharing, according to a formula which was negotiated in past union contracts and is still on the books. The fake-socialist government of Forbes Burnham passed a Sugar Levy Act in 1974. The act taxes the government-owned industry's profits before the workers get their profit-sharing benefits. The government was able to use this act to violate the contract and steal the \$215 million from the workers.

The government has done everything it could to smash the strike. It has mobilized the army, national guard and public employees to cut the cane. And 6,000 scabs have been

hired. Its cops have used violence to defend the scabs. They have seized food supplies from the strikers. And they have forcibly closed down GAWU meetings.

But the government is hurting. With the harvesting season practically gone, less than half the crop is in. As a result, the government admits to losing around \$80 million in foreign exchange.

A key ingredient in the struggle is the tremendous international solidarity which the workers have received from the Caribbean and beyond. Trinidad and Tobago's Oilfield Workers Trade Union refuses to load tankers bound for Guyana. This has cut off 90 percent of Guyana's petroleum supplies. Dominica's Civil Service Association and the Waterfront and Allied Workers' Union have condemned the government's use of public workers as scabs. British workers at the Tate and Lyle sugar refinery in Britain refuse to unload Guyanese cargo. Meanwhile, the Guyana TUC has repeatedly urged the workers to go back to work before anything is settled.

The GAWU workers are the lowest paid sugar workers in the Caribbean. And they work under the worst job conditions. But they are also the most militant. They launched 462 strikes in 1974-76, which cost the government 1.5 million workdays in lost production. For these reasons, the Burnham government is out to smash the union. It is demanding that the 6,000 scabs be kept on when the strike ends. This would be suicide for the workers. □

## Bermuda Youth Riot to Stop Execution of Black Freedom Fighters



Erskine Burrows (left), Larry Tacklyn.

The Black youth of Hamilton, Bermuda, set this town ablaze in three days of rioting early this month. They were attempting to stop the colonial puppet regime of Prime Minister Gibbon from hanging two well-known Black power militants, Erskine Burrows and Larry Tacklyn.

Burrows was convicted of assassinating the previous British Governor of Bermuda, an army captain

who was his aide, the Commissioner of Police, and two white supermarket executives. Tacklyn was hanged for the deaths of these last two. Burrows came out and told his accusers that he did indeed kill the Governor and police chief as part of the struggle to liberate Bermuda from British rule.

A last-ditch legal effort by the opposition Progressive Labor Party to save the two liberation fighters failed. The executions took place December 2.

As Burrows and Tacklyn awaited the gallows, however, about 400 youths took to the streets. Supermarkets were burned to the ground, along with a liquor warehouse and the Princess Hotel—where two American tourists died in the fire. Fires and skirmishing with the police went on from December 1 to 4, when the British Labour Government sent 260 troops to help the colonial police put down the rebellion. □

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## Italian workers march on Rome

On December 3, 200,000 Italian workers descended on Rome in a march sponsored by the metalworkers' federation (FLM). The FLM leaders claim that the workers came to launch "a hard battle against terrorism" and "to pressure the government" to make various reforms. But the workers tell a different story.

"The working class is tired of waiting; it wants to lead, it wants to run it," said one of their slogans. Workers from Parma said: "There are no job openings, but the companies want overtime, and the government agrees. We are demonstrating against this policy of provocation, and against the PCI (Italian Communist Party) that plays the bosses' game." And in case there were any lingering doubts, a worker of Sit-Siemens said: "This is a demonstration against the government, even if the union says otherwise."

Employed and unemployed marched together for jobs and for a halt to Italy's runaway inflation. There are now two million people out of work, and inflation is around 18 percent. The march terrified the PCI and the Andreotti government. The government placed Rome University in a state of siege to prevent student contingents from joining the workers. And the PCI tried to prevent other leftists from joining the march. This cop role of the PCI flows from its political role. The PCI is now the main prop of the capitalist government. It has tried to split the organized workers from the unorganized, the unemployed, the youth, the aged, women, gays and students. It is backing a government assault on workers' jobs, incomes and living conditions. And it has agreed to strengthen the repressive police apparatus.

## Strikes rock Britain

All hell is breaking loose in Britain. As British capitalism falls apart, the capitalist rulers are stepping up their attacks on the workers. Over the past several years, the government has set wage freezes to squeeze more profits out of the workers. This year, the Labour Party government slapped a 10 percent wage freeze on the unions.

But British workers are saying no. In most settlements so far, the workers have forced increases above 10 percent. Since November 14, Britain's 32,000 firemen have been waging their first national strike, demanding a 30 percent pay hike. Power workers have launched slow-downs causing brownouts and blackouts throughout Britain. And television technicians even blacked out the Queen's speech to the opening of Parliament.

But the biggest battles still lie ahead. The miners are demanding a 90 percent increase retroactive to November 1. The government insists that they can get no raise until March, and then only 10 percent. While no strike date has been set, the miners could go out any day.

The miners have taken the lead in smashing recent ruling-class offensives. Their struggle will be key again. The power workers, electrical workers, railway workers and other unions are waiting for the miners before putting out their demands.

## Argentina: workers smash strike ban

In recent months, Argentine workers have won big wage increases by striking against that country's military dictatorship.

On October 11, 6,000 autoworkers occupied the Renault plant in Cordoba and demanded a 50 percent wage increase. Government troops were sent in to crush the strike. Workers began a pitched battle against the troops, who murdered four workers and arrested 130 others.

On October 26, railway workers struck across the country for higher wages. The government broke the strike by threatening mass firings. Dockworkers and public utility workers in Rosario also went on strike. Despite the government repression, municipal, oil and postal workers began planning their own strike actions.

The government announced 40 percent wage increases to the strikers. It promised an additional wage hike in 60 days and claimed it would take no action against the workers.

When the military took over Argentina's government in March 1976, it outlawed all strikes. Since then, skyrocketing inflation has cut workers' real wages by over 30 percent. These strikes show that the workers have had enough.

## Free Chilean political prisoners!

News has reached the **Torch/La Antorcha** of two comrades, German Navarrete and Mario Ruiz, who have been condemned to life imprisonment in Chile. Their real crime is being supporters of the Socialist Party in a country ruled by gangsters. These comrades have been in the Santiago Penitentiary for more than four years. They want to use Decree 504 to leave Chile. This decree permits prisoners to petition to be exiled. The Pinochet dictatorship issued it under pressure from world opinion. But these comrades have already applied to leave four times, and have been turned down.

U.S. imperialism pretends that it opposes the bloody tactics of the hangmen it installed in Chile. It claims to offer exit visas to all Chilean political prisoners. But these comrades have sent all the necessary papers to the U.S. embassy, and so far they have not received visas. There are many other prisoners without visas, and still others (around 90 in Santiago alone) who have visas, but are not being let out. Many of them have medical problems (bad arthritis, back problems, TB, etc.).

We urge comrades to write letters of protest to: **Ministero de Justicia Monica Modariago, Ministerio de Justicia, Gobierno de Chile, Santiago, Chile;** and to: **Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State, State Department, Washington D.C.**

These letters would also help in increasing the pressure on Pinochet to stop the murders, arrests and tortures.

—PB, SE and TC

# Protests Greet Iranian Butcher

Over the weekend of November 15-16, the shah of Iran—one of the most brutal butchers in the world today—met with President Carter in Washington, D.C.

More than 5,000 Iranian students and other anti-shah forces greeted the shah with the most militant demonstration in Washington since the height of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Many of the Iranians wore hoods so they couldn't be photographed by the Iranian secret police (SAVAK).

Worried about the protest, the shah had arranged for hundreds of Iranians now in the U.S. to be brought to Washington for a shah-support demonstration—at the Iranian government's expense.

The pro-shah group was given all the choice spots near the White House, while the anti-shah militants were pushed as far from sight as possible.

But the fury at Iran's repressive dictatorship couldn't be contained—and a full-fledged battle with the cops broke out. Mounted police charged the demonstrators. Armed with planks from their picket signs, the militants refused to retreat, and went hand-to-

hand in combat with the cops.

Over 30 cops were injured in the fight. Tear gas thrown by the police to beat back the demonstrators blew toward the welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn. This caused crying and coughing among the shah, Carter and other capitalist officials.

Many of the anti-shah militants were injured or arrested. In addition, the Iranian Students Association, which organized the protest, reported that several demonstrators were missing. It is feared that they were kidnapped by SAVAK.

The shah rules Iran with an iron fist. The masses of people have no rights in this police state. All strikes and protests are ruthlessly crushed. According to **Amnesty International**, over 100,000 political prisoners are tortured and left to rot in the shah's jails.

But the shah is backed to the hilt by Carter and the U.S. imperialists. He acts as guardian of the oil-rich Persian Gulf for U.S. imperialism. This shows what a lot of bullshit Carter's human rights campaign is. The anti-shah forces told the real story. Their signs said: "Expose Carter's Human Rights Hypocrisy." □



Anti-shah militants fight cops at demonstration near the White House.

## Rumanian Miners Fight State Capitalists

Rumanian coal miners are waging a fierce struggle against the fake "Communist" regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu. In spite of the Rumanian government's efforts to silence any news of this, word has gotten out that miners throughout the Jiu Valley region have been in revolt since the summer.

The miners' movement began with a well-organized strike on August 1. Miners shut down the shafts and open pits and blocked up the mine entrances. Mass demonstrations against the government flooded the mining towns of Petrosani, Vulcan and Lupeni. On the first day of the strike, the 5,000 miners of Lupeni were joined by 30,000 others.

The following day, Ceausescu sent no less than three ministers from his Cabinet into the area. These bureaucrats tried to threaten and trick the miners into returning to work. The miners were quick to answer. They took one of the ministers and some other officials as hostages. The miners shared some of their low-grade

government-supplied food with the "Comrade Minister" and his aides so they could get a better understanding of the miners' grievances. One miner present said: "We threw it in their faces and we told them, 'Here, you eat it.'"

At the demand of the miners, Ceausescu himself was forced to interrupt his leisure at a lush Black Sea resort, and fly to Lupeni to negotiate with the strikers in person. Ceausescu was greeted with shouts of "Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie!" This was the miners' way of expressing their opposition to a state-capitalist ruling class which pretends to represent the workers. The miners presented Ceausescu with a 17-point petition. The petition included demands covering the shortage and poor quality of food, clothing and other consumer goods; overcrowded and shabby housing; and an unfair pension system. It also demanded an end to the stiff penalties inflicted on workers

(Continued on page 17)

Behind the Trip to Israel . . .

# SADAT SELLS OUT ARAB MASSES



On November 19, Egyptian Premier Anwar el-Sadat flew to Jerusalem to meet Israeli leaders and address the Israeli parliament. When he addressed the Israelis on November 20, he supported their demands for "secure borders." He also joined with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to pledge "no more war" in the Middle East. By going to Jerusalem, Sadat was the first Arab ruler to openly recognize the Zionist conquest of Palestine.

## Betrays Palestinians in name of peace

Sadat claimed his trip was the first step toward bringing peace to the Middle East. But his so-called peace is a sellout of the Palestinian people. And it strengthens Israeli imperialism. To understand why this is so, we



Israeli imperialists attacked Palestinian camps in Lebanon in November 1977. In 1948, Zionist settlers drove Palestinians out of Palestine and set up Israeli state. Since then, Israel has served as the imperialists' policeman in the Middle East. Today, Palestinians, based in Lebanon, are fighting to regain their land. Israeli raids are designed to destroy Palestinian armed power and force complete Palestinian surrender.

must look briefly at the Middle East conflict. The heart of this conflict is the struggle of the Palestinian people to recover Palestine, the country they lived in for centuries. To build the state of Israel, the Zionists drove the Palestinians out of Palestine and took the land for themselves.

The U.S. imperialists have been behind Israel from the beginning. They feared the Arab liberation movements which sprang up after World War II. They thought these movements might overthrow the capitalist governments of the Middle East and deprive the U.S. of vital oil supplies. To prevent this, the U.S. imperialists built up Israel as a fortress state to defend capitalism and imperialism in the Middle East.

But the Palestinians have not given up fighting for their land. So long as the Palestinians keep fighting, they are a force for revolution in the Middle East and a threat to U.S. imperialism.

As before, U.S. imperialism needs a stable Middle East to guarantee its hold over the area's oil. Now that the oil-rich Arab states have gained some clout in the world economy, they are pressuring the U.S. to come up with a policy which is less one-sidedly pro-Israel.

As a result, the U.S. has been trying to engineer a sellout of the Palestinian struggle which is acceptable to the

Arab rulers. It is trying to get the Zionists to hand over a small portion of Palestine—the West Bank and Gaza—to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

The idea is to get the Palestinians to accept this small chunk of territory and stop fighting for the rest.

The Zionists have resisted this solution, but the overwhelming pressure of the U.S. and European imperialists, together with the crisis in the Israeli economy, was making it harder and harder for them to hold out.

Sadat's trip, however, has let the Zionists off the hook. In going to Jerusalem, Sadat has made it clear he wants to settle the Middle East conflict on Israel's terms. By supporting the Israeli imperialists' call for "secure borders" he is saying that the Israelis have nothing to fear from the Egyptian army. This has strengthened Israel's military position in the area.

In addition, his trip and tactical ma-

economic. Egypt faces enormous international debts and a balance of payments crisis.

In January 1977, Sadat tried to stabilize the economy by cutting the food subsidies. These subsidies are what kept prices low enough so the Egyptian poor and unemployed workers could survive. But the workers launched a three-day rebellion and forced Sadat to restore the subsidies. Since his attack on the Egyptian people failed, Sadat decided to try to improve the position of the Egyptian ruling class by making peace with the Israelis.

If Sadat can make a deal with Israel, he can cut the military budget, which is the biggest single drain on the Egyptian economy. Through U.S. and Israeli investments he can try to get the economy moving a bit. And with the threat of war removed, he can turn his attention to crushing the rebellious Egyptian workers.

It is not clear whether Sadat can succeed in his maneuver without suffering political defeat. But so far, opposition to his sellout has been weak.

## Radical leaders' opposition is weak

A number of Arab regimes have denounced Sadat's trip to Jerusalem. The most militant of these—Libya, Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Algeria—met with Palestinian organizations in Libya on December 4-6 to form a "resistance front" against Sadat.

But with the exception of Iraq, these governments have refused to rule out a negotiated settlement with Israel. This too amounts to accepting the Israeli conquest of Palestine. The "resistance" of these so-called radical Arab leaders was limited to threats of breaking off diplomatic relations with Egypt and a decision to move the Arab League's headquarters out of Egypt.

Sadat's game and the feeble resistance of the so-called radical Arab leaders reveal once again the reactionary nature of the Arab nationalist rulers. For 30 years now, all the Arab rulers have used anti-imperialist rhet-

oric to cover their betrayals of the anti-Zionist struggle.

These rulers have never armed and trained the Arab people for war against Zionism and imperialism. When they have gone to war, they have done their damndest to keep the oppressed Arab workers and peasants unarmed and uninvolved. When this has failed, the rulers have used their own armies to smash the masses.

In 1970, Jordanian workers took up arms to fight alongside the Palestinian guerrillas against Israel. In September of that year—known as Black September—Jordan's King Hussein sent in his army to destroy the Palestinian bases in that country.

In 1975, Lebanese workers and peasants joined forces with the Palestinian refugees against the right-wing pro-Western rulers of Lebanon. They were on the verge of victory when Syria's strongman Assad invaded Lebanon to smash the Palestinian-Leftist Alliance.

Other so-called militant Arab leaders did little or nothing to defend these liberation movements. Last year, Libya agreed to an "Arab peacekeeping force" which was nothing but a cover for Syria's invasion of Lebanon. Iraq in 1970 promised to aid the Palestinians against Hussein. And last year, it threatened to attack Syria after it invaded Lebanon. But when push came to shove, the Iraqi and Libyan capitalists allowed Hussein and Assad to smash the Palestinians and their allies.

## PLO leaders little better than the rest

The PLO leaders are no better. They never agitated among the Syrian troops to get them to turn their guns on Assad. As a result, they allowed Assad to murder their supporters and destroy the fighting ability of the Palestinian and Lebanese liberation movements. When Assad showed himself ready to make a deal, the PLO leaders welcomed him back as an anti-Zionist leader.

These sellouts will never wage a revolutionary struggle to overthrow Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East. They are capitalist rulers who oppress their own people and are tied to imperialism with a thousand and one strings.

They invest in imperialist banks and corporations which oppress the masses all over the world. And they depend on the U.S., European and Russian imperialists for the arms they use to keep the people down.

To defeat Zionism, the masses must rely only on themselves. They must wage a struggle to destroy all the capitalist classes of the Middle East—Israeli and Arab. They must wage a struggle for socialism. Only a revolutionary movement led by the working class can unite the Arab people in a struggle to smash imperialism, Zionism and the sellout Arab regimes. This strategy, the strategy of the Permanent Revolution, is the only road to liberation and real peace in the Middle East. □



Cairo workers took to the streets last January when Sadat tried to raise prices.

## Key Force for Revolution

# Why Marxists Look to the Most Oppressed Workers

BY TONY CURZO

Since the times when ruling classes first appeared on the face of the earth, they discovered that the way to stay in power is to "divide and rule." The Roman rulers came up with this saying, and they were very good at it.

They looted and victimized a huge empire spanning three continents for close to a thousand years. They brought slavery, misery, and the rule of the sword wherever they went. They were able to stay on top for so long because they knew how to split up the oppressed and turn them against each other.

The capitalists of today's world are cast in the same mold as the Romans. They exploit the working masses of the whole world. They enforce a brutal system of wage slavery which, in many parts of the world, can hardly be called an advance over the Roman system. They make war among themselves to determine who gets what part of the world to plunder. And when the oppressed people rebel, the capitalists let them have it—with a brutality that makes the ancient Romans look like amateurs.

The capitalists are a wafer-thin minority of the world's population. Yet like the Romans, they have managed to stay in power by playing the old game of "divide and rule." They have managed to divide the workers and oppressed people of the world. Once they can turn the oppressed against each other, they can pick them off one group at a time.

### How do the capitalists divide and rule?

Like the Romans, today's big capitalists are imperialists. Imperialism is capitalism in its dying stage. In this system a handful of technologically advanced countries control the economy of the whole world. Their industry is made up of giant international monopolies and banks which use trade, investments and credits to exploit the labor power of most of the world, and to suck it dry of natural resources. The wealth and power of Western Europe, Japan, the U.S. and Russia are built on the systematic looting of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other "super-exploited" areas. In this setup, U.S. imperialism is the biggest single international gangster.



Ethiopians, near starvation, wait for aid at a refugee camp. The most oppressed people have nothing to lose but their chains. For the vast majority of the world's people, socialist revolution is the only way out of poverty and misery.

In 1924, on the third anniversary of the establishment of the Communist



Leon Trotsky.

As part of their divide-and-rule strategy, the imperialists convince a part of the oppressed that they have a stake in the system. They give some privileges to a small layer of the working class in the imperialist countries.

The imperialists give these workers better wages, better working conditions, access to advancement and a better life. They let them have some say over the unions, and a certain amount of access to the so-called democratic system.

The imperialists for the most part manage to convince these workers that they are better than the oppressed majority of the workers. They fool them into thinking that they and the imperialists are on the same side. These privileged workers become fat from the crumbs off the imperialist table and are unable to see past their

University of the Tilters of the East, Leon Trotsky gave a speech in Moscow to the graduating class. The speech dealt primarily with Trotsky's analysis of the revolutionary potential of Asia's oppressed masses. The following excerpt is taken from that speech.

I read, in the material you sent me, about the overwhelming impression produced, in Kazan (in east central Russia) by one of the women students of your university—a Turkish woman, when she addressed the women of that city, including the illiterate and the old. This might seem an insignificant episode, but it is nevertheless of considerable historical importance. The strength and meaning of Bolshevism consist in the fact that it appeals to the oppressed and exploited masses and not to the upper strata of the working class. That is why Bolshevism is being assimilated by the countries of the East, not because of its theories, which are far away from being fully understood, but because of its spirit of

freedom and liberty. Your own paper tells us over and over again that the name of Lenin is known not only in the villages of the Caucasus, but even in the remotest parts of India. We know that the workers of China, who probably never read anything written by Lenin, are irresistibly drawn toward Bolshevism. Such is the powerful influence of this great historic movement! They feel in their innermost hearts that it is a teaching for the oppressed and exploited, for hundreds of millions to whom it is the only possible salvation. That is why Leninism meets with a passionate response among working women, who are the most oppressed section of society. When I read about the success of one of your female fellow students in Kazan among the illiterate Tartar women, I was reminded of my recent short visit to Baku (on the Caspian Sea) where I heard for the first time a Turkoman Communist woman, and had an opportunity to observe in the hall the enthusiasm of hundreds of such women who, having heard our

message of liberation, had turned to a new life. I realized then that time that women will play an important role in the liberation of the East than in the past here in Russia. This will be the simple reason that East is even more oppressed and tangled in age-long prejudices.

It is for this reason that the spirit, which is now animating popular movements, has an effect on women than on men. It is for this reason that women, who under present conditions are enslaved and their desires and ambitions the removal of the veil, see deprived of all spiritual cause of the newly arisen conditions. They will think ideas and a new consciousness of allotting them their place in society. Believe me, the better comrade in the East, the better champion of the idea of Communism than the oppressed working women.

noses. For the most part, these workers are skilled, white, male, native-born, and organized into trade unions. They make up what Marxists call the labor aristocracy.

In return for their privileges, the labor aristocracy becomes a club in the hands of the capitalists to use against the overwhelming majority of the workers. They are the social base of the reactionary labor bureaucrats. Along with the bureaucrats, they work to prevent the unions from fighting for the interests of all workers. They support the policies of the capitalists and enable them to suppress the struggles of the more oppressed workers. They become the conveyor belt for all the bosses' ideological manure inside the ranks of the workers' movement: racism, sexism, national chauvinism, anti-communism, and all

the rest. They help divide the workers into separate nationalities, races, sexes, occupations, unions... you name it. In these and many other ways, they work to keep the workers in the advanced countries tied to the imperialist system. Above all, the labor aristocrats betray their fellow workers in Africa, Asia and Latin America who suffer under the heel of the imperialist boot. Since the labor aristocrats benefit from the loot of imperialism, they support the imperialist policies of the capitalists.

### Labor aristocrats support U.S. imperialism

This can be seen by looking at recent U.S. history. During the 1960s and 1970s, the oppressed peoples of Southeast Asia waged a struggle that shook the very foundations of U.S. imperialism. To the very end, the labor aristocrats supported the U.S. imperialists' war to smash these national liberation struggles. Even when large numbers of workers had come to hate the war, the aristocrats continued to support the imperialists. It was this support that enabled the U.S. rulers to carry on their genocidal war for a decade and to pull out of one of the worst social crises in their history.

The victims of the aristocrats' deal with the imperialists are the most oppressed workers, who make up the large majority of the working class. They are: the Black, Latin and Asian workers; women workers; the majority of workers who work in non-union sweatshops; immigrant workers in Europe and the U.S.; and prisoners, gays, youth, the aged, the unemployed, and the undocumented. In particular, they include the super-exploited and super-oppressed workers of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

These workers are the discriminated and despised. They are the people who have no organization and no influence. They are the people that capitalism throws to the dogs.

Capitalism gauges people's worth by the success they achieve in scrambling up the capitalist ladder. The individ-

uals, groups, and even nations manage to move up by stepping on the backs of their fellow humans. They are the good that is honored and respected. The oppressed humanity that is left up in this struggle—trotters, the fools, the cowards.

Capitalism regards the oppressed as the true dirt of society, the lowest form that the capitalists can create. Whether it's the unemployment of the South Bronx, the Black South Africa, the displacement of the Tartar Kazan, the capitalists regard them with equal contempt.

Socialist revolutionaries smash this topsy-turvy world at things. For us the world is the key force for revolution because it is oppressed. The force inside the working class is the most oppressed workers. Socialist revolution is to succeed where the imperialist party of the workers has failed. The program must be addressed foremost to their needs.

### "Nothing to lose but their chains"

The most oppressed workers have no real stake in the system. Socialism offers them no future, but increasing misery, squandering, and oppression. Because of what they do to them, the most oppressed workers most closely mirror what they say about all workers: nothing to lose but their chains.

Because of this, the most oppressed workers can most easily be won to the divide-and-rule crap of capitalism and their labor hacks. The capitalist system doesn't have to offer them a theory for them. All they have to do is look at their own lives and see how two and two together. The capitalist system offers the workers nothing but oppression and ruin.

Most important, the most oppressed workers have a tremendous repres-

# Look to the Most Oppressed Workers

freedom and liberty. Your own paper tells us over and over again that the name of Lenin is known not only in the villages of the Caucasus, but even in the remotest parts of India. We know that the workers of China, who probably never read anything written by Lenin, are irresistibly drawn toward Bolshevism. Such is the powerful influence of this great historic movement! They feel in their innermost hearts that it is a teaching for the oppressed and exploited, for hundreds of millions to whom it is the only possible salvation. That is why Leninism meets with a passionate response among working women, who are the most oppressed section of society. When I read about the success of one of your female fellow students in Kazan among the illiterate Tartar women, I was reminded of my recent short visit to Baku (on the Caspian Sea) where I heard for the first time a Turkoman Communist woman, and had an opportunity to observe in the hall the enthusiasm of hundreds of such women who, having heard our

message of liberation, had awakened to a new life. I realized then for the first time that women will play a more important role in the liberation movement of the East than in Europe and here in Russia. This will be the case for the simple reason that Eastern women are even more oppressed and entangled in age-long prejudices than men.

It is for this reason that the new spirit, which is now animating the popular movements, has a stronger effect on women than on men. . . Eastern women, who under present conditions are enslaved and thwarted in all their desires and ambitions, will, with the removal of the veil, see themselves deprived of all spiritual support because of the newly arisen economic conditions. They will thirst for new ideas and a new consciousness capable of allotting them their proper place in society. Believe me, there will be no better comrade in the East and no better champion of the ideas of revolution and Communism than the awakened working women.

the rest. They help divide the workers into separate nationalities, races, sexes, occupations, unions. . . you name it. In these and many other ways, they work to keep the workers in the advanced countries tied to the imperialist system. Above all, the labor aristocrats betray their fellow workers in Africa, Asia and Latin America who suffer under the heel of the imperialist boot. Since the labor aristocrats benefit from the loot of imperialism, they support the imperialist policies of the capitalists.

## Labor aristocrats support U.S. imperialism

This can be seen by looking at recent U.S. history. During the 1960s and 1970s, the oppressed peoples of Southeast Asia waged a struggle that shook the very foundations of U.S. imperialism. To the very end, the labor aristocrats supported the U.S. imperialists' war to smash these national liberation struggles. Even when large numbers of workers had come to hate the war, the aristocrats continued to support the imperialists. It was this support that enabled the U.S. rulers to carry on their genocidal war for a decade and to pull out of one of the worst social crises in their history.

The victims of the aristocrats' deal with the imperialists are the most oppressed workers, who make up the large majority of the working class. They are: the Black, Latin and Asian workers; women workers; the majority of workers who work in non-union sweatshops; immigrant workers in Europe and the U.S.; and prisoners, gays, youth, the aged, the unemployed, and the undocumented. In particular, they include the super-exploited and super-oppressed workers of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

These workers are the discriminated and despised. They are the people who have no organization and no influence. They are the people that capitalism throws to the dogs.

Capitalism gauges people's worth by the success they achieve in scrambling up the capitalist ladder. The individ-

uals, groups, and even nations that manage to move up by stepping on the backs of their fellow human beings—they are the good, the just, the honored and respected. The legions of oppressed humanity that get ground up in this struggle—they are the chumps, the fools, the contemptibles.

Capitalism regards the most oppressed as the true dung-heap of society, the lowest form of low-life that the capitalists can imagine. Whether it's the unemployed workers of the South Bronx, the Black workers of South Africa, the dispossessed Palestinians or the Tartar women of Kazan, the capitalists regard them all with equal contempt.

Socialist revolutionaries work to smash this topsy-turvy way of looking at things. For us the working class is the key force for revolution precisely because it is oppressed. And the key force inside the working class is the most oppressed workers. If the socialist revolution is to succeed, the revolutionary party of the workers must be based on the most oppressed, and its program must be addressed first and foremost to their needs. Why is this?

## "Nothing to lose but their chains"

The most oppressed workers have no real stake in the system. Imperialism offers them no future—nothing but increasing misery, squalor, and repression. Because of what capitalism does to them, the most oppressed most closely mirror what Marx had to say about all workers: "They have nothing to lose but their chains."

Because of this, the most oppressed workers can most easily cut through the divide-and-rule crap of the capitalists and their labor hacks. The crisis of capitalism doesn't have to be an abstract theory for them. All they have to do is look at their own lives and put two and two together. Their own experience will teach them that the capitalist system offers the workers nothing but oppression and ruin.

Most important, the most oppressed have a tremendous repressed hatred

for the system. From time to time, their hatred and anger break out in powerful rebellions. Often, however, the hatred is unexpressed, or is expressed in fighting among themselves. But when this hatred is coupled with political understanding, it becomes a tremendous reservoir of militancy and determination that can be tapped for socialist revolution. It is this that the imperialists fear most of all about the most oppressed.

These are the reasons why Leon Trotsky in the accompanying statement sees so much historical importance in a seemingly unimportant speech of a Turkish woman in Kazan (Russia). Trotsky's revolutionary understanding told him that the women of Asia—who still today are among the most oppressed strata of humanity—will be some of the most determined fighters for the socialist revolution.

## Most oppressed workers in the lead

Looking at the super-exploited workers of China, India, and the Caucasus, Trotsky understood that they are destined to play an earthshaking role in world revolution. He spent much of his speech to the graduates of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East explaining that oppressed Asia might lead the "advanced" West to the path of revolution. Said Trotsky:

"... If Europe is going to be kept in the present state of decomposition by this narrow-minded, aristocratic McDonaldism of the upper strata of the working class, the center of gravity of the revolutionary movement will be transferred to the East. And then it will become evident that... it will require a revolution in the East, which, sweeping back to Great Britain, will break (if necessary) a number of thick skulls and thus give impetus to the revolution of the European proletariat."

Trotsky's words about Asia apply to all the most oppressed layers of the world proletariat. These layers will produce the most resourceful, the most determined, the most uncompromising revolutionaries.

## "Inexhaustible stores of selflessness"

It is no accident that a key section of Trotsky's Transitional Program, the program of the Fourth International, is entitled "Open the road to the woman worker! Open the road to the youth!" in it Trotsky says:

"Opportunist organizations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as wage earner and as a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited sections of the working class, consequently among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness, and readiness to sacrifice."

Unfortunately, the most oppressed workers today accept to a large degree the world outlook of the labor aristocrats. The views of the labor aristocracy seep down into the workers' ranks and infect the oppressed workers themselves. As a result, we see that even the most oppressed white workers hate, fear or distrust their Black brothers and sisters, even though they are basically in the same boat. Often the Black workers accept the capitalists' slanders and stereotypes about Latins, and vice-versa.

The same is true of every other division in the working class: men against women, workers in the imperialist countries against workers in the imperialized countries, and so on. The workers fight each other, and the imperialists laugh all the way to the bank.

If the most oppressed workers are to



Above: This scene appears throughout the world. The majority of the people barely survive so that the rich can live in luxury. Below: Mozambican women train for national liberation struggle prior to FRELIMO victory.



smash capitalism, they have to throw off the ideological garbage of the bosses. They have to unite across racial, national, sexual lines. The oppressed workers of the imperialist countries must stop being loyal to the imperialists. So long as the workers of the advanced countries side with "their country" against workers in other countries, they are setting themselves up.

As imperialism decays, the capitalists will be less and less able to buy the loyalty of the labor aristocrats. As a result, the aristocrats will become less and less useful as a tool of the capitalists. Their influence in the working class of the imperialist countries will diminish.

At the same time, the capitalists will have to step up their attacks on the

oppressed majority of workers in their own countries. This further weakens the influence of the labor aristocracy and raises the level of class struggle. These developments lay the basis for a revolutionary alliance between the workers of the imperialist countries and the super-oppressed workers and peasants of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This alliance of all the oppressed throughout the world is a key ingredient for a successful world revolution that can smash imperialism and capitalism. Together, we can get rid of the poverty, misery and oppression, the racism, sexism and chauvinism, and the hypocrisy that capitalism has poured forth throughout the world. Together, we can build a world socialist society, a society run by and for the overwhelming majority of the world's people. □

Working people are starting to realize that their lot under Carter is getting worse, not better. They are beginning to understand that the guy who made all the promises and claimed to be a friend of the people is the man behind the attacks on them.

# Decaying Capitalism: More Than Carter Can Handle

The weakness of U.S. capitalism is making itself felt right up at the very top. President Jimmy Carter is finding the job of running the capitalist system more than he can handle.

The ruling class put Carter in the White House with the hope that he could strengthen U.S. capitalism. Carter came in determined to reverse the decline of U.S. imperialism. In the U.S., the capitalists wanted Carter to help them beat down the living standards of the masses to revive the economy. And they counted on Carter to restore the faith in the U.S. government which the people have lost as a result of Watergate and similar scandals. But everywhere they turn, the owners of the big banks and corporations see that Carter is letting them down.

His foreign policy is going nowhere. Carter wants to convince the oppressed people of the world that the U.S. is the champion of human rights, peace and national liberation. To do this, he needs some diplomatic breakthroughs in the world's major trouble spots. He has to show that he can produce some settlements which appear



Detroit ghetto: millions live like this.

to ensure peace and the just rights of all people concerned. But Carter's "initiatives" have bogged down.

Despite Sadat's visit to Israel, Carter hasn't been able to stop the Arab-Israeli conflict from edging closer to another Mid-East war. He wants the Israelis to make a few meager concessions to the Palestinians. The concessions would enable the Arab regimes to sell them out without appearing to do so. But the Israelis aren't playing along. It's the same in South Africa. Carter has fooled some people into believing that he is for national liberation. But he hasn't been able to get Vorster and Smith to make enough reforms to head off the Black struggle.

On the domestic front, Carter is doing an even worse job for the capital-

ists. Heading the list of Carter's failures is the economy. The economy is supposed to be in a recovery that is two and a half years old. But the economy is still sick. Huge sections of steel and other basic industry are shutting down. Unemployment is high and rising. And another recession is coming soon.

To try to bolster the economy, Carter has been slamming the working class, especially the most oppressed workers. Carter's proposals on so-called welfare reform and the attacks on the rights of the oppressed are just two examples of Carter's policy.

## Ruling class not satisfied with Carter

But this hasn't satisfied the ruling class. The majority of the capitalists want to attack the workers even harder than Carter does. They want to step up the attacks on wages, working conditions and social services. In order to raise productivity and boost profits, they want a conservative, anti-inflation and high unemployment policy. Among other things, this means that welfare, jobs programs, Medicare and Medicaid, federal funds for education will have to go to reduce federal spending.

On the other hand, there are the more liberal sections of the capitalist class. These people think the government should hide the capitalists' attacks with more reforms, such as public works jobs and tax reform. These people fear that the high unemployment that goes along with the strong "anti-inflation" approach will lead to massive social upheavals.

Carter pleases no one. He isn't attacking the working class and fighting inflation enough for the conservatives. At the same time, he isn't coming through with significant enough reforms for the liberals. The Carter-backed Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, for example, not only turns off the conservatives but won't do a damn thing to create jobs.

Carter is losing support in other quarters as well. Starting over the summer, with Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, the labor bureaucrats and Black politicians have been increasing their criticisms of Carter. Last year these opportunists mobilized the votes which got Carter elected. In return, they expected Carter to come up with jobs programs and other sops that they could use to pacify the people in the Black and Latin communities and among the union rank-and-file.

These bureaucrats and politicians are responsible for keeping the masses locked into capitalist politics. To do this they must be able to "deliver the goods" to the people they claim to represent. But Carter has given them nothing. Without some concessions, these agents of the capitalist class have no way of keeping the people in line and no means of building their wealth and influence.

Most important of all, Carter's support among the masses of people



Urban League's Vernon Jordan (right): disappointed in Carter.

is drying up. Carter has broken every campaign promise he ever made, from a \$50 tax rebate to "a job for every American."

Working people are starting to realize that their lot under Carter is getting worse, not better. They are beginning to understand that the guy who made all the promises and claimed to be a friend of the people is the man behind the attacks on them.

When he was elected, one of Carter's main assets was his ability to fool the masses into believing that he is different from the rest of the corrupt bunch that runs the government. After the Bert Lance scandal much of this is gone. And as Carter's popularity with the people fades, so does his usefulness to the ruling class.

## Crisis mirrors decline of U.S.

The weakness of Carter's Administration is not primarily Carter's weakness as an individual political leader. The crisis of Carter's Administration is a reflection of the decline of U.S. imperialism.

Underlying the political stability of U.S. politics for the past 25 years is the pork barrel. The ruling class, and their lieutenants in organized labor and in the communities, have been able to settle their differences through peaceful compromise. Because of the strength of U.S. imperialism, there seemed to be something for everyone. In general the better-off sections of the workers were bribed into supporting U.S. imperialism.

In addition, if some section of the masses was getting unruly, the ruling class would come up with a few concessions and tell some lies about more to come if they stopped making trouble. Only the middle class and the upper crust of the workers ever saw these crumbs. But a combination of these concessions, lies, and selective repression was enough to keep the workers and oppressed people under the control of the imperialists.

But U.S. imperialism passed its high water mark with the defeat in Vietnam. The economic crisis in the U.S. which had been suppressed with the super-profits of imperialism and state intervention is coming to the fore. There isn't enough left in the pork barrel any more to keep the masses quiet. And the bureaucrats and politicians who depend on the pork barrel for their power are squabbling over who gets what's left.

In short, the ruling class and its agents are fighting over how to use their dwindling resources to deal with economic stagnation and the social and political crises that are developing out of it. This is what's behind the political disputes that are weakening the Carter administration.

This is a big advantage for the small revolutionary movement which exists today. The more that Carter's Democratic Party administration and these opportunists in the unions and communities lose their authority within the working class, the better for us. It gives us a stronger chance of establishing a leading role for revolutionaries in the opening stages of the struggles which are already beginning to break out. □

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Address all correspondence to:  
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PO Box 582  
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Subscription rates:  
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Prisoners ..... Free  
6 issues (introductory) ..... \$1.00  
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# Free Skyhorse and Mohawk!



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Two Native American men, Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, face life imprisonment for a murder they did not commit. On October 10, 1974, a Los Angeles cab driver was murdered. Three persons, not Skyhorse and Mohawk, were arrested at the scene of the crime with bloody clothing and the driver's personal property in their possession. These three individuals were granted immunity to testify against American Indian Movement (AIM) members Skyhorse and Mohawk, who were arrested a week later in Arizona. Skyhorse and Mohawk are the innocent victims of a government conspiracy. In numerous other trials of AIM activists evidence has shown that government agencies prosecute people solely on the basis of their AIM membership. No material evidence exists against the two AIM activists.

## Native Americans resist genocide

Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk were targeted by the U.S. government because of the resistance of the Indian Movement to the continuing genocide practiced by the U.S. ruling class and their racist capitalist-imperialist state. They are two of many local activists that are fighting for their people, and their prosecution by the State of California is no different than the mass trials

that resulted from the liberation of Wounded Knee in 1973. The FBI and the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) have occupying armies on many reservations in the U.S. While the FBI is the number one repressive tool of the government against all progressive movements, Indian people are right now under the most severe attack. Annie Mae Aquash was shot in the back of the head on Pine Ridge. Joe Stuntz was murdered by military onslaught. The trials of Leonard Peltier, Sid Welsh, and others all attest to deep involvement by the FBI. Coal, oil, natural gas, and uranium are on Indian reservations in huge quantities, and companies like Amax, Peabody Coal, and Exxon intend to strip, mine, clear cut, exploit, and steal Indian lands. They recognize that the Indian Movement for national self-determination and sovereignty—the control of Indian land by Indian people—is standing in the way of their plans.

The RSL-Los Angeles calls upon all workers and oppressed peoples to support the liberation of our Native American brothers and sisters and political prisoners.

For more information, contact: Skyhorse-Mohawk Offense-Defense Committee, PO Box 30036, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90030; (213) 383-1297.

Free Skyhorse  
and Mohawk!



## Nazis Beaten by Black and White Defense Guard

NOVEMBER 14—Three members of the Nazi Party were left beaten and bloody after a fight at Triton College in Chicago. Six Nazis came to the college to picket a speech by Simon Wiesenthal, an internationally known anti-Nazi war criminal hunter. To counter the Nazis, a demonstration was organized by the Black and White Defense Committee (BWDC). As supporters of the BWDC arrived at the hall, they saw the Nazis jump an older white man. To rescue him, eight BWDC supporters stomped the Nazi scum. Nazi leader Frank Collin spent most of the fight face down on the ground moaning over his hurting head. Later, he was arrested. The organizing work of the BWDC shows how the working class can defeat the Nazis.

# COPS GET AWAY WITH MURDER

## Claim "Temporary" Insanity

South Africa is not the only place where white police have the right to murder Black youth in cold blood. Randolph Evans, Israel Rodriguez, and Frank Thompson are the names of but three out of dozens of Black and Latin people butchered by the New York police in recent months.

What makes these three murders stand out is that the police were

brought to trial.

**Randolph Evans:** Fifteen-year-old Black youth from Brooklyn. A year ago Thanksgiving Day, officer Robert Torsney was answering a call where Evans lived. Evans asked him

if he was checking something in the building. Torsney drew his pistol and shot Evans in the head. Even the other cops on the scene admitted that there was no provocation from Evans for the shooting.

**Israel Rodriguez:** A Puerto Rican in his 20s. Officer Thomas Ryan beat Rodriguez to death at the 44th Precinct in the Bronx. Rodriguez's hands were chained together as Ryan worked him over with "nightsticks, fists, feet and furniture."

**Frank Thompson:** Eighteen-year-old Black youth, again from Brooklyn. While on an off-duty drinking spree, officer Roger Scheid shot and killed Thompson.

parole, he could be out in a fraction of that time.

But Ryan may be in luck. About the time of Torsney's acquittal, seven of the 12 jurors in the Ryan case claimed they did not understand the charge against Ryan. They say that they only meant to convict Ryan of simple "negligence," not "negligent homicide." If they are allowed to change their verdict, Ryan may get off with no time at all.

Scheid is still awaiting trial. He's probably not very worried. Even if his self-defense plea falls apart, it's pretty clear that Scheid too suffers from that very common "rare epilepsy" that makes white cops go berserk and blow Black people away for no reason.

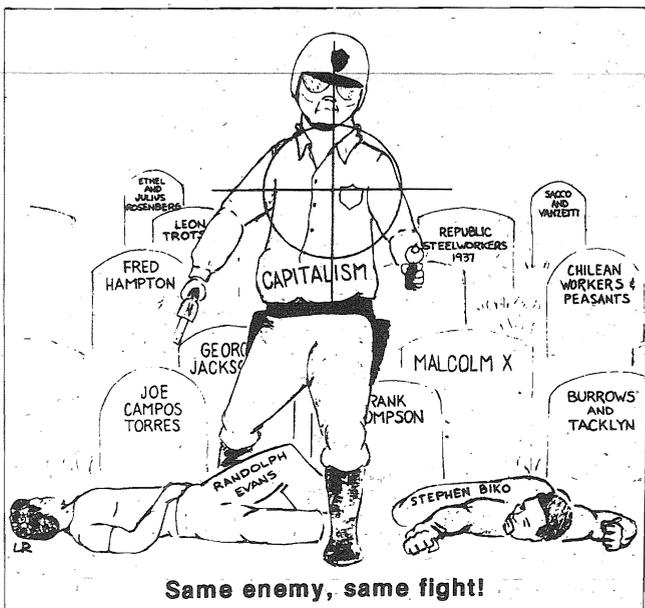
The "official leaders" of the Black and Latin communities have told people to keep quiet and rely upon the "democratic system" to take care of these injustices. But as these cases prove once again, investigations, trials and all the rest of the crap that goes under the name of "working through the channels" of capitalist democracy are worthless.

Armed patrols of Black, Latin and anti-racist white youth and workers are what's needed to put this slaughter to a stop. Through organizing, we can check and limit police oppression. But it will never disappear as long as capitalism is around. Workers' self-defense must become one part of the struggle for socialist revolution. With the working class in power, the police oppression will end because the police and all the agents of the bourgeoisie will be smashed. □

## Cop judged insane

An all-white jury found Torsney innocent late last month. They accepted his defense that he was temporarily insane from an attack of a kind of "rare epilepsy." Torsney will be examined by psychiatrists for 60 days. If he is found "recovered" from his "sudden fit," he will be released and possibly returned to active duty.

Officer Ryan got his knuckles rapped a little harder. Earlier in November, his almost all-white jury (10 out of 12) found him guilty. Not of murder, though. Instead, he was convicted of "criminally negligent homicide," which carries a maximum sentence of...only four years. With



Same enemy, same fight!

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# IRON ORE WORKERS STILL OUT; STRIKE CHALLENGES ENA

Over 9,000 iron ore workers in the Mesabi Range are still fighting to win their five-month old strike. The strike, which began on August 1, is the longest strike in the history of the union, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). It is also the first strike to challenge the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which was signed in 1971.

The main issue in the strike is the workers' demand for incentive pay. The bosses' refusal to make any concession on this issue sparked the strike. In response to the militancy of the iron ore workers, the companies retreated and offered 40-50 cents an hour incentive pay to 75 percent of the workers. In exchange they proposed to cancel the 30 cents an hour attendance bonus iron ore workers had won in an earlier contract. This would have meant a wage cut for the 4,500 workers not covered by the incentive pay plan. The strikers rejected the offer unanimously.

Last month, the bosses changed their offer to include the incentive pay for 75 percent of the workers and maintain the attendance bonus for the rest. This settlement was accepted by 6,000 workers, mostly from northern Michigan.

On November 28, workers in the 10 Minnesota locals that rejected the compromise promised to stay out until all iron ore workers are covered by the incentive bonus. They also demanded that the incentive plan take effect in August 1978. Under the bosses' plan, it would not start until November 1979.

This show of solidarity was weakened by 2,200 Reserve Mining Company workers when they returned to work after accepting the compromise

offer on December 6.

Iron ore workers have been building support for their strike. On November 6, 2,000 strikers marched through the streets of Virginia, Minnesota. Another demonstration is planned for December 17 in Hibbing, Minnesota, to rally support for the strike.

Strikers have also gone to the Chicago-Gary steel mills for support.

Plant gate collections have been organized and several locals have pledged support to the strikers. Militant steelworkers understand that they have a big stake in the outcome of the strike.

A successful strike will be a serious defeat for the USWA bureaucrats' ENA, which limits steelworkers' right to strike to local issues.

In the initial talks between the iron

ore workers and the bosses, the ENA was used by the bosses to refuse to discuss incentive pay. They claimed that it was a national issue and could not be negotiated on a local level. The iron ore workers refused to accept this and pressed their demand. The bosses were forced to back down.

To repair this breach in the ENA, USWA president McBride and a company negotiator have agreed to amend the ENA so that disputes over what is a local issue will be settled by binding arbitration.

Iron ore workers have shown how to deal with the ENA. The ENA can be defeated by a national strike in steel. Militant steelworkers can begin to organize by building support for the iron ore workers. □

## Defend Nagi Mohamed!

DETROIT—Last July, Nagi Mohamed, an Arab worker at Chrysler's Dodge Main plant, was beaten by his foreman and a supervisor. Nagi was ordered to work out of his classification, called racist names, and grabbed by the foreman. Nagi pulled away and the foreman began hitting him. A supervisor then held Nagi while the foreman continued to beat him. Nagi was fired and faces jail on assault charges. He has also been denied unemployment benefits by the state. Chrysler's racist foremen have gone unpunished.

On November 18, 60 Arab, Black and white workers—most of them from Dodge Main—demonstrated at the Hamtramck Courthouse in support of Nagi. These workers have organized the Nagi Mohamed/Dodge Workers Defense Committee to leaflet, collect defense funds and organize for workers' rights and against racism at Main. They are standing with Nagi, demanding that he be reinstated with full back pay, that the charges be dropped and that the foreman be fired.

This unity of Arab, Black and white workers scared Chrysler and its courts. The trial was pushed back to December 2. Once again the workers appeared, filling the courtroom. Outside, supporters of the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee (RAC) demonstrated. The demonstration was dispersed by the Hamtramck cops. RAC supporters and others were harassed and searched before entering the courthouse. The foreman failed to appear at the hearing, so the case was adjourned until January.

Autoworkers have always had next to no rights. We face slave-like conditions on the shopfloor. Things are getting worse. Harassment has picked up throughout Detroit's auto plants. At Chrysler, things are especially bad and particularly at places like Dodge Main. Chrysler stands on weak legs in a rotting economy. The bosses' solution to protect their profit margins is to get more work out of fewer workers. For instance, in 1973, Dodge Main employed 10,000 workers.

Now several thousand fewer workers produce about the same number of cars. Chrysler's overseers—the foremen and supervisors—are cracking the whip. Firings, disciplinaries and attacks are common and will increase as the bosses' mad drive for profits continue. We workers will stand up, but our only weapon is unity in struggle. The bosses know this, which is why Nagi is out of a job and on trial. Management needs to keep us down and divided. They felt that Nagi, being an Arab (a small minority of U.S. workers) and an immigrant, would be easier to take on as an example to all workers.

Workers, regardless of race or where they work, must support the fight of the Dodge workers. RAC is uniting with the Dodge Workers Defense Committee in helping to build support among workers in other plants. The new trial date is January 6. Come out and defend your rights.

All Out to Defend Nagi Mohamed!

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE



### Dock strike settled

NOVEMBER 30—50,000 dockworkers have ended their strike, which paralyzed container shipping through Atlantic and Gulf coast ports for 60 days. The new contract, negotiated by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), includes an 80 cents an hour raise each year, improved benefits, and a tightening of the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) plan.

Although the contract was accepted overall, militant locals in New Orleans, Baltimore and Mobile, Alabama, voted it down.

Opposition to the settlement centered on the GAI, which guarantees a minimum number of hours with pay to every longshoreman whether or not work is available. The number of hours varies widely from port to port. Members of Baltimore Local 333 (ILA) said that it was near impossible to collect GAI funds, due to loopholes left for the shipping bosses.

From the beginning of the strike, the dockworkers' fight was sabotaged by ILA president Thomas W. Gleason. In October, militants called a general strike against all shipping in New Orleans. The strike was broken by Gleason. A port-wide strike in Baltimore on November 23 was also stopped. Most recently, a wildcat by members of Local 333 following their rejection of the contract was halted by a court injunction with support from Gleason.

(See letter on Jamaican portworkers' support for U.S. dockers' strike, page 2.)

### Stevens' workers meet

Over 1,500 J.P. Stevens workers from across the South met in Spartanburg, South Carolina, on November 20 to build their union organizing drive. The workers represented over 40 of J.P. Stevens' 85 plants. This was the biggest meeting of its kind

since the drive to organize Stevens began in 1963.

Stevens workers are determined to press the organizing drive into every plant in the Stevens empire. As a Black woman from the Stevens plant in Tifton, Georgia, told the delegates: "One plant can't do it alone. We've got to organize the whole chain."

But the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) refuse to prepare for a militant showdown with Stevens. Instead, they continue to wait on the government and the courts to build the union.

The ACTWU bureaucrats are now putting their hopes on a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decision to seek a nationwide injunction against Stevens for "unlawful conduct." The NLRB has never before sought a nationwide injunction against a major corporation, although injunctions against "unlawful conduct" are already in force at a number of individual Stevens plants.

The NLRB and the ACTWU leaders claim these actions will stop Stevens from attacking union supporters. But Stevens has already proved that it will not be defeated by court cases. In fact, the government wants to use this injunction to prevent a militant organizing struggle at Stevens. The rulers want workers to look to the government for help, instead of organizing themselves for a fight.

The courts and the bosses' government will never build a fighting union at J.P. Stevens. Union militants have to mount a massive organizing drive involving thousands of Stevens workers. This will lay the groundwork for a company-wide strike for union rights. The Stevens workers are not alone—their struggles can spark new organizing drives among the millions of unorganized workers throughout the South.

### Workers strike onion growers

Over 2,500 Arizona farmworkers have been striking since October 27 against the biggest onion

growers in the state. Most of the strikers are undocumented Mexican workers, who provide nearly all of the farm labor for rich growers across Arizona. Before the strike, the workers were picking onions for 26 cents per dozen. The strikers are demanding an increase to 40 cents per dozen, which is about equal to the official minimum wage for farmworkers of \$2.20 an hour.

The growers and the government are trying to break the strike. The courts issued injunctions limiting the number of picketers. The cops attacked the mass picket lines of the workers, arresting 21 strikers in early November. And through the entire strike, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has carried out deportation raids against the strikers.

The farmworkers committee and the Maricopa County Organizing Project mobilized hundreds of strikers and supporters to march in Phoenix on November 8. The marchers opposed the government attacks and demanded serious negotiations. One of the striking workers, Juana Garcia, said this: "There is no justice in America. No justice at all. Police are arresting people because they are on strike, people aren't getting enough to live on. I have been working in the onions since I was 10. I know I will be working here all my life. And what do I have to look forward to? Only 26 cents and to die picking onions because there are no benefits. We want better wages now; we don't want our children living the same life as us."

This strike against the onion growers is the largest strike ever waged by Arizona farmworkers. It follows a successful strike earlier in October by several hundred citrus workers at the Arrowhead Ranch. The citrus workers struck over eight demands, including daily wage payments, toilets in the fields, blankets and tents and medical care.

Victory to the Arizona Farmworkers!  
Stop All Attacks on Undocumented Workers!

—BA and PA

# Rumanian Miners Fight State Capitalists

(Continued from page 10)

who fail to meet the state-imposed production quotas.

After Ceausescu promised to make changes in all these areas, the miners returned to work. A miner describes what happened afterward: "For two weeks, things did improve. There was more and better food, clothing. A new pension law was published quickly even though it was never formally approved. But within two weeks, that was all over. Then the troops came."

Ceausescu ordered 2,000 soldiers into the Jiu Valley to break up the miners' movement. The government tried to get the soldiers to work in the mines as scabs. The soldiers refused, shrewdly arguing: "It's not our job, we're to defend the country."

More effective were the hordes of plainclothes secret police. Dobrei, the miner who presented Ceausescu with the petition, was arrested in the middle of the night. Many of the police went to work in the mines pretending to be new hires, making it hard for the miners to continue building up their organization.

According to Rumanian author Paul Goma, 4,000 miners were fired in September in retaliation for the strike.

The government docked those miners who kept their jobs 40 percent of their August pay for failing to meet quotas. This wiped out much of the wage increase the government had been forced to grant.

The miners have not been beaten by the repression. Ceausescu felt it

was necessary to return to the Jiu Valley in November. The miners' movement was threatening to spill over into other sections of the Rumanian working class. In September, there had been anti-government protests in the textile mills of Brasov and at the huge August 23 Heavy Machine Factory in Bucharest.

Ceausescu had himself made an "honorary miner" and made a big speech saying: "We want the miners' work to be made easier, general working conditions to be improved, and a high productivity to be insured."

The miners weren't fooled. "It's all for himself. None of that's for us," said one.

None of it is for the workers. That's the whole point. Rumania is ruled by a state-capitalist regime which calls itself "Communist." But if the Rumanian working class controlled this regime, it would be impossible for the armed forces to be used to suppress the workers' struggle. How can Rumania be any kind of workers' state if the only way that the working class movement can exist is through the methods of underground resistance?

The fact that the workers are starved, overworked and arrested in the name of socialist development changes nothing. The Rumanian workers are fighting capitalism, the same enemy facing workers in South Africa, the United States, Cuba and in every other square inch of the world.

Look at the grievances of the miners. Their demands are shared by workers and oppressed people every-

where: food, clothing, a place to live. The state-capitalist ruling class of Rumania can't even provide basic consumer goods to the workers. Everything is put into expanding heavy industry at the expense of raising the level of working class life. This is the essence of capitalist accumulation, not its overthrow.

The Rumanian workers have no control over the economy. They don't decide how production is organized or what it is used for. They are forced to work for Rumania's sole employer—the state bureaucracy—or starve. They sell their labor-power to the Rumanian state and in return get a wage which is barely enough to survive on. This is the same as workers everywhere. And like workers in the rest of the world, the only way out of this wage slavery is socialist revolution.

The state capitalists must be smashed. The workers have to take everything over.

Ceausescu is now purging top officials in the mining industry and blaming them for provoking the miners. But the miners aren't buying these reforms at the top. They know that the disgraced officials were only carrying out Ceausescu's orders.

"Nothing is changed, nothing has been resolved," said one miner to a New York Times reporter. "You must say we talked only about sports, camping or skiing, perhaps, or we will all be taken away in chains. Things are quiet now because people are afraid. It is difficult to organize because now there are spies everywhere. But we are waiting, and next year..." The miner finished with the clenched fist. □

## Apartheid Must Be Overthrown

(Continued from page 1)

only election for Parliament was held. The ruling National Party, led by Prime Minister John Vorster, won an overwhelming victory—134 out of 165 seats. (In the last election the National Party won 117 seats.)

Vorster used the election campaign to make his message loud and clear. No reforms in the apartheid system. No power-sharing of any kind with the Black people. Continued and increased repression against any and all struggle and protest.

For the last year and a half, the Black students and workers have been battling against apartheid in the streets. This has terrified the white liberals. In the past, these liberals supported parties calling for a few

limited reforms of apartheid. But this time around they voted for the National Party.

While many Western capitalist reporters predicted that, after the elections, Vorster would use his mandate to make some reforms, in fact the opposite is true.

The repression continues. Just hours before the Biko verdict came down, 13 more Black militants were arrested—including Biko's brother and cousin.

The South African rulers have made it clear that they will go to the wall to defend the power and privileges of the whites.

### Revolution is the only solution

The hardening of the whites' resistance to any reforms will only give a boost to the Black struggle. One of the things that has held back the Blacks' struggle is the illusion among certain sections of the population that peaceful change is possible.

This has meant looking to the tiny middle-class layer of the Black population for leadership (the doctors, lawyers, clergymen, university students). And it has meant thinking that the liberal imperialists, like Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young, will really do something for the Blacks.

But today, the liberal solution for South Africa is almost irrelevant. The battle lines are drawn—between the oppressor whites on the one hand and the Black masses on the other. The whites have ruled out reform. Instead, they will get revolution. □

## Make the Prisons Schools of Revolution

(Continued from page 7)

able to sisters and brothers in the prisons. Through correspondence we can discuss what questions come up in the course of study.

Study groups in the prisons can become more than study groups. They can become a section of the revolutionary party in the prisons. Our struggles and our need to study don't stop when we get sent to prison. We need to build a revolutionary party that organizes and unites all the people's struggles. The section of the party outside the prison will support the prisoners' struggles and aid the comrades coming out of prison in reorienting themselves. And the section of the party inside will have to show the ropes to comrades who come in, and ensure that all of the comrades in prison develop politically.

Just like in the factories and the streets, and in some ways even more so, revolutionary prisoners will have to get involved in the day-to-day struggles for democratic rights and material needs of the masses of prisoners. In order to do this, broad-based organizations of prisoners will have to be organized. But also, just like outside the prisons, it is essential that the most advanced people band together and build their section of the revolutionary party. They must give the struggle leadership. And they must fight to make sure that all of the day-to-day struggles become a part of the most important struggle—

for the total liberation of all the oppressed.

While in prison, revolutionaries can help to educate and organize people on the outside of the prisons. A good example of this is the solidarity messages that prisoners wrote to the Attica-South Africa Day of Solidarity that was organized by the RSL and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid. The messages of solidarity helped to show people what the prisons are all about and the need to unite revolutionaries in the prisons with revolutionaries on the outside.

We have also tried to make the Torch-La Antorcha a tool for building

this unity between those in the prisons and those on the outside. Many people read the Torch-La Antorcha, both for information and political education. We want to make the Torch-La Antorcha a useful tool that people who want to build the revolutionary party can use to spread information, as well as debate and discuss the issues that face working and oppressed people. Prisoners can help us improve the Torch-La Antorcha. We encourage prisoners to write to us, so that we can discuss our work and our political ideas. And so we can see in what ways we can best work together to put the capitalist system to death. □

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