

TORCH 4

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist
League

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 2 / 25 CENTS

FEBRUARY 15-MARCH 14, 1977

PER COPY

FEB 21 1977

NYPL

WHAT'S BEHIND THE FUEL CRISIS?



Workers, jobless because of fuel crisis, wait in unemployment office.

By Jack Gregory

Don't blame Mother Nature for the natural gas shortage crippling the economy.

Bitter cold isn't the main reason why thousands of factories from the Atlantic to the Great Plains have shut down and laid off millions of workers. The freezing weather certainly hurt, but before winter began the Federal Power Commission predicted natural gas supply would be 22 percent less than demand under average weather conditions.

Nor is the culprit lack of natural gas in the ground. There is still enough natural gas to last at least another 40 to 50 years.

What's the real reason for the crisis crippling the economy? Who is responsible for the nearly three million layoffs, the heatless homes, the climbing fuel bills and the other consequences of the fuel shortage?

BIG OIL BLACKMAIL

The real cause of the fuel crisis is the world's biggest and most profit-thirsty group of corporations: Big Oil. These huge energy companies (Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, Gulf, etc.) dominate natural gas production. Together, they deliberately created this winter's crisis. They deliberately shut down gas production and hoarded reserves to blackmail the

country into accepting their demands for higher prices and larger profits.

The energy companies claim that they need higher profits to develop natural gas sources and produce the gas. But there is no crisis in the profit margins of these corporations. Profits for the six leading gas producers are up 26 percent over last year and are heading higher. But Big Oil wants more; this profit-thirsty cartel wants to take advantage of its control over gas supply to raise prices and boost profits even higher.

In return for eliminating the shortages, the energy companies are demanding a
(Continued on page 14)

Soweto Lives!

On February 9, thousands of Black students in the South African township of Soweto staged militant protests against the government. The students made bonfires out of exam papers and books as thousands rallied inside the schools and in the streets.

The immediate target of the protests was the final examinations in Soweto's schools. The exams were given even though the schools have been closed for long periods during the demonstrations and boycotts of the last six months.

The new protests continue the struggle launched last June. Now, as then, the militant students want the separate Black education system abolished. They are also fighting for an unconditional amnesty for all the militants jailed in last year's rebellions.

The protests took place simultaneously at schools throughout the township and all of the actions followed the same basic pattern. This high level of coordination behind the demonstrations shows that the students have greatly strengthened their self-organization.

In the face of the continuing struggle, the racist Vorster regime is treading cautiously. In particular, it is afraid to provoke another full-scale rebellion like those of last year. This can be seen in the government's approach to the young militants' struggle. In place of the mass shootings and arrests of last year, Soweto's police chief reportedly ordered the cops to use only tear gas and nightsticks against the demonstrators. "We didn't even fire a peashooter," he said.

Whether this is really true,

and how much brutality and torture is going on behind the scenes, in the police stations and the prisons, is impossible to tell. But the fact that the Vorster government—the most brutal in the entire world—is forced to make a show of restraint is dramatic proof that this blood-soaked regime is wobbled.

But the rulers' retreats will only fuel the flames. The growing upsurge will continue. As the recent protests show, the militants are building, spreading and strengthening their organizational roots. The foundations are being laid for a fight to the finish against apartheid and its imperialist masters. □

(For additional coverage of South Africa, and of the movement in the U.S. to aid the anti-apartheid struggle, see pages 10-13.)



Soweto students burn examination papers.

Russian Revolution: Feb. 1917..... p. 9

campesinos
tuación con
sivas por los
eros se han
tentado or-
Tendencia
cato contra
son oficiales

capitalistas,
injertos, han
a también.
nocrática se
vez en 1975,
eso hacien-
us apoyado-
rez, que pre-
minó su pe-
arles" a los
rteño de So-
e tierra que
rratenientes
s y los capi-
un paro co-
és de todo
ortillo está
rtición de
tos salaria-
anjeros, es-
quiladores"
para otros
tales como
n: los suel-
mexicanos
Los imperi-
Portillo que
a y quieren
ra aplastar

ELANTE

920 se hizo
los latifun-
nyos prede-
to de la Re-
anti-impe-
anti-capita-
o el Presi-
a década de
ó las indus-
del petro-
tribuyó al-
esinos—los
omarlas de

que fueron
pagina 19)

PUERTO RICO

END U.S. DOMINATION

On his way out the door, Jerry Ford left behind a "present" for the Puerto Rican people—a proposal that Puerto Rico be made the 51st state of the U.S. Using the method typical of U.S. imperialism, he didn't bother to ask the Puerto Rican people how they felt about this "gift." All the same, this proposal has created quite a stir inside the U.S. ruling class.

The capitalists are divided about what to do with Puerto Rico, and how. However, they are all united (and have been for years) on portraying Puerto Rico as a "big burden" for the U.S. The opinion makers of the bourgeoisie have cooked up a whole reactionary stew around Ford's proposal. They are stepping up their efforts to picture the country and its people as a big drain on the U.S. economy.

Unfortunately, these views are not without support in the ranks of the American working class. Too often, the American imperialists have been successful in infecting our ranks with this reactionary nonsense. As a result, many workers feel that Puerto Rico is a land on the dole; and that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are a "shiftless" people, who come here mainly to enjoy the benefits of welfare. These views are only one example of the racist slanders which the ruling class spews out every day about all minority workers. They are simply designed to justify the capitalists' continued exploitation of Puerto Rico.

The U.S. rulers take this approach primarily to cover the fact that Puerto

Rico has been a U.S. colony from the day that it was seized from Spain. It was seized against the wishes of its people, and has been robbed blind by the U.S. imperialists ever since. Puerto Rico—the object of wholesale plunder by the U.S. imperialists—is portrayed in the press as the plunderer of U.S. resources.

What are the facts?

• In 1974, U.S. corporations made more profits in Puerto Rico—a small country of three million people—than they made in all of Western Europe

to nothing to Puerto Rico's budget. (The U.S. "contributes" minor transfer payments, such as a measly \$40 million for a food stamp program.) This means that the entire tax burden of the island is on the shoulders of the people of Puerto Rico. Yet this largely working class population earns so little that three-quarters of it would not even qualify to pay U.S. federal taxes, if the island were shoved in as a state. (Not satisfied with all of the above, the Puerto Rican puppet government recently increased local



March for Puerto Rican independence, New York, 1976. At left, RSL contingent.

Torch Photo/Eugene V. Lee

(which includes some 20 of the world's most industrialized countries, with a population of well over 350 million!) In 1975, U.S. profits in Puerto Rico—\$792 million—were even higher.

• U.S. corporations pay absolutely no tax of any kind to the island's government, or to the U.S. government, for their operations in Puerto Rico. An advertisement addressed to U.S. capitalists from the island's puppet government makes the imperialist rip-off clear:

"Manufacturers are automatically exempt from federal (U.S.) taxes in Puerto Rico. You pay no corporate or personal taxes. And by Commonwealth law, you are exempt from Puerto Rican taxes. This includes taxes on corporate income, real and personal property, municipal taxes, and license fees for up to 25 years."

• The average hourly wage in manufacturing is a meager \$2.85—in a country where living costs are as high or higher than in the U.S. The unemployment rate, meanwhile, is well over 30 percent, more than three times the U.S. rate.

Coupling the low wages and mass unemployment with industry's tax-free status, one can easily see why Puerto Rico is a capitalist's paradise. Since the early '50s, U.S. capitalists have poured nearly \$14 billion in investments into the country. In the same period, they have pumped out of Puerto Rico alone nearly one-third of all the profits they have robbed from Latin America.

The real situation couldn't be clearer. U.S. corporations, which dominate the economic life of the island, don't pay a single penny in taxes to maintain the Puerto Rican economy and its vital services—education, health and welfare, highways, construction, unemployment benefits, etc. The U.S. government also pays next

taxes by another 20 percent.)

Bad as the tax predicament of the working class is, the wage situation is worse. Low wages have always been the main inducement that U.S. imperialism offers its industry in Puerto Rico. The \$2.85 hourly rate for manufacturing is well below the U.S. average. This figure, however, hides more than it reveals, since most Puerto Rican workers earn considerably less than \$2.00 per hour. If all this weren't enough, the local government—a loyal servant of the U.S. capitalists—is now clamping tight restraints on the starvation-level wages. Included in their program is a three-year pay freeze on government employees, who make up one-third of the labor force. Meanwhile, prices are allowed to skyrocket.

In the last 25 years, Puerto Rico has been transformed from a largely agricultural society into one of the most highly industrialized countries in the world. This is confirmation that U.S. imperialism is the big plunderer of Puerto Rico. Unlike what one would expect, tremendous industrialization has made Puerto Rico's problems more severe. Unemployment today is more than three times as high as in 1950. Moreover, Puerto Rico today imports practically everything it needs from the high-priced U.S. economy, despite its people's desperately low incomes. Far from solving the nation's problems, U.S. investment has sucked Puerto Rico's lifeblood.

Now that the world economic crisis is making itself felt—both in Puerto Rico and the U.S.—the heat is on to squeeze even greater profits out of the island. The imperialists' strategy for "solving" Puerto Rico's economic crisis is to drive down wages and raise taxes. This may be good for U.S. investors, but it means driving the Puerto Rican working class to the wall.

This brings us to the question of the right of Puerto Ricans to emigrate to the U.S. The Revolutionary Socialist League is for the free movement of all peoples across all capitalist borders. This certainly applies to Puerto Rican workers seeking relief from imperialist exploitation at home by emigrating to the U.S. Nevertheless, we want to make clear that this emigration to the U.S.—forced by economic exploitation—represents a serious attempt by U.S. imperialism to destroy the Puerto Rican nation. Roughly two out of every five Puerto Ricans have been forced to leave their country to survive. With the exception of the Palestinians and South African Blacks, nowhere in the world has there been such a wholesale resettlement of a national population in recent times.

The massive nature of Puerto Rican emigration—more than anything else—speaks eloquently to the fact that the U.S. bosses don't give a damn about the welfare of the Puerto Rican people, and that they have no intention of providing the jobs and living standards required for the survival and progress of the nation.

Puerto Rican workers who come to the U.S. are brought into the lowest rungs of the U.S. economy. They are predominantly in low-wage, unorganized industries. They are among the first to be laid off in times of economic crisis—like now. Thirty-three percent of all Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. make incomes below the poverty level (compared with 12 percent for the population as a whole). When all is said, it's obvious that the imperialists allow Puerto Rican workers to come here only to exploit them as cheap labor. This is merely the flip side of the crimes perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico itself.

The facts prove beyond the shadow of a doubt: Puerto Rican workers are among the most oppressed victims of U.S. imperialism. Yet the imperialists—too often with success—have tried to convince layers of the U.S. working class that Puerto Ricans are a big burden on the U.S. This is a variant of the same line that the capitalists push concerning U.S. Blacks. Workers must understand these "divide and conquer" racist slanders for what they are, and must extend the hand of solidarity to our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in struggle against the common enemy.

This solidarity does not in any way imply support for Ford's proposal for statehood for Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation which the U.S. rulers stole in an imperialist land grab in 1898 (and which they have kept ever since through force of arms). U.S. workers must fight for the unconditional independence of Puerto Rico, and must help the Puerto Rican people to drive the imperialist blood-suckers from the island forever. □



March in Lares, Puerto Rico, demands freedom for nationalist political prisoners.

Inside...

- 2 Puerto Rico: End U.S. domination
- 3 Black women in South Africa
- 4 USWA hacks battle for control
- 5 Carter's racist pardon
- 6 Malcolm X speaks
- 7 Inmates win struggle at Somers
- 8 Filipino nurses on trial in frame-up
- 9 Gary Tyler conviction upheld
- 10 Support Walla Walla Brothers
- 11 Spain: Workers resist right wing
- 12 Liberals threaten S.A. revolution
- 13 How the U.S. supports apartheid
- 14 Shut down Ipi-Tombi
- 15 Smash apartheid
- 16 "Last Grave at Dimbaza"
- 17 SCAA reports
- 18 Tenants protest evictions
- 19 Cops arrest 50 h.s. students
- 20 Hearings attack lesbianism
- 21 Court rules against gays
- 22 Aplastemos el apartheid
- 23 Puerto Rico: Acabemos con la dominación de E.U.

FEATURES

- 4 Labor in Struggle
 - S.A. boycott... UMWA...
 - Organizing the unorganized
- 6 Break the Chains
 - Wanrow... Yoshimura... Saxe
 - ...Carter & Artis
- 8 World in Revolution
 - Egypt... India... Lebanon
- 16 Letters
- 17 Walla Walla struggle...
 - Employed & unemployed...
 - U.S. Steel murders... Vance...
 - More on U.S. Steel... Reader
 - raps Torch... Sexism on the job

INTERNA

BLAC

AGA

By Janet Carv

Each day the
their rule brings
human society.
ist system delibe
social fabric of s
in order to max
and its profits.

The world of
dogs in factories
meanwhile, dep
ism's need for
periodically use
rot since they
tently exploited
due to pregnan
While this divis
women imposed
more oppression
working class, i
most oppressed
lutionary creati
pride of our mo

March 8 is the
International W
holiday was four
revolutionary m
to the struggles
part of the inter
all workers and
the capitalist sys
pay tribute to t
South Africa a
against the racis
apartheid.

In South A
tendency of the
confine and thr
human race—the
and turned into
presently takes i
of African family

For example, in
"township" prod
regime), all fami
destroyed, repla
for "single" Bla
played wives, chi
have been dispatc
camps" located
lands miles from
can only hope to
work in the city

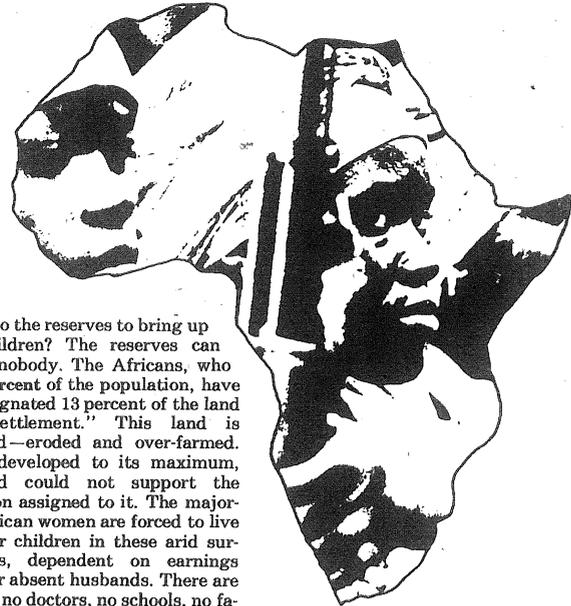
The racists' re
labor force must
superfluous apper
children and dep
not provide servic
Minister of Justic
ning.

The white raci
mean that African
of rights which ar
human society—t
their husbands, t
and care for thei
right to any fami

If employed, th
African women
mestic servants a
extremely low-pai
traditionally confi
role." Industrializ
ca under imperiali

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA: REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS AGAINST OPPRESSION



By Janet Carver and Sally Davis

Each day the capitalists maintain their rule brings more destruction to human society. The rotting imperialist system deliberately rips apart the social fabric of societies and cultures in order to maximize its exploitation and its profits.

The world over, men work like dogs in factories and mines. Women, meanwhile, dependent on capitalism's need for cheap labor, are periodically used, cast off and left to rot since they cannot be as consistently exploited in the labor market due to pregnancy and motherhood. While this division between men and women imposed by capitalism creates more oppression and weakens the working class, it also creates in the most oppressed an anger and revolutionary creativity which is the pride of our movement.

March 8 is the 67th anniversary of International Women's Day. This holiday was founded in 1910 by the revolutionary movement as a salute to the struggles of working women as part of the international struggle of all workers and oppressed to smash the capitalist system. This year we pay tribute to the Black women of South Africa and their struggles against the racist system known as apartheid.

In South Africa, the barbaric tendency of the capitalist system to confine and throw away half the human race—the women—is codified and turned into law. The form it presently takes is the literal outlawing of African family life.

For example, in Alexandra (a model "township" produced by the white regime), all family housing has been destroyed, replaced with hostels for "single" Black workers. Unemployed wives, children and old people have been dispatched to "resettlement camps" located in deserted wastelands miles from the city. Here, they can only hope to see husbands who work in the city once or twice a year.

The racists' reason? "This African labor force must not be burdened with superfluous appendages such as wives, children and dependents who could not provide service," says the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mines and Planning.

The white racist regime's policies mean that African women are stripped of rights which are considered basic to human society—the right to live with their husbands, the right to bring up and care for their own children, the right to any family life.

If employed, the jobs available to African women are mostly as domestic servants and farm laborers—extremely low-paid extensions of the traditional confines of the "woman's role." Industrialization of South Africa under imperialism has done almost

nothing to change the economic role of women. For the very few women who have been allowed in industry, their wages are always lower than those of men doing the same work. Even the payments ("gratuities") made to prisoners for various kinds of work done under prison regulations discriminate between men and women, with female African prisoners receiving the minimum.

Women who do find jobs in the cities, mostly as domestic servants to white families, must sign away their children as long as they work for whites. They have to pledge that they understand that they will lose their jobs if children or dependents join them on their employers' premises. African women are left no choice but to send their children away to the "homelands" to be cared for by the unemployed, aged and sick.

Employed women are allowed to live near the cities where they work but still are not allowed to live with their husbands. In Alexandra, for instance, which serves Johannesburg, the men and women live entirely in

than go to the reserves to bring up their children? The reserves can support nobody. The Africans, who are 70 percent of the population, have been designated 13 percent of the land for "resettlement." This land is wasteland—eroded and over-farmed. Even if developed to its maximum, this land could not support the population assigned to it. The majority of African women are forced to live with their children in these arid surroundings, dependent on earnings from their absent husbands. There are no roads, no doctors, no schools, no facilities of any sort. Poverty, starvation and disease take all.

Women Fight Pass Laws

Throughout the long years of resistance to this brutal system, women have played an important part alongside the men as well as initiating and sustaining their own protests against the apartheid system. The most prolonged struggle by women of South Africa centered around their refusal to accept passes. The operation of the pass laws is an essential part of the

given the option of a fine, they all refused to pay, and at small country jails officials were confronted with the problem of a mass of women prisoners for whom they were not equipped.

Police who arrived in a country village to arrest about 20 women who had burned their pass-books found 200 women patiently sitting together under the trees. The sergeant demanded the women for whom he had come. "We are here," the women replied.

He asked them to step forward. "If you arrest one, you must arrest us all," they said.

The sergeant had to hire railway buses to transport the women to jail; their number had increased to 233. They filled the yard of the police station—singing. Food had to be provided; the jail could not cope with them, nor the sanitation. When they were told they were being released, the women demanded buses to take them home. The crowd of arrested women had unaccountably increased from 233 to 400.

The struggle against pass-books continued for years, and eventually the women were successful. Passes for women were withdrawn, and, until the 1950s, passes had to be carried only by African men.

Women's Day In South Africa

However, the regime renewed its effort to force passes on women in 1955. In October 1955, a big protest against the pass laws took place, with 2,000 women converging on Pretoria, seat of the administration of the government. The women's anti-pass movement began to grow again. In Durban and Cape Town women marched by the thousands through the streets. Protests grew all over the country, culminating in a mass demonstration in Pretoria on August 9, 1956—the day that has since been designated "Women's Day" in South Africa. Twenty thousand women assembled, overcoming tremendous difficulties. Despite all intimidation, the women saved and worked together to raise money to hire trains, buses and cars to bring them thousands of miles

(Continued on page 18)



sex-segregated hostels. Each hostel has a built-in police office, a thickly walled cell and a control room that operates electronic steel doors or riot gates that can block every passage in the hostel.

There is no heat, although Johannesburg winters are bitterly cold. Husbands and wives may not visit each other in their rooms. Only 14 cubic meters of habitable space per person is provided—the international minimum standard is 27 cubic meters! Women are locked up in a punishment cell for the slightest offense and a woman can be expelled from the town to the reserves if her presence is considered by the urban authorities to be "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" or if they think she "leads an immoral life."

Why do the women work rather

control of the "migratory" labor and the flow of workers to the towns. The white regime sought to extend passes to women in order to use them as a means to force all women not required as domestic servants in the towns to live in the reserves.

The women's struggle against passes and permits began as long ago as 1913 in the Orange Free State. Women who lived in the urban locations were forced to buy a new permit each month, costing them a large portion of their wages. Finally, in Bloemfontein, 600 women marched to the municipal offices and deposited a bag containing their passes, stating that they would buy no more.

Similar demonstrations spread to other towns and many women were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. If they were

as us to the question of the
to Ricans to emigrate to
Revolutionary Socialist
the free movement of all
as all capitalist borders.
applies to Puerto Rican
ng relief from imperialist
it home by emigrating to
vertheless, we want to
at this emigration to the
by economic exploitants
a serious attempt by
alism to destroy the
nation. Roughly two out
Puerto Ricans have been
ave their country to
the exception of the
and South African
re in the world has there
wholesale resettlement
population in recent

e nature of Puerto Rican
more than anything
eloquently to the fact
bosses don't give a
he welfare of the Puerto
and that they have no
providing the jobs and
ards required for the
progress of the nation.
in workers who come to
brought into the lowest
U.S. economy. They are
in low-wage, unorgan-
s. They are among the
laid off in times of
sis—like now. Thirty-
of all Puerto Ricans
S. make incomes below
vel (compared with 12
population as a whole).
id, it's obvious that the
low Puerto Rican work-
ers only to exploit them
. This is merely the flip
mes perpetrated by U.S.
a Puerto Rico itself.

rove beyond the shadow
uerto Rican workers are
st oppressed victims of
ism. Yet the imperial-
ism with success—have
nce layers of the U.S.
that Puerto Ricans are a
n the U.S. This is a
e same line that the
ish concerning U.S.
ers must understand
and conquer" racist
that they are, and must
nd of solidarity to our
brothers and sisters in
st the common enemy.
ty does not in any way
for Ford's proposal for
Puerto Rico. Puerto
American nation which
s stole in an imperial-
n 1898 (and which they
since through force of
rkers must fight for the
ndependence of Puerto
help the Puerto Rican
the imperialist blood-
the island forever. □



, Puerto Rico, demands
onalist political prisoners.



Abel's candidate Lloyd McBride (left) and challenger Ed Sadlowski (right).

McBride Wins

Steel Union: Bureaucrats Battle for Control

By Bob Anderson

On February 8, the 1.4 million member United Steelworkers of America [USWA] held union elections. The returns indicate that Lloyd McBride has won a victory over challenger Ed Sadlowski. The following article was written just before the election. It explains why neither candidate's victory will further the interests of rank and file steelworkers.

In its final weeks, the USWA elec-

tion campaign degenerated into name-calling and the trading of charges between Lloyd McBride, the hand-picked candidate of the top USWA bureaucrats, and Ed Sadlowski, the self-styled insurgent and reformer who is currently the Director of USWA District 31 (Chicago-Gary area).

McBride campaigned on the charge that Sadlowski has sold himself to various "outsiders" who want to dominate the union. McBride has

centered his charges on wealthy liberals who are supporting Sadlowski, as well as the various left-wing groups which have lined up firmly in the Sadlowski camp. On January 30, debating Sadlowski on Meet the Press, McBride charged that Sadlowski's ties with the liberals made the USWA "vulnerable to takeover by moneyed interests."

McBride's charges are cynical. McBride, Abel and the rest of the top USWA bureaucrats sold out completely to the steel companies years ago. McBride and the steel companies have worked hand in hand throughout the campaign. McBride's goons and other thugs have beaten up Sadlowski supporters. On at least one occasion, they shot a steelworker who was handing out Sadlowski campaign literature. On January 4, company police at U.S. Steel's Gary Works arrested two Sadlowski supporters for passing out leaflets. The steel companies are certainly "moneyed interests," and they were some of McBride's biggest allies in his campaign.

Sadlowski has countered McBride's charges of "outside influence" by pointing to George Meany and the top bureaucrats in other unions who are supporting McBride. Sadlowski brands McBride as an ally of Meany and the whole line of reactionary union bureaucrats who head up this country's trade unions. He hits hardest on the fact that McBride is a member of the "official family" in the USWA bureaucracy and that I.W. Abel personally chose McBride as his successor.

Throughout the campaign, Sadlowski has charged that McBride is

distant from the rank and file and is as conservative and out of touch as the other top level labor bureaucrats. Sadlowski also accused McBride of using membership dues to build his own campaign and of demanding large campaign contributions from USWA staffers.

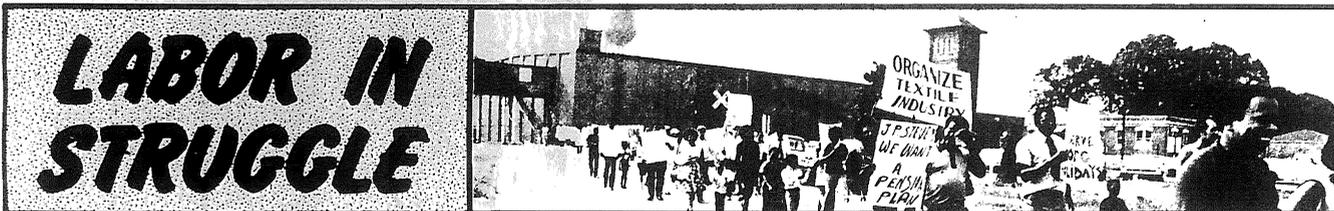
IS THERE A CHOICE?

In one way, both McBride and Sadlowski are right. Behind the smoke-screen of accusations and campaign rhetoric, the two main trends in the U.S. labor bureaucracy are competing for control of the USWA. The more openly reactionary union bureaucrats, like George Meany, Albert Shanker (American Federation of Teachers) and Murray Finley (Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union), are actively supporting McBride. Sadlowski, on the other hand, is backed by wealthy and influential liberals like Joseph Rauh, Jr., and John Kenneth Galbraith. Sadlowski represents their interests and their political line inside the labor movement. Liberal-minded trade union bureaucrats like Victor Reuther, as well as reformers who throw up a little revolutionary window-dressing like the Communist Party, are also supporting Sadlowski.

On the surface, McBride and Sadlowski offer two choices to steelworkers. McBride stands for outright reaction and up-front collaboration with the steel bosses and the ruling class. Sadlowski talks of reforms.

But there is no real choice here. Both candidates seek to keep steel-

(Continued on page 18)



AFL-CIO Opposes S. A. Boycott

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called on its members to boycott South African goods during the week of January 17-24. This boycott was called to show support for the struggles of Black South Africans, and to protest the racist Vorster regime's attacks on Black South African workers and their illegal unions.

Workers from many countries joined in the solidarity actions. British dockworkers slowed down and refused to handle certain shipments to and from South Africa. Thousands of French postal workers cut mail connections to South Africa. Trade unions from a number of African nations joined in the actions.

George Meany and the other reactionaries who lead the AFL-CIO opposed the boycott. The AFL-CIO was the only major trade union federation in the world which refused, in principle, to join the struggle. As one AFL-CIO official put it: "We will not boycott one tyranny when there are other tyrannies, particularly those of the (Eastern European) bloc countries, which are much more reprehensible."

Translated, this means that the AFL-CIO bureaucrats totally support the U.S. ruling class in its efforts to prop up the apartheid government in South Africa. But while Meany and his henchmen are busy supporting apartheid, a growing number of rank and file trade union members in this country are determined to support the Black workers' revolution in South Africa.

Three-Way Race in UMWA

The United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) is holding elections in June of this year. Arnold Miller, the current president, who was elected as a

reform candidate against the Boyle machine in 1972, is running for re-election. Lee Roy Patterson, a right-wing supporter of the ex-UMWA president and murderer, Tony Boyle, is opposing Miller. And now Harry Patrick, the UMWA secretary-treasurer, who ran on the Miller slate in 1972, has also announced his candidacy.

Patterson is making a straight-out appeal to the old Boyle supporters and the various pro-Boyle bureaucrats who still hold leading positions inside the union. Miller has tried to keep pro-Boyle forces from regaining control of the UMWA, but he has also attempted to break the numerous wildcat strikes by rank and file coal miners. He has lost much of his support among the militant miners who fought to elect him in 1972.

This is where Harry Patrick comes in. Patrick hopes to pick up the support of the rank and file miners who are fed up with Arnold Miller. He is appealing to the militants who originally put Miller in office, saying Miller has failed to carry through on his pledges. Militant miners will be watching to see if Patrick actually organizes rank and file miners to fight for their interests, or if he simply limits himself to the campaign rhetoric of an up-and-coming bureaucrat.

One thing, however, seems certain: rank and file miners will continue their struggle in the coal fields.

Organizing the Unorganized . . .

Public school teachers in Los Angeles recently voted in a union representation election. The United Teachers-Los Angeles (UTLA), which is affiliated with both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, won the election by nearly two to one. UTLA supporters have been organizing in the Los Angeles school system since 1970.

The new union will represent over 30,000 teachers

and aides. But Los Angeles is a notoriously anti-union, open-shop city, so the question is whether the UTLA will be able to follow up its election victory with a contract victory. A militant, well-organized strike is the only way to firmly establish the union and make real gains. A UTLA victory can spur organizing efforts in the LA area, in Southern California and elsewhere in the Southwest, where the vast majority of workers have never had union representation.

In the Southeast, a victory by the United Electrical Workers' union (UE) at General Electric's turbine plant in Charleston, South Carolina, has finally been "certified" by the National Labor Relations Board. The UE won the election in Charleston over a year ago, but GE refused to recognize the union. The new local represents nearly 1,000 workers. Black and white workers joined together to build the union.

GE pulled out all its tricks to defeat the union. The company has over 70 non-union plants, many of them in the South. The GE workers in Charleston are setting a fighting example for workers in the rest of GE's non-union plants and for unorganized workers throughout the South.

Florida farmworkers are taking a beating from the effects of the recent freeze, which destroyed nearly 40 percent of the fruit crop. Close to 150,000 farmworkers will be out of work for three to four months. The farmworkers are denied unemployment benefits and there are no provisions for emergency aid. Even when they are working, many Florida farmworkers don't make a living wage—union organization is practically nonexistent. Now the men, women and children who have spent their lives planting, cultivating and harvesting the fruit could face starvation. Support for the organizing efforts of farmworkers is a life or death question.

—BA



Demonstration

In one of President, J... limited pard... the draft res... refusing to... army. Many... to live in exil... for years, so... and others v...

Carter's p... who refused... ter for the dr... withdrawal o... nam in Marc... ers who w... crimes—such... cards—were... And resista... citizenship... only return t... the 25,000 dr... now living... 2,000 will b... Carter's par...

The half-w... siders is bac... pardon total... group of war... offenders," ir... are the men... war from insi... military resi... overwhelming... working class... lacked the me... to resist the... the draft res... nantly white... educated, Ca... war resisters... lines.

While Cart... claiming tha... wounds" from... organized gro... resisters has... don as racist... draft and m... Toronto on t... 30, immedia... announcement... ter pardon, th... unconditional... who struggle... Vietnam. The... to continue th... military resis... of demonstra... D.C. and ag... U.S. demanc... nesty for all.

During the... waging war a... people, hund... working class... into or joined... of these peop...

Carter Grants Racist Pardon

Resisters Meet, Denounce Limited Measure



Demonstration at White House demands unconditional amnesty for all war resisters.

In one of his first official acts as President, Jimmy Carter announced a limited pardon for men who resisted the draft during the war in Vietnam. The draft resisters opposed the war by refusing to serve in the imperialist army. Many of them have been forced to live in exile in Canada and Sweden for years, some were thrown into jail and others went underground.

Carter's pardon applies to people who refused induction or didn't register for the draft between 1964 and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam in March 1973. However, resisters who were also charged with crimes—such as burning their draft cards—were excluded from pardon. And resisters who gave up their U.S. citizenship, though pardoned, can only return to the U.S. as "aliens." Of the 25,000 draft and military resisters now living in Canada, only about 2,000 will be free and clear under Carter's pardon.

The half-way pardon for draft resisters is bad enough, but the Carter pardon totally excludes the largest group of war resisters—the "military offenders," including deserters. These are the men who fought against the war from inside the armed forces. The military resisters, as a group, are overwhelmingly Black, Latin and working class. For the most part, they lacked the money or legal connections to resist the draft. By pardoning only the draft resisters, who are predominantly white, middle class and college-educated, Carter hopes to divide the war resisters along racial and class lines.

While Carter is now hypocritically claiming that he has "healed the wounds" from Vietnam, nearly every organized group of draft and military resisters has denounced Carter's pardon as racist to the core. Nearly 400 draft and military resisters met in Toronto on the weekend of January 30, immediately following Carter's announcement. Denouncing the Carter pardon, they demanded universal, unconditional amnesty for all those who struggled against the war in Vietnam. The representatives pledged to continue the fight in support of the military resisters and planned a series of demonstrations in Washington D.C. and agitation throughout the U.S. demanding unconditional amnesty for all.

During the time the U.S. was waging war against the Vietnamese people, hundreds of thousands of working class youths were drafted into or joined the armed forces. Many of these people realized that the real

enemy was the U.S. imperialist army, and fought against the war from inside the military. They refused to follow orders, deserted and attacked their officers. They fought the brass either to defend themselves against racist and autocratic military discipline or to show their support for the just struggles of the Vietnamese people—or both.

At least 100,000 soldiers and sailors deserted during the war and nearly 800,000 got bad discharges. Many of these veterans are still fugitives, some are doing time in prison, and the

800,000 who got less-than-honorable discharges rarely find decent jobs and are denied most GI benefits.

These soldiers and sailors who refused to fight their Vietnamese brothers and sisters, who turned their guns on their officers, who sabotaged the U.S. war effort, gave direct material aid to the national liberation struggle in Vietnam. The struggle that raged inside the U.S. armed forces was an important factor in the defeat of the U.S. imperialists at the hands of the Vietnamese people. Carter's racist pardon and his refusal to upgrade the bad discharges are further declarations of war against the Black, Latin and white GIs who had the courage to fight against the military brass and their bosses, the U.S. ruling class.

Of the 800,000 veterans who got bad discharges, over 300,000 are Black. Today, Black soldiers make up nearly 25 percent of the U.S. Army—and they are overwhelmingly concentrated in the combat forces. This percentage was even higher during the war in Vietnam, when the number of Black soldiers killed and wounded was totally out of proportion to the percentage of Black people in the general population.

The ruling class has used Black youth and all working class youth as

cannon fodder in every imperialist war—they will try to do the same in the future. But the GI rebellion against the war in Vietnam, led by Black soldiers and sailors, has made it much more difficult for the U.S. military to intervene today. If, for example, the U.S. ruling class attempts to intervene militarily against the liberation struggles in southern Africa, they know they face the possibility of open rebellion on the part of Black GIs.

The ruling class wants cannon fodder, but they are arming their own grave-diggers. Many Black GIs have linked their struggle against racist, imperialist wars with the fight to smash the racism and oppression that they, themselves, face everyday inside the military and in U.S. society as a whole. The Black soldiers who shot or "fragg'd" their officers in the jungles of Vietnam, the Black sailors who rose up against racism and the war on the U.S.S. Kitty Hawk and other carriers in 1973-74, and the 14 Black marines who are fighting the KKK at Camp Pendleton today have set important examples for the kind of struggles that we must wage inside the armies of U.S. imperialism.

In the struggle for the socialist revolution, the working class must win over large sections of the rank and file soldiers and sailors. By demanding unconditional amnesty, by defending the Camp Pendleton 14 and by supporting the just struggles of GIs and veterans, the working class can begin to forge this alliance. The guns that are placed in Black hands today, the military training that is given to working class youth today, will then become decisive weapons in the workers' revolution. □

More of the Same for Autoworkers

Fraser to Replace Woodcock

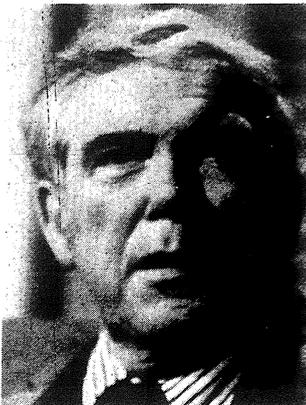
Douglas Fraser will be replacing Leonard Woodcock as president of the United Auto Workers (UAW). While Fraser still has to be officially voted in by the union convention in May, this is a mere formality. (Rank and file autoworkers do not have the right to vote directly for their own union president—it is all handled by the convention delegates.)

The top UAW bureaucrats are all supporting Fraser, and they will push his election through the convention with little or no opposition. Irving Bluestone and Pat Greathouse, currently serving as UAW vice-presidents along with Fraser, made noises about running for president, but quickly pulled out of the race when it became clear that a majority on the International Executive Board (IEB) favored Fraser. Fraser is now the unanimous choice of the IEB.

The bureaucrats chose Fraser because he is a slick talking liberal. Woodcock and friends claim that Fraser is a "man who speaks the language of the rank and file." Back in 1974 and 1975, when Chrysler was laying off tens of thousands of workers, Fraser made a militant-sounding but completely empty challenge: he told Chrysler that if they couldn't run their own company at a profit, then they should let a UAW member onto the Board of Directors. Fraser's noise was nothing but window dressing, designed to prevent autoworkers from organizing a fight to get their jobs back.

Fraser made clear where he is coming from this past year during the contract negotiations, when he said: "It's a helluva lot better for bargaining when you have absolute peace in

the industry." It certainly is better for the bosses—but not for rank and file autoworkers. Fraser is well liked by Henry Ford II, various Chrysler executives, Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young and Michigan Governor Milliken. They all have good words for their friend Doug, because they hope



Douglas Fraser.

his liberal image will prevent organized struggle in the auto plants.

If the liberal claptrap fails, the bosses and the bureaucrats know that Fraser can use the blackjack. Militant autoworkers remember Fraser from the summer of 1973, when rank and file autoworkers wildcatted against the oppressive conditions in three Chrysler plants. At Jefferson Avenue Assembly, two Black workers—Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter—shut down

the plant by locking themselves in a power cage and turning off the power switch. When Chrysler was forced to back down and fire a racist foreman, Fraser said that "Chrysler has lost its manhood" by giving in!

When workers at Chrysler Forge organized a wildcat strike, Fraser sent down a few union goons to break up the picket lines. Breaking the Forge strike was just the warmup for crushing the sit-down strike at Mack Avenue Stamping. Fraser personally led a 1,000 man goon squad against the sit-down strikers and forced the reopening of the plant!

Autoworkers can expect to see Fraser step up his strongarm tactics when the struggle inside the auto industry heats up over the next period. Today, there is no militant, well-organized opposition inside the UAW. Autoworkers' demoralization following the massive layoffs of 1974 and 1975 has allowed the bureaucrats to strengthen their hold over the union. Woodcock has just forced through the worst UAW contract in years. Many autoworkers were angry and voted against the contract, but they lacked the organization necessary to build a movement to reject the contract, strike and take the strike's leadership out of the hands of the bureaucrats.

Woodcock, Fraser and Co. know that autoworkers will not long remain as cautious as they are today. Auto has been a center of militant struggle for years. During the depression in the 1930s, the great sitdowns in the auto plants helped win the CIO organizing drive. In the late 1960s, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement

(Continued on page 18)



Yvonne Wanrow Wins New Trial

In a victory for women's right to self-defense, Yvonne Wanrow, a Native American woman convicted of killing a child molester, has won a new trial.

On January 7, the Washington State Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling which threw out Wanrow's previous second degree murder conviction.

The incident which led to the charges against Wanrow occurred while she was staying at the home of a friend, Shirley Hooper, in August 1972. At about five a.m., William Wesler broke into the house. Wesler had raped Hooper's seven-year-old daughter two months before. Wanrow demanded that Wesler leave. Instead he began menacing the children. Wanrow shot him through the heart.

Because Yvonne Wanrow defended herself, Hooper and the children, the state came down on her. She was tried in May 1973—a time when the bourgeois press was whipping up massive anti-Indian hysteria in response to the Wounded Knee occupation. An all-white jury found Wanrow guilty.

Now, the verdict has been overturned and a new trial ordered. But the state has no right to try Wanrow. It is only the racist and sexist nature of U.S. capitalism that led to Wanrow's trial in the first place. The new trial must not be allowed to go on. People can send messages demanding that all proceedings be halted to: Governor Dixie Lee Ray, State Capitol, Olympia, Washington 98504.

Free Wendy Yoshimura!

On January 20, Wendy Yoshimura was convicted of possession of arms and explosives. Yoshimura faces up to 15 years in prison.

The case grew out of the 1972 discovery of submachine guns and other weapons in a garage rented by Yoshimura. Yoshimura was a fugitive until arrested in 1975.

Yoshimura's conviction was a victory for red-baiting and race prejudice (Yoshimura is Japanese-American). The government prosecutor, Jeffrey Horner, never bothered to pretend that he was attempting to prove Yoshimura was involved in any crime. During the course of the trial, Horner proved only one thing—that Yoshimura is a revolutionary. And according to Horner, this was enough to imprison Yoshimura.

Horner told the jury that the gun supposedly owned by Yoshimura was a "standard arm for terrorist groups." He also stated that Yoshimura's fingerprints had been found on a copy of "Quotations of Chairman Mao."

Where Horner left off Judge Pulich took over. He cited Yoshimura with contempt of court five times—because she would not turn in people who had aided her in her three years of hiding. And because Yoshimura would not turn in her brothers and sisters, the judge ordered the jury to disregard Yoshimura's entire testimony.

Judge Pulich declared a mistrial on a second count—possession of arms and explosives with intent to injure. The effect of declaring a mistrial is that the prosecution can try Yoshimura again on the second count if they wish to.

The trial was nothing more than an anti-communist circus. Wendy Yoshimura is being railroaded for her revolutionary politics. Free Wendy Yoshimura!

Saxe Jailed for Anti-War Activities

On January 17, anti-war activist Susan Saxe pleaded guilty to two counts of armed robbery and one count of manslaughter. She was sentenced to 12 to 14 years on each count, to be served concurrently. An earlier trial had ended in a hung jury.

Saxe had taken part in a bank robbery in September 1970. A cop was killed in the incident. Until her capture in 1975, Saxe was in hiding. Because Saxe is a feminist-lesbian, the ruling class launched a terror campaign against women's collectives, feminists and lesbians in its search for her.

Saxe pleaded guilty rather than risk a mandatory life sentence if convicted in the scheduled second trial. Saxe stated: "I do not recognize the right of the state to a single day of my life, but I do recognize its power to take that and more. This guilty plea was a tactical decision based on that reality. In a sense it's like paying blackmail—giving them part of my life to keep them from taking the rest."

Carter and Artis Get Life Terms

On February 9, Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis were, for a second time, sentenced to jail for life. The new sentences are identical to the ones they received in their first trial in 1967.

Carter faces two consecutive and one concurrent life sentences; Artis three concurrent life terms. According to these terms, Carter will not be eligible for parole until 1996; Artis until 1981.

During the sentencing, Carter and Artis again denounced the frame-up and restated their innocence. Their lawyers will appeal the new convictions.

On the 12th Anniversary of His Death

MALCOLM X SPEAKS

February 21 marks the 12th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. He was the greatest revolutionary leader of U.S. Black people to emerge in this century. We could say many things in honor of Malcolm X's memory. But the most important is that he hated this racist, imperialist system with his whole being.

Although Malcolm X never declared himself a socialist, it was clear at the time of his death that this was where he was headed. He fought for the liberation of Black people and the oppressed with all his strength. He gave his life for the destruction of the worldwide monster, U.S. imperialism.

On the anniversary of his death, we mourn the loss of this great fighter.

The U.S. ruling class killed Malcolm X. It recognized in him an uncompromising enemy who could not be bought. But this murder cannot destroy what Malcolm X stood for.

Below we quote from several of Malcolm X's speeches.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. (April 3, 1964)

Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love-your-enemy and pray-for-those-who-spitefully-use-you. And revolutions are never waged singing "We Shall Overcome." Revolutions are based upon bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems. And there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal, than this system that in 1964 still colonizes 22 million African-Americans, still enslaves 22 million Afro-Americans. (April 8, 1964)

Some people wonder what has Mississippi to do with Harlem? It isn't actually Mississippi; it's America. America is Mississippi. There's no such thing as a Mason-Dixon line—it's America. If one room of your house is dirty, you've got a dirty house. . . . Don't say that that room is dirty but the rest of my house is clean. . . . You have authority over the entire house; the entire house is under your jurisdiction. And the mistake that you and I make is letting these Northern crackers shift the weight to the Southern crackers. So, what happens in Mississippi and the South

has a direct bearing on what happens to you and me here in Harlem.

Likewise the Democratic Party, which Black people supported recently, I think, something like 97 percent. All of these crackers—and that's what they are, crackers—they belong to the Democratic Party. That's the party they belong to—the same one you belong to, the same one you support, the same one you say is going to get you this and get you that. Why, the base of the Democratic Party is in the South. The foundation of its authority is in the South. The head of the Democratic Party is sitting in the White House. . . . Don't be talking about some crackers down in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia—all of them are playing the same game. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Cracker Party. . . . It's controlled right up here from the North. . . .

These Northern crackers are in cahoots with the Southern crackers, only these Northern crackers smile in your face and show you their teeth and they stick the knife in your back when you turn around. . . . So all I say is this: when you start talking about one, talk about the other. When you



Malcolm X.

start worrying about the part or the piece, worry about the whole. And if this piece is no good, the entire pie is no good, because it all comes out of the same plate. It's made up out of the same ingredients. . . . (December 20, 1964)

They only gave us tokenism. Tokenism benefits only a few. It never benefits the masses, and the masses are the ones who have the problem, not the few. That one who benefits from tokenism, he doesn't want to be around us anyway—that's why he picks up on the token. . . . (February 13, 1965)

I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think that it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammad had taught it. (January 19, 1965) □

Inmate Struggle Somers

Prisoners at the recreational Institution won a fight against prison authorities. Library Review Committee that a four-month Torch can be read.

Over the last several Library Review banned a number of radical publications. September 15-October Torch and issues of paper of the October

On January 6, the tee backed down, Committee felt that Torch is not objectionable. Therefore, 'Torch can be received."

This was no "chance" part of the result of the mobilize support. Somers, led by the Prisoners Committee wrote to left organ support groups and station WWUH in the attack on the Somers authorities view Committee authorities gave in built by the prisoners rights.

This victory is many more victories if an alliance is built and oppressed people, prisons, and our sisters in the prison waged by the SMP at Somers is the kind of alliance.

Despite this victory authorities still determine what new can and cannot read the mail is "standard procedure." The authorities "rights" movement is strong, them. □

Support

The Walla Walla of prisoners at Walla Walla Penitentiary at Walla Walla launched a campaign against brutally repressive conditions in the prison.

Barbaric punishment Walla Walla prison the simplest rights, to wear clothing of read publications with Some prisoners are "hole" because they "feels" they are a thorn. Evidence is often. Some are not even charged with.

The Walla Walla circulating a petition "We are being held Security Unit and hour a day lock up in We face indefinite conditions

Inmates Win Struggle at Somers Prison

Prisoners at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers have won a fight against censorship by the prison authorities. The prison's Library Review Committee has ruled that a four-month-old issue of the *Torch* can be read by prisoners.

Over the last several months, the Library Review Committee has banned a number of revolutionary and radical publications, including the September 15-October 14 issue of the *Torch* and issues of the *Call*, newspaper of the October League.

On January 6, the Review Committee backed down, explaining: "The Committee felt that this issue of the *Torch* is not objectionable based on the criteria for rejection of publications. Therefore, this issue of the *Torch* can be received in the institution."

This was no "change of heart" on the part of the keepers. It was the result of the prisoners' fight to mobilize support. The brothers at Somers, led by the Somers Multinational Prisoners Collective (SMPC) wrote to left organizations, prisoner support groups and Connecticut radio station WWUH informing people of the attack on their rights by the Somers authorities. The Library Review Committee and the Somers authorities gave in to the united front built by the prisoners to defend their rights.

This victory is the proof of the many more victories that can be won if an alliance is built between working and oppressed people outside of the prisons, and our class brothers and sisters in the prisons. The campaign waged by the SMPC and the brothers at Somers is the beginning of that kind of alliance.

Despite this victory, the prison authorities still claim the right to determine what newspapers prisoners can and cannot read. Tampering with the mail is "standard operating procedure." The authorities will have these "rights" until the prisoners' movement is strong enough to stop them. □



Filipina Narciso (left) and Leonie Perez.



Two Filipino Nurses on Trial in FBI Frame-Up

DETROIT—On February 7, in Detroit Federal Court, Nurses Filipina "P.I." Narciso and Leonie Perez will go on trial. The two are charged with 10 counts of poisoning, five counts of murder and one count of conspiracy to commit murder.

Narciso and Perez are guilty of nothing more than being Filipino, women nurses—and working in the wrong place at the wrong time. But for the FBI that was plenty.

In July of 1975, Narciso and Perez were among several nurses who alerted the Ann Arbor Veteran's Administration (VA) Hospital to an unusually high number of respiratory arrests (breathing failure). The FBI was called in to investigate.

Although some of the American nursing staff hired lawyers and refused to talk to the Feds, Narciso and Perez were told they had to submit themselves to questioning. Since the two nurses had nothing to hide, they did not hire lawyers and cooperated with the FBI. In January 1976, they also cooperated with the grand jury.

In June 1976, without the notification of their lawyers, they were arrested. Narciso was held without bail; bail for Perez was half a million dollars. The FBI publicly announced that although there were others involved, it would stop the investigation to concentrate on prosecuting Narciso and Perez.

There is hardly a shred of evidence against the two. In fact, the original chief prosecutor has admitted hiding evidence favorable to Narciso and Perez. While he has been removed as

chief prosecutor, he is still working on the case.

No one who has worked with either Narciso or Perez believes they are guilty. Co-workers know them for their dedication to patient care. Pavulon, the drug which brought on the respiratory arrests, is not given by nurses. It would be difficult for nurses to get enough of this drug to cause the number of arrests that occurred.

A more likely suspect would be a doctor—someone with easy access to the drug and easy access to patients. But the FBI could not have perse-

Court Upholds Conviction

Tyler Gets Life at Hard Labor

On January 24, the Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Gary Tyler and ordered him to serve a life sentence at hard labor. According to the decision, Tyler must serve a minimum of 20 years before being eligible for parole. Tyler's lawyer now plans an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Gary Tyler previously faced execution. However, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that Louisiana's death penalty law is unconstitutional. This is the only reason the Louisiana Supreme Court set aside Tyler's execution. The court has now given Tyler the most severe punishment it can.

This decision is the latest in a chain of racist crimes against Tyler, the

innocent victim of a blatant frame-up. In 1974 an armed crowd of whites attacked a bus carrying Black students home from a New Orleans school. During the attack, a 13-year-old white youth in the crowd was shot and killed. The evidence suggests that the youth was shot by one of his gun-toting white friends.

The cops tore the bus apart searching for a weapon in order to pin the shooting on one of the Black students. They came up empty handed. As their frustration mounted, one of the cops held a gun to a Black student's head. Tyler protested and the cops arrested Tyler. Tyler was charged with the murder of the white youth.

At Tyler's trial, the state found a witness, Natalie Blanks, to testify that she saw Tyler shoot a gun from the school bus window. Tyler was convicted, though the cops had found no gun on the bus. (They claimed to have found the supposed murder weapon later.) Without the testimony of Natalie Blanks, there wouldn't have been any case at all against Tyler.

Today, Blanks states that her testimony was a lie. But Tyler's conviction still stands.

The Louisiana Supreme Court had no interest in the real facts of the case. The entire Louisiana ruling class—racist to the core—is determined to keep Tyler in prison. Southern lynch-law "justice" has always sought a Black victim to pay for the death of a white racist. Gary Tyler, whose only "crime" was to talk back to a white cop, is their choice.

The movement built to free Tyler has stopped the ruling class from murdering him. And it has forced them to move Tyler to a prison closer to his home. But it has not yet won his release. The movement has to grow stronger yet.

Free Gary Tyler!

ing on what happens here in Harlem.

Democratic Party, people supported something like 97 per cent—crackers—and that's crackers—they belong to Party. That's the go to—the same one e same one you suppose you say is going to get you that. Why, Democratic Party is in foundation of its e South. The head of arty is sitting in the . Don't be talking kers down in Missma and Georgia—all ing the same game. on is the head of the ... It's controlled in the North....

crackers are in ca-Southern crackers, rn crackers smile in ow you their teeth e knife in your back und.... So all I say start talking about he other. When you



out the part or the t the whole. And if ood, the entire pie is it all comes out of s made up out of the (December 20,

us tokenism. Token-a few. It never bene-and the masses are ve the problem, not who benefits from esn't want to be ay—that's why he token.... (February

here will ultimately n the oppressed and oppressing. I believe e a clash between freedom, justice and one and those who e the systems of ex-ve that there will be, but I don't think ed upon the color of ah Muhammad had ry 19, 1965) □

Support the Walla Walla Bros!

The Walla Walla Brothers, a group of prisoners at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, have launched a campaign to publicize the brutally repressive conditions existing in the prison.

Barbaric punishment faces any Walla Walla prisoner who fights for the simplest rights, such as the right to wear clothing of his choice or to read publications without censorship. Some prisoners are thrown into the "hole" because the administration "feels" they are a threat to the institution. Evidence is often not provided. Some are not even told what they are charged with.

The Walla Walla Brothers are circulating a petition which states: "We are being held in the Intensive Security Unit under twenty-three hour a day lock up in 6 x 8 foot cages. We face indefinite confinement under

conditions of unbelievable filth. Food is shoved through a slot in the door; we eat in the same place we shit. We are deprived of any recreational facilities, religious or educational opportunities. Clean clothing is rarely issued. Most prisoners are being held for participating in the struggle for justice, some are charged with infractions of thought."

The Walla Walla Brothers are demanding that abuse of the "threat" provision of the Washington Administrative Code be stopped. They demand that all prisoners segregated under this provision be released unless the warden demonstrates a clear and present danger to the institution. The Brothers are also demanding that NO prisoners be segregated without due process proceedings.

Several left-wing organizations and bookstores are supporting the Walla

Walla Brothers on the outside. They have been able to pressure Washington radio stations into publicizing some of the abuses at Walla Walla. For the first time in years, working and oppressed people in Washington are finding out what is going on in the prison.

Outside support is vital to help the Walla Walla Brothers in their fight for the rights of prisoners at Washington State and prisoners in general. Groups like the Walla Walla Brothers are the core of a growing revolutionary prisoners' movement. Active support for their struggle can speed the development of such a movement. This is an important part of our work.

For more information, write: Morning Due, P.O. Box 22228, Seattle, Washington 98122, or: Ann Neitlich, 27 Pierce Street, Arlington, Mass. 02174. □



Egyptians Riot Against Sadat Regime

On January 18, thousands of Egyptian workers and students in Cairo and other cities rose up in open rebellion against the Sadat government. The riots were provoked by stiff increases in consumer prices. The fighting lasted three days and left 79 people dead.

The rioters, shouting "Down with Sadat," fought running battles with riot policemen and army troops. They smashed cars, set fire to police stations, demolished buses and shattered shop windows and street lamps. In Alexandria, demonstrators called on university students to join the protests.

Demonstrators in the heart of Cairo moved towards a 10-foot poster of Sadat. They ripped it down and tore it to pieces. Others set fire to the building housing Egypt's three legal political parties. Workers were also reported planning to lay siege to the People's Assembly building. Other workers erected roadblocks between Cairo and the industrial suburb of Helwan.

In another industrial suburb, north of Cairo, workers staged sit-in strikes, stopping production. Besides Cairo and Alexandria, there were riots in the Nile Delta and in the upper Egyptian cities of Asyut and Qena.

Faced with this determined resistance, Sadat dropped the price increases. This was a great victory for the working class. To cover his humiliating defeat, Sadat launched a campaign to blame the Communist Party for the riots. He has arrested many leftists and banned strikes and demonstrations. The riots, however, have seriously weakened Sadat's position.

Gandhi Calls Elections, Suspends Emergency

Last month, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi unexpectedly suspended the country's State of Emergency and called elections for mid-March. Gandhi also ended direct censorship of the press. She released many of the thousands of political prisoners that have rotted in her jails since the State of Emergency was proclaimed in 1975.

Gandhi's motive in calling the elections is to put some shine back on her "image" abroad, especially in the U.S. She will be shopping here for trade and aid, and the new Carter administration is making a show of concern for human rights.

However, the State of Emergency has only been suspended—not ended. Laws against "anti-national activities" and the publication of "objectionable" statements, enacted during the Emergency, are still on the books. Thousands of political prisoners are still in jail.

Opposition politicians who have been released have to watch their tongues, knowing their campaign oratory can later become the basis for arresting them again.

All this means the promise of free elections is a fraud. No election can be free with the threat of arrest hanging over half the candidates.

Even so, Gandhi has had some unexpected blows. On February 2 her senior cabinet minister, Jagjivan Ram, resigned from the government and pledged to work with the opposition in the elections. Ram is an "untouchable"—a member of the lowest group in India's caste system. He has a big following among the hundred million members of this caste. It is still possible that the March elections, fraudulent though they be, will deal a slap in the face to the shopworn "democrat," Indira Gandhi.

Syrian Troops Attack Palestinians in Lebanon

On February 10 and 11, Syrian troops in Lebanon unleashed massive attacks on three Palestinian camps outside the capital city of Beirut. Syrian mortars and artillery were used in the intense shelling.

The three camps are inhabited by supporters of the Rejection Front, a united front of those Palestinian guerrilla organizations which reject a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian question. The Rejection Front specifically opposes the creation of a Palestinian "mini-state" on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Such a mini-state would lead to recognition of Israel, and to the liquidation of the struggle to regain the Palestinians' homeland. Finally, the Rejection Front opposes the Syrian occupation of Lebanon.

The clashes between the Syrians and the Palestinians were reported to be the most serious since the end of the Lebanese Civil War, three months ago. This war ended with the Palestinian movement split in two. The Palestine Liberation Organization reconciled itself to the Syrian occupation of Lebanon, and for the first time openly came out for the mini-state proposal. This left the Rejection Front isolated and unable to effectively continue the struggle against the Syrian threat.

Since then, the Syrians have made it clear that their goal is to smash the Rejection Front. Their problem has been how to do it without arousing the 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and their Lebanese supporters. An all-out Syrian effort to crush the Rejection Front could still rekindle the Lebanese Civil War. Up to now, the Syrians have moved cautiously. This latest fighting may signal the start of a decisive battle.

—CH and TC

SPAIN

Workers Fight Rightist Violence

The class struggle in Spain is reaching a crisis point. The fascists, the capitalist class and the workers are locked in combat. The fascists have triggered a wave of violence against the workers' movement. The workers have answered with mass strikes and demonstrations. Meanwhile, the government has responded with a crackdown mainly directed against the workers and the left.

THE FASCISTS ATTACK

In the most serious incident to date, two young men invaded a Madrid office of the Workers Commissions (semi-legal union bodies led by the Communist Party) during the night of January 24. They opened fire with submachine guns mounted with silencers. Five members of the Communist Party were mowed down in cold blood and four others were gravely wounded.

Earlier that day, Arturo Ruiz Garcia, a 19-year-old demonstrator, was shot dead. The killer shouted, "Long Live Christ the King," the battle cry of a notorious fascist organization. The following day, January 25, Maria Luz Najera, a 20-year-old student, was killed by police.

These murders were supposedly in retaliation for the earlier kidnapping of rightist General Emilio Villaescusa by a little-known terrorist group, the First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance. (The group claims to be leftist, but there is wide speculation in leftist circles that it may actually be a rightist group, deliberately providing both the fascists and the government with a cover for attacking the workers.)

THE WORKERS ANSWER

The working class responded to the murders with work stoppages and militant street actions. Workers turned the funerals of the slain militants into mass demonstrations.

The morning after the murders, tens of thousands of workers struck in Madrid and Barcelona. An alliance of labor unions called for nationwide work stoppages on January 26. By January 27, 200,000 workers were on strike in the Barcelona region alone. The strikes were also very effective in the Basque provinces, Asturias and the industrial belt around Madrid.

These events are the result of the Spanish bourgeoisie's plans to give Spain a face-lifting. The capitalists want to turn Spain into a modern Western European-style bourgeois democracy. They want to modernize the economy and enter the Common Market. The old Franco apparatus stands in the way of economic and social modernization and, most important, it can no longer control the Spanish workers. So the Spanish bourgeoisie wants to dismantle it and replace it with bourgeois-democratic institutions.

The government of Adolfo Suárez has been trying to carry out this program. The more flexible fascists in the government have seen the handwriting on the wall and are backing Suárez's liberal reforms. As a result, the hard-line fascists, who used to be a chief pillar of the regime, are losing power and influence.

To try to stop this process, the hard-line fascists launched a wave of terror. This was designed to trigger a showdown between the workers and the government, force Suárez to scrap his reforms, and hit hard at the working class.

The leverage of the fascists results from the position of the Spanish bourgeoisie. Their biggest problem is how to modernize Spain without losing control of the working class. Once some of the totalitarian restrictions are lifted, the workers will use these reforms as opening wedges to press their demands. Frightened of this prospect, the bourgeoisie hesitates to abandon the fascists. It knows it will need them to keep the workers in line.

This is why the fascists launched their terrorist offensive. They knew their offensive would provoke a working class response and force the government to move to the right—and thus back to the fascists. And this, indeed, is what has happened.

THE GOVERNMENT MOVES IN

In the face of the workers' upsurge, the Suárez government hit back at the workers' movement and the left. Suárez has revived Franco-era laws against demonstrations. The government also dusted off a Franco law that permits it to hold anyone for 10 days, without charges. Going even further, on January 31 the government granted its cops the right to hold "suspects" indefinitely. It also gave them the



Spain's Prime Minister Suárez.

power of unlimited search of private homes.

Fifty leftists were arrested in Barcelona alone on the 31st, when the police broke up a meeting. The arrests are designed to clear the streets of militants who might encourage more demonstrations and strikes against fascist violence. The ban against demonstrations, though ineffective, was meant to do the same thing. Meanwhile, leading fascists implicated in past murders are still at large.

The danger to the Spanish bourgeoisie is that the fascists' strategy will work too well. The workers increasingly see that the Suárez reforms are a sham; that under the liberal varnish, Franco's state machine is still very much alive. The current wave of repression is teaching the workers that the capitalist class can't break with fascism and its own Franco past. If this continues, the entire capitalist strategy of reforms will end up on the scrap heap. □

1977 commemoration of the anniversary of the signing of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution (and still the working class smash class and establish rule. It will always inspire and guide. Therefore, it is to learn—and learn with the Russian Revolution. Throughout this Revolution. This marks the opening phase of the Revolution, the February Revolution, the February Revolution that toppled Tsar...

To understand the situation, we must understand the Revolution, Russia developed, largely from feudalism. The population were to live under very conditions by an oppression. At the top of this nobles, led by the Tsar the general conditions and tried to satisfy demands for democracy.

COMBINE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Alongside the conditions, however, were modern factories in decades before World War I—especially in France—invested heavily in technology to take advantage of abundant natural resources. The Russian people were small in numbers, with a collective unit by Capitalism gathered together in the huge workers' districts. There the workers saw their needs and interests more clearly than did the scattered particular, the work...



FEBRUARY 1917: RUSSIAN MASSES TOPPLE TSAR

1977 commemorates the 60th anniversary of the single most important event in the history of the workers' struggle against capitalist exploitation: the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian Revolution was the first time (and still the only time) the working class smashed the capitalist class and established proletarian rule. It will always serve as both inspiration and guide to our struggle. Therefore, it is essential that we learn—and learn well—the lessons of the Russian Revolution.

Throughout this anniversary year, the Torch will publish articles dealing with different aspects of the 1917 Revolution. This month we consider the opening phase of the Russian Revolution, the February Revolution that toppled Tsar Nicholas II.

To understand the February Revolution, we must understand the conditions from which it emerged. Before the Revolution, Russia was a semi-developed, largely agricultural country, which had only partly emerged from feudalism. The vast majority of the population were peasants, forced to live under very backward conditions by an oppressive landlord class. At the top of this landlord class were nobles, led by the Tsar, who enforced the general conditions of backwardness and tried to stifle the masses' demands for democratic rights.

COMBINED AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Alongside the semi-feudal conditions, however, were some of the most modern factories in the world. In the decades before World War I, foreign capital—especially from Britain and France—invested heavily in Russia to take advantage of cheap labor and abundant natural resources. This created a Russian proletariat.

The Russian working class, though small in numbers, was organized into a collective unit by capitalism itself. Capitalism gathered the workers together in the huge new factories and the workers' districts of the big cities. There the workers saw their common needs and interests far more readily than did the scattered peasantry. In particular, the workers understood

that the semi-feudal Tsarist regime enforced repression and backwardness and had to be overthrown.

The Russian capitalists also had an interest in eliminating the Tsar. This rising bourgeoisie needed a policy that favored industrial development. This required agricultural reform to create a market for industrial goods among the peasantry. Such a policy was impossible under the landlord-based Tsarist regime.

But the Russian bourgeoisie did not stand on its own feet. It was intertwined with both the landlords and the foreign imperialists. It was too weak to struggle for its own interests. And, faced by a large and militant working class, the Russian bourgeoisie was too cowardly to overthrow Tsardom. It was terrified that a struggle against the Tsarist regime would become a struggle by the workers to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

Thus at the beginning of World War I Russia was a society racked with contradictions. The war itself added to these contradictions. It subjected the worker and peasant soldiers to unspeakable brutality. It strained the economy and drastically worsened the plight of the non-soldier masses. Under these conditions, it was inevitable that Russia would soon explode.

For the first years of World War I, Russian workers were infected with patriotic fever. But by 1916, this began to change. The country was in ruins and the regime was stiffening its demands for more recruits to join the millions dying at the front. It was demanding more sacrifices from workers in the cities. In response, a powerful upsurge swept across the country. In the cities, a strike wave broke out. It started with economic demands ("Bread!")—but soon the workers raised political demands as well ("Down with the Tsar!"). The workers' struggle was accompanied by a groundswell of agitation and rebellion in the Tsarist army and navy.

TSAR TOPPLED

Late in February 1917, the growing movement confronted the regime in a struggle for power. The battle was

joined in Petrograd, the capital and key industrial city of Russia. On February 23, International Women's Day, a riot over the lack of bread led to a strike by 90,000 workers, who staged huge demonstrations. The next day, the ranks of the strikers doubled and the demonstrators chanted: "Down with autocracy! Down with the war!" Cossack soldiers (traditionally among the most conservative in the army) refused to obey the order to fire on the workers.

In the three days that followed, hundreds of thousands of workers joined the struggle. Company after company of soldiers responded to the workers' appeals by mutinying, until the revolutionary forces were in full command. On February 28, the Tsar's ministers were arrested. On March 2, Tsar Nicholas abdicated.

SOVIET FORMED

In the course of the struggle, the Petrograd workers established a Soviet (workers' council) as their central organization. The Soviet virtually ran the city. It was composed of worker delegates elected from all the factories, as well as soldier deputies from the front and peasant deputies from the countryside. The Soviet elected food commissions and ran finances. It occupied the State Bank, the Treasury, the mint and the government printing office. It took charge of the soldiers who had come over to the side of the revolution. Nothing could be done without its approval. In short, it ran Petrograd.

The masses, led by the workers, held power in Petrograd. The Soviet was a mass democratic institution, elected by the workers and soldiers themselves. Indeed, election of a Soviet was almost a reflex act to the Petrograd workers—many of them were veterans of the 1905 Revolution, when a Soviet held effective power in Petrograd for two months.

The Petrograd Soviet was the potential basis for workers' rule throughout Russia. The Tsar had abdicated. The bourgeoisie was in hiding—at the height of the revolutionary storm, many hoped only to escape with their lives. The revolutionary movement was swept forward by the most militant workers and soldiers, who organized themselves into the Soviet and knew no other power. Everywhere in Russia, when workers and peasants looked for leadership, there was none to be seen but the Petrograd Soviet.

But instead of consolidating their power, the workers let it slip back to the capitalists. On February 27, the Soviet recognized the Provisional Committee of the Duma—the old Tsarist legislative body—as the governing authority. On March 2, this committee formed a Provisional Government dominated by representatives of the bourgeoisie.

From February 27 on, there were in

effect two governments in Russia, two centers of power. The Soviet remained as the representative institution of the workers and soldiers. But alongside it, and wielding the formal power, was the new government, which represented the bourgeoisie and enforced bourgeois exploitation. The Soviet represented the potential rule of the working class. The Provisional Government represented the rule of the bourgeoisie.

It was only by agreement with the Soviet that the Provisional Government could rule at all. Only the Soviet had real authority among the masses. They would only obey its orders. But the Soviet itself recognized the authority of the Provisional Government and the bourgeoisie continued to rule. In essence, the workers had had the power in their hands and then turned it over to the bourgeoisie.

Why did they do this? Here lies one of the chief lessons of the February Revolution. The problem lay in the leaders—or misleaders—of the Russian working class. The Petrograd workers and the soldier masses were willing to trust and follow parties and leaders who claimed to be enemies of capitalism, but who actually feared the revolutionary masses more than they did the bourgeoisie.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Two parties in particular played this role—the Mensheviks (the reformist wing of the Russian Social-Democrats) and the Social Revolutionaries (a peasant-based populist party). These parties had strong support among the masses, which gave them a large majority in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet. They used their majority to give up the power the workers had won in struggle and to support the Provisional Government.

Rather than judge these parties by their deeds, the workers at first judged them by their words. It was to take eight months to learn that it is what one does, and not what one says, that counts.

The work of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries was made easier by the errors of the truly revolutionary party in Russia, the Bolshevik Party (the revolutionary wing of Russian Social-Democracy). At first, the Bolsheviks did not provide a clear revolutionary alternative. Indeed, instead of immediately condemning the establishment of the Provisional Government and exposing its treachery, the Bolsheviks at first supported it.

The Bolsheviks' Petrograd leadership agreed with the Mensheviks that the workers should not try to set up their own government. These Bolshevik leaders, like the Mensheviks, argued that a stage of bourgeois democracy was necessary. But this argument ignored the real situation. The workers held effective power. The

(Continued on page 18)



Revolutionary soldiers firing at Tsarist police during February Revolution.

of thousands of Black workers. Despite the "homeland" is really barren, overcrowded Blacks that apartheid can't be young, the old, the sick, mass of unemployed are the end up in these areas.

very existence of the "homeland" endorse the system's plunder of resources. They merely want to cover to the homelands policy the choice of starving on the worked to death in the white is the policy of condemning to slow death on barren the entire Black population led into question.

lack of the liberal program is all races at all levels of government "participation" gives the k, so-called Colored and Asian majority of South Africa. The on, one vote" would eliminate

to great shock to discover that ited in opposing this element. As the editor of Die a recent article, any liberal ke place must "exclude any jority domination." In other ca at present, the liberal UP rticipation of all races at all means precisely no majority the other oppressed peoples. is the liberals' slimy way of ol."

rom the above that the entire lists of a handful of the most designed to keep the basic d fully intact. At the heart of South Africa stands the white p itself. The liberals have no ng with this dictatorship. On e an integral part of it. They ay, to appear to oppose it.

Liberals

als surfaced at this time as the f the Black masses in South can be found in the events of Since June the Black masses te rule as never before. They strikes and boycotts, fought oyed huge amounts of govern- have challenged the apartheid

urge that has forced the white ard. The liberals don't believe rster's naked repression will

stop the struggle from growing. They realize that some concessions must be made as the only hope for disorienting the Black working class; for buying off some of its leaders; and for isolating the most revolutionary wing of the working class in order to crush the struggle.

Two additional factors influencing the pace of the liberal capitalist offensive have been the increasing world isolation of the South African white regime, and the influence that the imperialists (Carter in particular) are likely to have on internal developments. The mass anti-government upsurge in South Africa has generated a strong feeling of solidarity in the working masses of the world. As a result the capitalist governments around the world are more and more forced to adopt an outwardly "unfriendly" attitude towards apartheid.

Even more dangerous to the South African regime is its menacing isolation on the African continent itself. A noose is rapidly tightening around its neck. First, Angola and Mozambique recently overthrew white minority rule through armed struggle. Now it appears to be the turn of South Africa's closest ally, so-called Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Tomorrow it may be Namibia (a colony and next-door neighbor of South Africa).

In this situation, the imperialists understand very clearly the importance of timely concessions to try to stave off the inevitable revolution in South Africa itself—the crowning jewel of their exploitation of Africa. The imperialists, like the liberals, want to make it seem as if they support the Black masses, in order to head off a revolution.

Three-Part Strategy

The liberals' strategy has three parts. First, they want to create the illusion that they can offer a satisfactory solution to Black oppression within the white political system.

Second, they want to build up and bribe the so-called moderate Black leaders. This means those who are willing to work with the liberals, but are not yet completely exposed as stooges, as Vorster's "homeland" leaders are. The most prominent of these is Gatscha Buthelezi, chief of the Zulu people. Buthelezi claims to be a determined opponent of apartheid, but he is proposing an alliance with the UP and the PRP—which means that he will do his best to tie his followers to the coattails of these liberals.

Lastly, by trying to fool and lull the Black majority with hopes of reform, the liberals want to isolate the revolutionaries so that they can be crushed.

At the moment, the liberal threat to the Black revolution seems relatively weak. On the one hand, they have the support neither of the Black masses nor of any significant segment of the whites. On the other hand, Vorster and the hard-line racist forces seem to be firmly in the saddle. Both of these

conditions appear to leave the liberal capitalists with little room to maneuver.

This situation, however, could change very quickly. The continued Black upsurge may force the Western imperialists (Carter, in particular) to put the heat to Vorster to adopt the liberal program as his own. (It is also possible that the imperialists may try to shove Vorster out altogether, in favor of the liberals in his own party.)

Meanwhile, Carter and his allies—and the South African liberals—will be trying to shove the white supremacist regime into an alliance with types like Buthelezi. Whatever radical-sounding program these forces come up with, it will be within the limits of white capitalist rule. People like Buthelezi are waiting in the wings precisely to tie the more conservative Black workers to the tottering structure of white capitalist rule.

The role of the white liberal capitalists in South Africa is a variant of what liberals do the world over. Their role is to pull capitalism's chestnuts out of the fire, by seeming to offer a "progressive" and "humane" solution to exploitation and oppression. Always and everywhere, their "solutions" are a fraud. They amount to a "humane" and "progressive" face to the same old exploitative class relations. This is true in South Africa no less than in the U.S.

The sharper the struggle for liberation—as in South Africa right now—the more aggressive the liberals become. The greater the danger of revolution, the more frantic are the liberals. They work desperately to come up with a "soft-sell" to head off the workers.

In fact, the liberal role can be understood as the attempt by the left wing of the capitalist class to confuse and disorient the working class about the need to smash capitalism. The extent to which their efforts succeed is the extent to which the workers remain tied to the system and unable to rise in revolt under their own flag, for their own government.

Liberal Schemes— A Gross Insult

In this instance, the liberals' schemes are a gross insult to the African people. For years these hypocrites stood by while Vorster killed and jailed Black militants and banned their organizations. For years these same liberals have been sucking the blood of the Black working class. Yet today, they feel no qualms in putting themselves forward as the "saviors" of this same class. This is only another aspect of the racist arrogance of the white rulers. Behind the savior mask is the face of the executioner.

At every stage of the coming struggle, the white liberals and their Black puppets will try to set up the Black revolution for defeat. They will try to stop Blacks from organizing independently, from arming themselves and from seizing the factories

and mines. Finally, if the liberals succeed in deflecting the struggle from the goal of smashing apartheid, they will not stop until the Black masses are smashed. Whether liberal or openly reactionary, if the capitalists stay in the saddle, they will arrest and kill the revolutionaries, smash the workers' organizations, and take back control of the townships, the factories and the mines.

There can be no democratic capitalist rule in South Africa because capitalism there cannot exist without enslaving Black labor. Whatever they may promise, Harry Oppenheimer, the United Party and the other liberals care for only one thing—saving their power and property. And this means saving apartheid, in one form or another.

The Black people of South Africa can only free themselves by overthrowing apartheid. This means destroying capitalism—smashing the rule of the white capitalists and seizing their property (and that of the imperialists). To accomplish this task the Black working class will have to put itself in the lead of the mass struggle and make itself the ruler of the country.

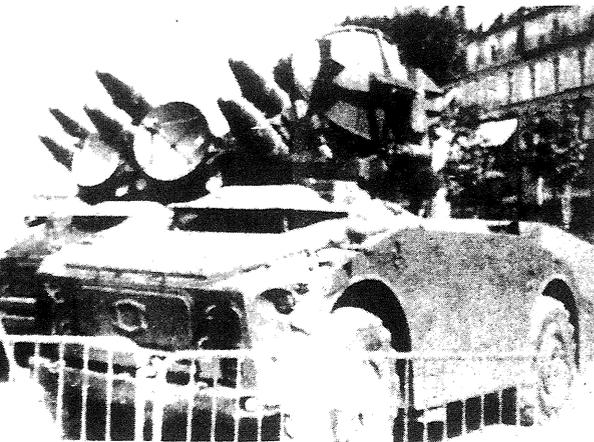
There are only two choices for the victims of apartheid—slavery and death under capitalism or socialist revolution. The sweet phrases of the liberals mean more slavery and death. The needs and aspirations of the South African working class require revolution. □



Top: Harry Oppenheimer. Bottom: Gatscha Buthelezi.



HOW THE U.S. PORTS APARTHEID



supplies these ground to air missiles to South Africa's apartheid arsenal.

Like the South African liberals, U.S. imperialism has recently been parading a new-found concern about the injustice of apartheid. Suddenly, the U.S. bourgeoisie is protesting that it too is anxious to see changes in South Africa's social structure. But—again like the South African liberals—this is only a trick.

The imperialists have enormous stakes in South Africa. They are giving lip service to the need for reform only because they are scared to death that the coming revolution will jeopardize their interests. But behind all the flowery phrases about justice, equality and human freedom, the U.S. ruling class is continuing its active support to the Vorster regime.

There are words, and there are deeds. The words are the cover. The deeds tell the real story. Here are some of the ways the U.S. supports apartheid in deeds:

- U.S. companies have nearly \$2 billion invested in South Africa. Over 200 U.S. firms are involved, including GM, Ford, Chrysler, U.S. Steel, IBM, ITT, Mobil, Texaco, Westinghouse, GE and other giants. Investments are growing by 20 percent a year. U.S. investments in South Africa (a country

of 25 million people) are almost half of U.S. investments in all of Africa, with its 300 million people.

- U.S. banks loaned \$518 million to South Africa in 1975. In 1976, the loans climbed even higher—\$777 million in the first nine months of the year. Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Bank of America and First National of Chicago are some of the giant U.S. banks involved. Total U.S. bank loans to South Africa are almost \$2 billion.

- U.S. loans bail out apartheid. In 1961, after the Sharpeville massacre, frightened foreign investors were pulling their money out of South Africa. U.S. banks and U.S.-controlled money sources loaned South Africa \$233 million to stem the tide. One of the organizers of the loan, U.S. financier Charles Engelhard, had this to say at the time: "There are few countries in the world where it's safe to invest, and South Africa is about the best there is."

- The U.S.'s ally, France, supplies Vorster's racist regime with hundreds of jet fighter-bombers and attack helicopters—and makes billions doing it. These are the deeds of U.S. imperialism and its allies. Their billions in South African investments depend

directly on the enslavement of South Africa's Black population. They have always done whatever is necessary to protect their giant stake in apartheid.

Is this policy likely to continue? A recent interview with a prominent spokesman for U.S. imperialism provides an answer. The Financial Mail—the Wall Street Journal of South Africa—asked whether the U.S. would support economic sanctions against South Africa.

The answer? "Not really.... Such sanctions would be counter-productive."

"Would you free up American investment... and otherwise encourage an increase in private American lending and corporate activity in South Africa?"

The answer: "Yes, indeed."

Who was being interviewed? Jimmy Carter.

As the struggle by South African Blacks to smash apartheid continues to grow, the U.S. may make "adjustments" in its policy. It may even temporarily appear to withdraw some of its support. Workers must not be fooled by such maneuvers. They will only represent one more trick by U.S. imperialism to hide its exploitation and oppression of the world's masses.

S.A. Musical Is Propaganda for Apartheid

Shut Down Ipi-Tombi!

NEW YORK CITY—On opening night, January 12, hundreds of people joined in a demonstration against the South African musical Ipi-Tombi. Since then, picket lines have been up during every performance.

Ipi-Tombi disguises itself as a "celebration" of Black culture. Instead, it

is Black culture ripped off and perverted by white South Africans. The purpose of this rip-off is to pretend that Black people are happy on the "homelands."

Although its backers plead that it is "non-political," Ipi-Tombi is really propaganda for South Africa's racist

apartheid system. Its song-and-dance routines support the racist lie that Black people are happy under apartheid. Of course, this is why the fascist-like Vorster government allowed the play to be produced and to travel abroad—while Black or white South Africans who fight against the country's racist oppression are forbidden to speak or publish.

Ipi-Tombi is also racist filth. Its picture of Africans as carefree "primitives" who care mainly about sex (the title means "Where Are the Girls?") is a white racist's wishful image of Black Africans.

Theatre management has run a promotional campaign that tries to cover all the bases. The city has been plastered with brightly colored posters that declare: "Happiness is an African musical called Ipi-Tombi." Outside the theatre, signs tell would-be patrons not to listen to the demonstrators because Black "spokesmen" like Bayard Rustin find the play entertaining. On top of this, free tickets have been given to school groups.

Despite this propaganda campaign, the picketing is killing Ipi-Tombi. Since the first week, the theatre has been less than half filled. The Harkness Theatre has been forced to shut down matinee performances. The the-

atre has been making under \$50,000 a week. A spokesman for the theatre stated, "We need \$75,000 a week to survive. The picketing is really hurting."

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) and the Revolutionary Socialist League have joined in the campaign to shut down Ipi-Tombi, which was initiated by the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. SCAA has leafleted neighborhoods and workplaces informing people about this racist rip-off and asking them to come to the picket line. SCAA and RSL members have been on the picket line every night and have organized major mobilizations every Friday night for the last several weeks.

By fighting to shut down Ipi-Tombi, we can strike a blow against Vorster. Even more important, we can use the campaign as an organizing tool. It provides a way to talk to people, teach them the truth about South Africa's racist system, and get them involved in action against apartheid. The fight will continue until the play is shut down. □



Smash Apartheid! U.S. Out of Africa!

U.S. imperialism can be defeated! That was the message that the victory of the Vietnamese people over the U.S. aggressors sent to millions of people around the world. Then, in 1975, the workers and peasants of Angola defeated the troops of South Africa and the U.S.-backed puppet forces. Again, the message was loud and clear: the U.S. imperialist monster can be defeated by mass struggle.

The victory of the MPLA in Angola left only three countries in Black Africa with white governments: Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and South Africa. The example of victory in Angola gave new hope to the southern African freedom fighters.

MOVEMENT GROWS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle grew all summer—especially in South Africa. Beginning in June, South African high school students in the Black township of Soweto carried out demonstrations and boycotts to protest the compulsory use of Afrikaans, the language of the white oppressors. The student movement soon spread beyond the language issue to challenge the entire racist system of apartheid itself.

The movement grew despite the government's brutal suppression. Over 300 people were killed as the police repeatedly fired on militant demonstrations. Thousands were arrested. The movement climaxed in September with an 80 percent effective general strike in Johannesburg. South Africa's industrial might was worthless and quiet for three days as Black workers showed their strength.

Today the struggle continues, although it has temporarily ebbed. The strikes and protests of last summer and fall are a new beginning to the bitter struggle for Black workers' revolution in South Africa.

The people who profit most from the slave wages and slave conditions in South Africa are the ruling classes of the imperialist countries: the U.S., England, Germany, France and Japan most of all. Companies from all these countries have heavy investments in South Africa. They take millions of dollars of blood profits out of South Africa each year. They use South Africa as a base to control all southern Africa and to help them police the Indian Ocean.

To make all this possible, the imperialists pay the South African whites to enforce the apartheid system. They do this both directly—by giving large loans to the South African government—and indirectly, by diverting some of their enormous profits to the South African whites.

South Africa is now the center of the world anti-imperialist movement. It is also in the center of the struggle between the world bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and the world proletariat (working class). The Black workers are on one side, fighting for their lives.

The world bourgeoisie is on the other, arming and propping up the South African government. Fighting against the South African regime is like fighting all the capitalist governments of the world combined.

U.S. IS THE MAIN ENEMY

We don't have to go to South Africa to join this struggle. The main enemy of the Black people of South Africa is here at home—the U.S. capitalist class. By building a movement of solidarity with the South African revolution in the U.S., we can help the workers in South Africa overthrow the racist dictatorship.

During the war in Vietnam, the anti-war movement in the U.S. helped weaken U.S. imperialism and made the victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialism easier. Today, an anti-imperialist movement based in the working class—in the factories and other work places and in the Black and Latin communities—can have a hundred times the strength of the predominantly middle class anti-



war movement of the 1960s. By making it more difficult for the U.S. to aid the racist dictatorship in South Africa, we can bring victory over apartheid closer.

But building a solidarity movement in the U.S. is not just a matter of aiding the South African workers. The U.S. ruling class is the enemy of the masses of people throughout the world. And it is the enemy of the working class and all oppressed people in the U.S.

The U.S. ruling class exploits and oppresses us at home. It is behind the inflation and unemployment that is robbing the workers and the poor. It is behind the fuel shortage that is freezing people and the destruction of the environment which is bringing disease and death. It is behind the racist attacks on Blacks, Latins, Asians and other oppressed people.

By building a movement in the U.S. in support of the Black workers' (Continued on page 18)

March Against Murder In South Africa

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid is holding the Malcolm X Memorial March Against Apartheid Saturday, February 19th.

Gather 1 p.m. at the Federal Bldg. (Clark and Jackson). March to a rally with speeches and skits at the 1st National Bank on Dearborn and Madison.

Help us stop U.S. support of the racist dictatorship in South Africa

"L...
I...
A REV...



(Editor...
mittee Ag...
sponsoring...
film "Las...
Chicago, ...
York. The...
ment of t...
in South...
organiz...
ment in t...
Black wo...
Africa. Be...
film.)

Last G...
illegally i...
film was...
world co...
apartheid...
genocide...
of graves...
means to...
living un...
tatorship.

The film...
the South...
icy of so...
ment" for...
The fasci...
millions of...
tustans, v...
late areas...
from the...
make up...
in South...
ment wan...
as possib...
only 13 p...

Last G...
women, th...
sick who...
death on...
South A...
before th...
Black wo...
old by th...
20s. Mean...
live and...
torn apar...

In the...
film capt...
hunger an...
Black peo...
ple abund...
for the r...
scene sho...
white sug...
sprawling...
airplane...
where the...
to subsist...
or milk and...
work, cutt...
sundown...
The sc...
Black wo...
auto plan...
where, w...
watch an...
men drive...
they neve...

"Last Grave at Dimbaza"

A REVIEW



(Editor's note: The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) is sponsoring numerous showings of the film "Last Grave at Dimbaza" in Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and New York. The film is a stirring indictment of the racist apartheid system in South Africa and an important organizing tool to help build a movement in this country to support the Black workers' revolution in South Africa. Below is a Torch review of the film.)

Last Grave at Dimbaza was made illegally in South Africa in 1973. The film was smuggled out so that the world could learn the truth about apartheid—a system of murder and genocide. In flesh and blood and rows of graves, this film shows what it means to be a Black South African, living under a brutal and racist dictatorship.

The film explodes all the lies behind the South African government's policy of so-called "separate development" for the "Bantu" (Black) people. The fascist-like regime has herded millions of Black people onto the Bantustans, which are burned out desolate areas of land, hundreds of miles from the major cities. Though Blacks make up 70 percent of the population in South Africa, the racist government wants to force as many of them as possible to live on the Bantustans—only 13 percent of the land.

Last Grave at Dimbaza shows the women, the children, the old and the sick who have been sentenced to slow death on the Bantustans. Half of South Africa's Black children die before they reach the age of five. Black women on the Bantustans are old by the time they reach their late 20s. Meanwhile, husbands and fathers live and work hundreds of miles away, torn apart from their families.

In the starkest possible terms, the film captures the impact of poverty, hunger and death for the masses of Black people, in the midst of incredible abundance and disgusting luxury for the racist white minority. One scene shows the typical plantation of a white sugar farmer, complete with a sprawling ranch house and a private airplane. Out back are the barracks where the Black workers are crowded, eight to a room like slaves. They subsist on porridge without sugar or milk and dried pumpkin leaves. They work, cutting the cane, from sun-up to sundown for a few pennies an hour.

The scenes from the cities show Black workers slaving away in the auto plants, on the docks and elsewhere, while the white supervisors watch and give orders. Only white men drive the garbage trucks—and they never stop. The Black workers

run along behind, lugging the garbage cans of the wealthy whites. In the diamond and gold mines, the Black miners do all the digging—and all the dying.

Many of the Black women in the cities must take jobs as live-in servants in the white-only neighborhoods. These Black women have to spend their time raising the children of the rich whites, while their own babies go hungry. The unemployed Black women, who are forced to live on the Bantustans, struggle to keep themselves and the children alive on those desolate wastelands.

But it is the children—more than anything else in the film—whom you can never forget. Their images are burned into your memory. Bloated

bellies and vacant stares tell a story of malnutrition so severe that the majority will die. Those who survive may never recover from the physical and mental damage.

Last Grave at Dimbaza shows more than the misery and poverty of Black South Africa. It shows the real power behind the South African government—imperialism. The film exposes the role of the foreign imperialists (the U.S., Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan) and explains how their investments and their military hardware prop up Vorster's apartheid regime. Last Grave at Dimbaza shows scenes from the industrial and commercial areas in the major cities. The signs are familiar: Chrysler, General Motors, British Leyland, IBM, First National City Bank of New York and many others.

Ultimately, the power of Last Grave at Dimbaza lies in its ability to make those who see it want to pick up the gun against the worldwide capitalist class. The movie makes clear the fact that armed struggle is the only way that apartheid will be smashed.

What Last Grave at Dimbaza doesn't do, however, is document the history of struggle on the part of Black South Africans against the white rulers. The illegal conditions under which the film was produced may account for this. But it is important not to walk away from the film thinking of the Black people of South Africa only as the victims of apartheid—they are also the fighters against it.

The battles against the pass laws, the strikes in the mines, and the bus boycotts have demonstrated the courage and determination of Black South Africans in pressing ahead the struggle. They are proving this again today. In the past several months,

Black students have heroically fought in the streets, undaunted in the face of gunfire that has struck down hundreds. In Johannesburg and Cape Town, Black workers have built general strikes that are only the first action by a working class that has the power to bring down the racist regime. These struggles will gain strength in the future.

We in the U.S. must use the organizing potential of Last Grave at Dimbaza to aid the struggle of Black people in South Africa to destroy the apartheid system. □

Film Showing LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA

DETROIT

Saturday
February 26, 7:00 p.m.
Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward
(So. of Davison at Buena Vista)
Highland Park
Donations Accepted

NEW YORK

Saturday, February 26, 7:30 p.m.
Martin Luther King Jr.
Labor Center
310 West 43rd Street
(Between 8th and 9th Ave.)
Tickets in advance: \$1.00
At the door: \$1.50

Sponsored by
Solidarity Committee
Against Apartheid

SCAA REPORTS

CHICAGO

The Gay Socialists of Chicago, a newly formed group, has joined the struggle against the racist apartheid system in South Africa. On February 12 and 13 the Gay Socialists held public showings of the film Last Grave at Dimbaza for the gay community on Chicago's South and North sides.

The Gay Socialists distributed a leaflet announcing the movie showings which said: "The same ruling class which exploits workers and maintains the oppression of gays, Blacks, Latins and women in this country—this same ruling class maintains the brutally racist apartheid system in South Africa. Giant American corporations and banks have investments in South Africa. The American government is heavily involved in maintaining the South African regime, despite its official claims of opposition. We must support the struggle of our Black sisters and brothers in South Africa. We face the same enemy."

* * *

Young Chicago workers and high school students are actively building the movement against apartheid. They have formed a group called the Young Militants Against Apartheid (YMAA) and have been working closely with members of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA).

YMAA has been busy building support for the SCAA-sponsored Mal-

colm X Memorial March Against Apartheid on February 19.

YMAA members are passing out and pasting up leaflets for the march around their schools and neighborhoods and at factory gates. High school YMAA members are organizing among their classmates. They are putting the finishing touches on the skits they wrote and will perform on February 19.

Anyone interested in learning more about the Young Militants Against Apartheid or in organizing a chapter in their city should write to: Young Militants Against Apartheid, P.O. Box 906, 2138 E. 75th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60649.

DETROIT

In Detroit, members of the recently formed Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid are building for a February 26 showing of the film Last Grave at Dimbaza. The film showing will kick off SCAA organizing activities in that city. Future plans include a demonstration in commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre, which took place on March 20, 1960.

Members of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) have been active in building Detroit SCAA. In addition to plant-gate leafleting, RAC is organizing around an anti-apartheid resolution for the June UAW convention. The resolution calls for UAW solidarity with the struggle of Black South African workers. It calls on the UAW to organize a

boycott of goods and materials to the racist regime, and to support and aid the efforts of South African Blacks to form recognized trade unions, fight for other democratic rights and smash apartheid.

For more information on Detroit SCAA, contact: SCAA, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221 or call (313) 341-1250.

NEW YORK

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) has been launched in New York.

One of the first steps SCAA is taking is to show the film Last Grave at Dimbaza on February 26 (see notice). The movie will be accompanied by a speech on the U.S. role in South Africa and the importance of the South African revolution for working people of this country. A second speech will outline the work involved in building SCAA, and discuss plans for future activities.

To build for the film showing, SCAA will be informing people of the movie and selling tickets at workplaces, high schools and neighborhoods. SCAA is also planning future showings of the film at homes and schools.

SCAA has also been involved in the campaign against the racist South African play, Ipi-Tombi (see separate article).

To learn more about New York SCAA activities, contact: SCAA, P.O. Box 524, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Ipi-Tombi is closing!
Theatre has announced final performance of Ipi-Tombi will be given on Sunday, February 27. This is an important moment in the growing movement against apartheid struggle in South Africa. The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid will have a celebration following the performance of Sunday's final performance.

ica!



of the 1960s. By the late 1960s, it was difficult for the U.S. to maintain its dictatorship in South Africa without bringing victory over

a solidarity movement that was not just a matter of Black workers. The enemy of the people throughout the world is the enemy of the oppressed people

ng class exploits and oppresses. It is behind the unemployment that is the enemy of the workers and the poor. It is behind the shortage that is the enemy of the people throughout the world. It is behind the oppression of Blacks, Latins, and other oppressed people.

movement in the U.S. the Black workers' (continued on page 18)



Fuel Crisis . . .

(Continued from page 1)

simple ransom: the end to federal regulation of natural gas prices. This regulation is the chief obstacle to higher prices and higher profits.

Big Oil is quite up-front about its blackmail attempt. "Give me decontrol," the February 3 Wall Street Journal quotes a Denver oil and gas operator, "and I would give you a \$10 million drilling program that would have 100 wells producing 60 million cubic feet a day ready by next winter." The same sentiments are voiced throughout the energy cartel.

SHORTAGES RESULT FROM DELIBERATE POLICY

The natural gas shortages are no accident. The present crisis is the result of several long-standing policies of the energy companies. These are:

1) The energy companies have deliberately refrained from discovering and developing natural gas sources. This has been going on for some time, and the government has known all about it.

The Federal Power Commission told the Senate in 1973 that 743,000 acres of natural gas land were not being developed. On January 21, 1975, the Department of the Interior ordered 10 companies to "explain why they were not fully producing" on federal leases in the Gulf of Mexico. Even Big Oil's Oil and Gas Journal reported on June 23, 1975, that only 48 out of 1,068 potential gas-producing sites leased in the Gulf of Mexico were actually producing gas.

In fact, much of the potential gas-producing land is leased by the energy companies in order to prevent the gas from being produced.

2) The major oil companies keep much of the gas they do produce "in reserve"—that is, purposely off the market. In 1974, the Federal Power Commission found that 18 trillion cubic feet of natural gas—enough gas to supply the whole country for more than nine months—was being held off the market. Who knows just how much other natural gas has been hoarded?

3) From the new gas sources that have been tapped, very little gas has been made available to most of the country. Eighty-seven percent of the new gas produced in 1975 stayed right in the states where it was produced (mainly Texas and Louisiana). This means that some states have huge surpluses of natural gas, while others have shortages.

The purpose of keeping the gas in the producing states is to get around the federal price regulations, which only apply to interstate gas flow. In other words, since the government

controls prices for gas shipped across state lines, the energy companies store it within the producing states. In this way, they can press for lifting the regulations. Tom Girard of the Energy Action Committee summed it up this way: "They are deliberately creating a shortage interstate while making a huge surplus intrastate. . . . So they have a ready-made situation where they can stroll down to the Federal Power Commission and say, 'Gee, fellas, we're in short supply, but let us sell our intrastate reserves for five times the regulated price.'"

The result of the energy companies' three-fold policy is to create a severe shortage of natural gas. This shortage is part real, part phony—but none of it was inevitable. The companies' aim is to eliminate the federal regulations and increase the price of the gas.

Jimmy Carter has accepted the energy companies' terms. His "emergency" energy plan, steamrolled through Congress on February 1, lets the producers sell intrastate gas on the interstate market at unregulated prices until July 31. Now the producers can sell the gas they have been hoarding and the gas they have not been producing at an enormous profit.

And—miracle of miracles—no sooner were the regulations suspended than Big Oil found gas to sell to the fuel-starved country. Fourteen hours after Carter signed his energy bill, New York City utilities were expanding their gas purchases at a price of \$2.76 per thousand cubic feet—almost double the regulated ceiling of \$1.42 on new gas, 10 times the 29-cent price still in force for some old gas, and 25 percent more than had ever been paid for natural gas produced in this country! At these prices, Big Oil's profits will go up faster than ever.

What's more, Carter says he is in favor of total deregulation for a "trial" period. This measure, if it carries, will mean victory for the energy industry. The companies' blackmail campaign—the production slowdown and the hoarding—will have been successful. Their profits will be truly stupendous.

WHO WILL PAY?

Who is going to pay for this bonanza? If Carter, the energy companies and the rest of the capitalist class have their way, it will be the working class which will end up paying—through higher taxes and more inflation.

The situation in Texas, where most gas is produced instate and therefore is not subject to federal price regulation, gives a glimpse of what decontrol will mean. According to the

New York Times:

"In San Antonio and other cities, poor people have had to sell their homes because they could not afford to pay the monthly utility bills. Thousands of farmers in west Texas have simply stopped planting their crops because they cannot afford to pay for the natural gas required to pump water for irrigation."

If Carter has his way, and decontrol is adopted, what happened in Texas will happen throughout the country. Fuel bills won't be the only things to skyrocket. Prices of all goods will go up. Corporations will pass along higher fuel prices in the form of higher prices for all products. Unemployment will increase: many small plants will never reopen and some larger ones will never recall many laid-off workers.

PROFITS PROTECTED

As a result of Carter's deal with the energy companies, whatever minimal benefits his token economic stimulation package might have brought will disappear. Carter's puny tax rebate (\$50 a head) is being swallowed by the higher fuel bills alone. It will be the same with his jobs program. It was peanuts to begin with (fewer than one million jobs in a country where over 10 million are unemployed). Now, Carter's program, at best, will only offset the long-term layoffs already caused by the winter fuel shortages.

All along, the federal government's chief concern has been to protect the profits of the energy industry. Although federal agencies knew for years that Big Oil was withholding production, the government did nothing. Indeed, only last summer, the government tripled the maximum regulated price of natural gas. Since 1966, the federal price ceiling has increased 760 percent! The capitalist government has done its best to satisfy Big Oil's thirst for profits.

WE MUST FIGHT BACK

The workers and oppressed people cannot rely on the capitalist government to fight the energy companies. The politicians are the lackeys of the corporations, the government is the corporations' tool.

The working class must lead the fight against the energy industry. Only the power of a mass movement will cause real changes. The measures that would solve the crisis are clear—but to carry them out, the power of the entire working class must be mobilized. This will be a bitter struggle—a struggle which the working class must prepare for through all the battles it is waging today.

First of all, class-conscious workers should demand an investigation of the gas shortages. They should fight in their unions and other organizations for a real investigation—an investigation by the workers themselves. Investigation committees should be set up that are controlled by rank and file workers. They should have the power to impound witnesses, subpoena records and take all steps necessary to find out how much gas really is available. Once we know that, we can decide how best to distribute the gas. Workers must take over control of the distribution of existing supplies.

But more than an investigation is needed. We need to stop the energy industry's ability to sacrifice our jobs and our lives on the altar of their profits.

The energy cartel cannot be trusted to produce natural gas—or any other fuel, for that matter. The industry itself is the first to proclaim that it will produce fuel only when it is guaranteed superprofits. It cannot be trusted to distribute fuel—it uses distribution to create shortages and in-

crease its stranglehold. And through control of production and distribution, Big Oil imposes prices that make us devote more and more of each working day to earning the money to pay our utility bills.

NATIONALIZE THE ENERGY INDUSTRY

The only way to break the energy industry's power is to take control of energy out of its hands. The energy industry must be nationalized. But the government will not run energy (or any other industry, for that matter) in our interests. We ourselves must run the energy industry. Representatives of the unions and the organizations of the oppressed must be put in control of a nationalized energy industry.

Nationalization of energy under workers' control is the only solution to the energy crisis. This is the only way to guarantee that our interests and our needs are met. It is the only way to guarantee that supply will not be artificially manipulated. It is the way to achieve a rollback in the price of natural gas to regulated price levels, and the first step to re-establishing cheap energy for the working class. It is the way to develop new sources of energy—especially solar energy, which is needed to replace the fossil fuels capitalism will exhaust within the next century.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

Big Oil is one of the most powerful sectors of the capitalist class. A fight to expropriate the energy industry will mean a fight against the entire



Heatless N.Y. apartment after pipes burst.

capitalist class and its government.

Nationalization of the energy industry under workers' control challenges the very existence of capitalism. It challenges the sacred profit motive and counterposes the workers' demand that vital commodities must be produced, profit or not. It challenges capitalism by asserting the workers' right to run industry.

The capitalists will not sit back and just hand over the energy industry to the people. The fight to nationalize the energy industry under workers' control requires a revolution to overthrow the ruling class and put the state power and all industry in the hands of the working class. Socialist revolution, which will enable the economy to be run in the interests of the people, is the only permanent solution to the gas shortages and the other disasters created by capitalism. □

Te
"De

NEW YORK members and s sterdam Tenant strated in front John the Divine Sunday morning demonstrators church stop e against the resi church-owned b

Nearly 500 living in the majority are Dominican Rep victims of New housing shortage cupied building years ago. They ever since to stay.

In fighting t evictions, the demand: "D sonable rents for

The three bui the Morningsi tion, a coalition area. The church are trying to evic

Hearings T

Moth

Jacqueline St woman with c daughters. Her e is an unfit moth to court in Detr Stamper is a les

The Stamper that they want mother. This sh And, if Jacquelin lesbian, it woul to the mother is custody courts.

Instead, the c been turned into ism. For exam "expert" said it Stamper to keep kicked her lover got some counse Ms. Stamper car she conforms to and stops being

There have be involving lesbia years. Some of t their cases, mor started out with them. All were



Mary Jo Risher (ri Courts deny lesbia

Tenants Protest Evictions: "Decent Housing, Fair Rent"

NEW YORK CITY—Over 100 members and supporters of the Amsterdam Tenants Association demonstrated in front of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City on Sunday morning, February 6. The demonstrators demanded that the church stop eviction proceedings against the residents of one of three church-owned buildings in the area.

Nearly 500 people are currently living in the three buildings. The majority are immigrants from the Dominican Republic. The residents, victims of New York City's acute housing shortage, took over the unoccupied buildings over six and a half years ago. They have been struggling ever since to defend their right to stay.

In fighting to prevent their own evictions, the tenants have also raised the demand: "Decent housing at reasonable rents for working people."

The three buildings are owned by the Morningside Housing Corporation, a coalition of churches in the area. The churches, led by St. John's, are trying to evict the tenants in order

to tear down the buildings and build new high-rise apartments. Rents on these apartments would be far higher than what the current residents could afford to pay.

The militant tenants plan demonstrations in front of St. John's and

other churches every Sunday morning until the eviction attempts are halted. They are also fighting the evictions in court. Several working class and community organizations are supporting the struggle, and the tenants are calling on other interested groups and



Tenants picket St. John's Cathedral demanding no evictions, decent housing and fair rent.

individuals to join the demonstrations.

The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) are helping to build the tenants' demonstrations. At the same time, the RSL and SCAA have called on the tenants to join in the fight to shut down the racist South African musical Ipi-Tombi. (See article, page 12—Ed.) The Amsterdam Tenants Association has taken up this struggle, and many of the tenants have joined the mass picket lines against Ipi-Tombi on Friday nights.

The tenants see that the U.S. ruling class and U.S. imperialism are the common enemies of working people everywhere: in South Africa, in the Dominican Republic and in New York City. □

NATIONALIZE ENERGY INDUSTRY

to break the energy industry is to take control of its hands. The energy industry will not run energy industry, for that matter. We ourselves are the energy industry. Repressive unions and the oppressed must take the reins of a nationalized

energy under the only solution to this is the only way at our interests and it. It is the only way it supply will not be regulated. It is the way back in the price of regulated price levels, up to re-establishing the working class. It develop new sources of energy, which place the fossil fuels exhaust within the

R SOCIALISM!

of the most powerful capitalist class. Ate the energy industry against the entire



ment after pipes burst.

and its government. of the energy industry's control challenges the power of capitalism. It is a sacred profit motive as the workers' commodities must be or not. It challenges the workers' industry.

will not sit back and the energy industry to fight to nationalize the industry under workers' control to overthrow the industry and put the industry in the hands of the people. Socialist revolution is the only solution to the gas and the other disasters of capitalism. □

Hearings Turned Into Attack on Lesbianism

Mother Battles for Custody of Her Children

Jacqueline Stamper is a divorced woman with custody of her two daughters. Her ex-husband claims she is an unfit mother and has taken her to court in Detroit. The reason: Ms. Stamper is a lesbian.

The Stamper children have stated that they want to remain with their mother. This should close the case. And, if Jacqueline Stamper were not a lesbian, it would. Awarding custody to the mother is routine practice in the custody courts.

Instead, the custody hearings have been turned into an attack on lesbianism. For example, one psychology "expert" said it would be fine for Ms. Stamper to keep her children—if she kicked her lover out of the house and got some counseling! In other words, Ms. Stamper can keep her children if she conforms to the court's prejudices and stops being a lesbian.

There have been other court cases involving lesbian mothers in recent years. Some of these women have won their cases, more have lost. But all started out with two strikes against them. All were confronted by testi-

mony which claimed their sexual preferences made them less than human, and had the burden placed on them to disprove this lie.

FIGHT SEXISM

Lesbian mothers face sexist oppression in two ways: as gay people and as women. The two are closely related. Sexist ideology claims that a woman's proper position is to be dominated by a man. Open women's homosexuality challenges this idea. So gay women are harassed and arrested. They are beaten senseless by their ex-husbands, as happened outside a gay women's bar in Detroit a few years ago, and no one is ever punished. They are discriminated against in housing and employment, and sometimes denied custody of their own children.

Many workers accept the sexist propaganda which claims that to be gay is to be a "freak." The Kinsey Report exposed this myth when it found that 37 percent of American men and 13 percent of American women report having homosexual

experiences. But the findings of this report (published nearly 30 years ago) remain almost unknown.

We must fight sexism in all its forms. We must fight to build a society in which women and men are equals, in which both women and men can control their own bodies, and in which sexual relations are entirely a matter of personal choice. And we must build a society in which no mother has to defend her sexual preference to judges and psychology "experts."

The Fight of Gay Women
Is the Fight of All Workers!

Court Upholds Job Discrimination Against Gays

Homosexuals have no right to protection against job discrimination, according to the California Court of Appeal. On January 5, the court ruled against four San Francisco men who had brought an anti-discrimination suit against the Pacific Telephone Company.

Homosexuals have "simply no constitutional right to work for an unwilling employer," the judges said. "We see no reason to establish such a rule by judicial decision."

Behind this court ruling to uphold discrimination stands a long-established web of exploitation and hypocrisy. The Pacific Telephone Company has long been a target of gays in California. The Bell System, of which PTC is a part, openly states that it doesn't hire open known homosexuals. But this open discrimination is only part of the story.

In actual fact, the PTC is one of the largest employers of gay workers in

San Francisco. The gays must keep their sexual orientation secret—but the personnel office, supervisors and everyone else connected with management know the score perfectly well.

The reason for this hypocrisy is simple: this policy provides the PTC with a workforce that is easily kept docile and exploitable. That is why the PTC maintains the charade.

The current court decision comes less than two years after California passed a bill legalizing some forms of homosexuality. (However, it increased penalties for adult-juvenile sex and consenting sex among prisoners.) Clearly, this much-heralded legal reform made no difference in the web of discrimination and oppression that homosexuals face every day.

The labor movement and all workers' organizations must support the fight against anti-gay discrimination. Victory will strengthen the entire working class. □



Mary Jo Risher (right) and her son, Richard, were separated by 1975 court decree. Courts deny lesbians custody of their children.

LETTERS

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

Prisoner Tells History Of Walla Walla Struggle

The following letter is a recent history of the struggle of the prisoners at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. It is written by Walla Walla Brother—Ed Mead, who was incarcerated for membership in the George Jackson Brigade.

Mead's letter goes into the struggle of the prisoners for their right to control their lives, the mistakes of the leaders of the prisoners' struggle, the sabotage of the struggle by the prison administration and the betrayal of the struggle by large sections of the left.

Over the past year prisoners all over the country have fought important battles. This could begin a strong movement among prisoners. It is important that we learn from the lessons of the recent past, in order that the future struggles will have a greater chance of victory.

While the RSL has differences with the writer on several questions—most importantly on the role of the Bolshevik Party—we nevertheless feel the letter is a valuable contribution to the work of building a revolutionary movement inside the prisons.

Dear Comrades:

In 1971 there existed a substantial number of politically aware prisoners at Walla Walla. They understood that the issue was not one of reform but of power. The external and internal situation was such that these prisoners were able to do propaganda and organizing work in support of self-government for prisoners.

As the struggle unfolded it became increasingly clear that the liberal-minded director of corrections and the governor would give in if pushed a little further by prisoners. Accordingly, a work strike was initiated around the demand of self-government for prisoners. Since there was no real opposition to the idea, and because the prisoners seemed to have their shit together, the demand was granted after ten days of peaceful struggle.

This was the '71 work strike. It was successful because the state was ready to "give it up" and just needed an excuse. The strike was not only for power to govern, but for the power to decide for one's self things like dress or hair length.

The rule book was torn up, a constitution drafted, leaders elected, and new programs implemented. The name of the government was the Resident Government Council (RGC). Needless to say, there was a lot of opposition from old line guards. No longer could prisoners be disciplined. If they were found drunk on "pruno," for example, a committee of the RGC would escort them to the detox area and they would be released just as soon as they were sober. The prisoners no longer had to follow the orders of guards. The role of the guards was merely to insure that there were no escapes. Many guards quit in disgust.

What happened next is that the more politically advanced prisoners

started being paroled. And since they had failed to train the next generation of leaders, the new leaders were guided by self interest. The RGC slowly became a means to play-for-the-gate at the expense of the general population.

A part of the fault lies with the low level of political development of the initial leaders. They were charting new ground and had no experience to draw lessons from. They made what I consider to be the same mistake of the Bolshevik Party: instead of educating and empowering the masses of prisoners, they led the prisoners from the top down. What was really needed was a cultural-sexual revolution which would further consolidate the gains already made.

From the March '71 strike on, there was a subtle campaign from the guards and administration to wreck this experiment. And they had a lot of help from politically unsophisticated prisoners. In the absence of the old leaders the administration started making attacks on the gains thus far achieved. Step by step things started regressing to the old ways. The RGC became little more than a police force for the administration. Just as the U.S. government used its puppets in Saigon to rule the South Vietnamese people; and used the BIA Indians to maintain "order" at Pine Ridge; the RGC was reduced to a tool by which the administration implemented its policies.

In 1974 prisoners decided it was time to get some of the power back to the prisoners. The RGC constitution was not being followed. Out of 72 demands, 56 of them were guaranteed by the constitution and-or law of the state, and should not have been necessary to demand at all. This was not the first time progressive prisoners tried to rectify the growing powerlessness of the RGC, negotiations had frequently been a part of the RGC's duties. But these usually resulted in unkept promises. One could safely say that the history of the RGC was one of opportunism on the one hand, and genuine attempts to implement the concept of power to the prisoners on the other. These two forces were in constant contention.

In December of '74 the progressive forces were on the rise, and opportunism was in retreat. Propaganda and agitation was being directed by the RGC leaders. These people were not politically conscious, but merely wanted to re-establish the power of the RGC and the democratic right of self-government. We might here call them anti-fascist forces.

Negotiations around the 72 demands were not going well. The mood of the population was to fight. The plan, as far as I can determine (I was not here and am merely relating impressions received from talking to fellow prisoners who were present at the time of these events), was to take the prison if negotiations broke down. But there was no real political leadership or organization. The "plan" was

no more than a determination to fight for their rights. It was generally agreed that the prison would be seized and burned. Negotiations from then on would be around the release of hostages and with a higher level of government. There was also a general understanding that if the shit jumped off, it would happen on a given day.

Two days before the agreed upon day, a group of prisoners seized the hospital and eight wing. Hostages were taken in each place. Others who were to take more of the prison failed to do so. Their position weakened, the order to burn was not given. The administration forcibly took the hospital, and as a result of this two hostages received superficial wounds. Rather than storm eight wing, and risk additional injuries or death, the prisoners were given complete amnesty if they would release their hostages. They eventually did so. That was the last stand of the progressive forces.

Six months later the George Jackson Brigade (GJB) burgled the headquarters of the department of corrections in Olympia and planted a powerful bomb in one of the administrative offices. The blast did a hundred thousand dollars in damage and the GJB's communique demanded that the demands of the Walla Walla prisoners be implemented. It said the RGC, which had been smashed, must be permitted to exist.

The left freaked out and refused to even print the communique. The

administration continued its attack on prisoners. That's where things are today.

The prisoners who participated in the '74 uprising are still in the hole. Security forces rule the prison. The prisoners have degenerated into heroin and fascist ideology. There is an underground prisoner KKK, and what's "cool" in some prisoner circles is to rob or rape fellow prisoners. Prisoner-on-prisoner violence is at an all time high. Hardly a week passes in which someone is not assaulted with a knife. In the past two months there have been four stabbings in the Intensive Security Unit (hole). Usually these are over drugs.

That's where things stand today. The Walla Walla Brothers are prisoners who are attempting to resist the continuing implementation of fascist policies. The idea of re-gaining the ground lost is unrealistic at this point. The main focus is to build a militant outside support network. This requires public education; and thus letters such as this. The prisoners have fought bravely and hard. Now it is time for people on the outside to give them a little support. Prisoners cannot do it alone. We need strong links with poor and working people on the outside. Our struggle is their struggle and vice versa.

Love and struggle,
Edward A. Mead #251397
P.O. Box 520
Walla Walla, Washington 99362

Build Unity Between Employed & Unemployed

Dear Torch,

On my way to work this morning with a fellow autoworker, something came to my attention I consider very important to point to. Shortly after the Christmas holiday, 1,000 unemployed workers showed up at Chrysler Warren Tank plant, seeking jobs. The line went from the gate, halfway down the parking lot. I arrived at work at 7:00 a.m. that morning. Many of those in line were there since 4:00 a.m.

Shortly after most of the autoworkers arrived for work, most of the unemployed workers demanded to be let in. The guards kept telling them there weren't any jobs, and to leave. Someone in the crowd got angry and broke a window as the guards tried restraining everyone. They used this as an excuse to call the police to disperse the crowd. Finally, by mid-morning, everyone dispersed, knowing the rumor about jobs at Chrysler was just another lie.

The discussions I had at work that day centered on what happened at the gate that morning. Various attitudes that I encountered that day reflect the problems increasing between employed and unemployed workers.

Some workers were scared at what was happening at the gate that morning. They fear the unemployed workers as a threat to their jobs and security. There was a majority at work who were affected by the events that morning. The problem of unem-

ployment has recently become more clear to those workers who understand what it means for all workers, when thousands of unemployed now appear at the rumor of jobs!

If the unemployed aren't given jobs, they will be coerced into the services of the company. This army at the disposal of the company, further weakens the unions and keeps us in the plants divided by this threat. It's like having a club poised over your head, every time the foreman threatens you. The International then spouts its rhetoric about job security and paid days off, as a victory for the UAW in creating more jobs. Yet, these increasing events of the unemployed at the plant gates expose this hypocritical lie.

Workers are beginning to draw the lessons from the struggles of the unemployed, and are more clearly seeing the need for organizing to defend all workers by winning a real shorter work week. We will not be satisfied with these crumbs of paid days off, to just employed workers. When there are not any more unemployed workers at the gates on the rumor of jobs, then we will see the beginning of job security for all workers. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, divide up all the work for those wanting jobs. Organize to build the unity needed to defend all workers.

A supporter of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee
Detroit

U.S.
Ma

To the To
Three st
were bad
the Caste
"treated"
sent home
Bealles, o
months lat
er, was in
Hospital
This trage
agement's
scious" an
the workf
profits, th
do their m
but comm

Vanc
Of Cr
Detro

Dear Torch
I read y
Torch on
net. The hi
the fact t
exposes th
Here in
Cyrus Van
indication
stands. Be
left out in
"qualificat
charge of
the 1967 L
us who ren
no illusion
pected from
kind.
I hope yo
what the I
many wor
Carter. Yo
exposing t
smile.
Yours in s
PA

Revol
Managin
Circulat
Produc
Lee
Addre

Ti
Ni
t
(U
6 issues
12 issues
Supportin
Libraries
12 issues
12 issues
Make ch

LETTERS

U.S. Steel: Murderers in Mad Rush For Profit

To the Torch,

Three steelworkers at South Works were badly burned in an accident at the Caster in October. They were "treated" at the plant hospital and sent home. One of the men, Stanley Bealles, died from his burns two months later. Another, Anthony Reiner, was in Little Company of Mary Hospital for almost three months. This tragedy explodes U.S. Steel management's claims to be "safety-conscious" and to look after the health of the workforce. In their mad rush for profits, they treat us worse than they do their machines. They are nothing but common murderers!

Here are the details:

On October 15, 1976, a maintenance crew was repairing hydraulic fluid piping in the Continuous Caster. All the hydraulic fluid in the pipe had supposedly bled away, but suddenly a

tongue of flame shot out 15 feet from a leak in the pipe. Stanley Bealles, Anthony Reiner and John Ambriz were enveloped in flame. Their pants burned up in seconds, and before they could put out the fire, their legs were charred. They were sent to the plant "hospital" where the company doctor slapped some medication on their crisped legs—and sent them home!

This "doctor" was following the company doctors' code of conduct—Save Money Before Lives. He told Brothers Bealles, Reiner and Ambriz to report back to the company hospital every day.

The next day Bro. Bealles—who was 61 years old—developed a fever of 104 degrees. He admitted himself to Little Company of Mary Hospital. He had intensive treatment, including skin graft operations, but despite everything, he died on December 21. The cause of death was pulmonary embolism—a common complication in burn cases. Bro. Bealles died in great pain, a victim of the steel barons' war for profits—a war against the working class.

Bros. Reiner and Ambriz were more fortunate. Bro. Reiner did not go to the hospital for some time. He had to care for his wife, who is an invalid. Ten days went by, and then, in Bro. Reiner's own words, "My legs were looking pretty bad by that time, they

had turned black, so I insisted that I go into the hospital." He was in the hospital from late October until January, when he was released for work. Bro. Ambriz, who was the least badly burned, was back on the job by December.

The workers of South Works witnessed a sharply rising accident rate in 1976. Workers' stored-up anger spilled over at this last incident of company slaughter. But the company's response to the outcry was typically brutal and heartless: a company spokesman said, "It was a terrible, unfortunate accident, but we have some of the best facilities and personnel in the area." That's right—some of the best facilities for killing and maiming, and the best personnel for covering up!

Spurred by the outrage of its membership, Local 65 (South Works—Ed.) is suing the company before the Illinois Department of Registration and Education, Medical Division, which has the power to revoke the licenses of doctors and facilities. Management, not backing down an inch from their contempt for our lives and health, has refused to release the medical records of Bros. Bealles, Reiner and Ambriz to the union. Even this open-and-shut case of murderous company negligence is being fought tooth-and-nail by U.S. Steel.

We can expect no decency from U.S. Steel or any other company as long as the war for profits is their first priority. To save our very lives we must fight against the profit system. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus deserves our support for taking up this fight.

A supporter of the
Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus

U.S.S. Gary Works — The Slaughter Goes On

Dear Torch readers,

The slaughter goes on at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. On December 1; Tony Ruzbasan, motor inspector at the primary mills, went to the soaking pit basement to repair a coke breeze skip hoist. That particular relic breaks down several times every shift. The soaking pit basement, a hell of fumes and dripping steel, gives workers enough to worry about without hoists that always fall off their rails.

When Tony started to fix the hoist,

the cable yanked him into the cable drum, pulling out his arm, breaking his neck, and smashing his head.

In a monstrous attempt to blame the worker for his own death, the company pointed out that it had sent men to repair the hoist several times that day "without incident." A killer can fire a gun several times before he hits his victim. This time Gary Works did not miss. As long as we let the company make us work with worn out equipment we face death at every turn.

Human life means nothing to U.S. Steel. It would rather kill hundreds of us with its wretched machines than invest a cent for our health and safety.

But we can stop the slaughter. Without us, all of U.S. Steel's machines would grind to a halt. If all steelworkers get together, we can disarm the company: we can tell U.S. Steel what to do!

We have our union, but our union leaders have not brought us all together. We pay them with our dues to lead us in our struggle for a better life. But they take it easy while we get killed!

We, the workers, are the union. If we organize ourselves, we can make the USWA powerful enough to turn the tables on our murderous employers.

Organize To Fight!
A concerned steelworker

Reader Raps

Torch on

Racism Coverage

Dear Friends,

I usually read some of the articles in the Torch. I think you could improve articles like Part I of the "Fight Racist Terror!" series. (See Torch, Vol. 3, No. 10—Ed.)

For example, you should be aware that Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans receive racist treatment from the capitalist system and from individual white racists. The Torch article does not even mention this—not even in passing. You should be aware of this danger to other racial minorities.

For example, Frank Collin, Nazi leader, showed his disgusting contempt for Latinos on the CBS-TV "Common Ground" program in Chicago last summer. Collin has also used racist remarks about Mexicans and Puerto Ricans on his tape-recorded "Hot Line" telephone messages in Chicago.

Another example: two years ago, a Latino family moved into the "border" zone of Marquette Park in Chicago. Racist whites harassed that family.

Part I of the "Fight Racist Terror!" series could have used these kinds of examples. One way to improve the Torch is to point out the oppression coming down on all racial minorities in the United States today.

Best wishes,
A Reader

Workers Must Fight Sexism On the Job

Dear Friends at the Torch,

Something was missing from your recent article on the oppression of women workers ("Wage Gap Between Women and Men Continues to Grow").

The Torch article doesn't mention the sexist harassment many women workers receive from foremen and from their male co-workers. You overlook one of the most obvious things about the working conditions of working women: Too many male workers haven't yet learned how to behave themselves decently around their female co-workers. This makes life on the job pretty miserable—day in and day out. Too many male workers are only able to relate to a woman co-worker if they think she is willing to go to bed with them. Or if they get turned down, they think something is "wrong" with her.

Yes, as you say, the unions must fight for jobs, job-training, and child-care for women (and men) workers. But the working class will remain divided unless the unions begin to fight against the sexism of the male union members.

In struggle,
A Ford Worker (UAW)

Vance in Charge Of Crushing 1967 Detroit Rebellion

Dear Torch,

I read your article in last month's Torch on "Peanut" Carter's new cabinet. The history of each individual and the fact that Carter selected them exposes the racism of U.S. capitalism.

Here in Detroit, the selection of Cyrus Vance was even more clearly an indication of where Carter really stands. Because one thing that was left out in the explanation of Vance's "qualifications" was that he was in charge of the military repression of the 1967 Detroit Rebellion. Those of us who remember the Rebellion have no illusions about what can be expected from the likes of Vance and his kind.

I hope you keep up your coverage of what the Democrats are up to. Too many workers were taken in by Carter. Your paper does a good job of exposing the lies behind the toothy smile.

Yours in struggle,
PA

©1977
Revolutionary Socialist League
Editor: Rod Miller
Managing Editor: Susan Edmunds
Circulation Manager: Karen Harrison
Production Staff: Maxine Evers,
Lee Ramie, Margie Takano
Address all correspondence to:
Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036
Subscription rates:
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)
6 issues (introductory) \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
Supporting (one year) \$5.00
Libraries and institutions . . . \$5.00
(Foreign)
12 issues (seamail) \$4.50
12 issues (airmail, unsealed) . . \$10.00
Make checks payable to the Torch.

RSL Directory

NATIONAL OFFICE

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

CHICAGO

P.O. Box 8062
Chicago, Ill. 60680

DETROIT

P.O. Box 639
Detroit, Michigan 48221

NEW YORK

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

10036

continued its attack on
where things are

who participated in
are still in the hole.
rule the prison. The
generated into her-
eology. There is an
soner KKK, and
ome prisoner circles
e fellow prisoners.
er violence is—at an
dly a week passes in
not assaulted with a
t two months there
bbings in the Inten-
nit (hole). Usually
ugs.

hings stand today.
Brothers are prison-
napping to resist the
mentation of fascist
i of re-gaining the
realistic at this point.

to build a militant
network. This re-
ucation; and thus
his. The prisoners
ily and hard. Now it
e on the outside to
support. Prisoners
e. We need strong
d working people on
struggle is their
versa.

e,
#251397

Washington 99362

n

Employed

cently become more
kers who understand
r all workers, when
employed now appear
obs!

oyed aren't given
e coerced into the
company. This army
of the company,
the unions and keeps
vided by this threat.
a club poised over
time the foreman
e International then
c about job security
g more jobs. Yet,
vents of the unem-
at gates expose this

eginning to draw the
struggles of the un-
e more clearly seeing
nizing to defend all
ning a real shorter
will not be satisfied
s of paid days off, to
orkers. When there
unemployed workers
e rumor of jobs, then
e beginning of job
orkers. 30 hours work
y, divide up all the
anting jobs. Organize
needed to defend all

the Revolutionary
Committee

Women . . .

(Continued from page 3)

to the capital. All processions in Pretoria were banned that day, so the women walked to Union Buildings to see the Prime Minister in groups of never more than three. All Pretoria was filled with women. At Union Buildings, the massive demonstration produced a new freedom song with the refrain: "Wathint' a bafazi, wayithint' imbolodo uzo kufa" ("Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed").

However, the pass law struggle was defeated through the most brutal methods. Women were shot, beaten, their homes burned to the ground and all their possessions destroyed, individuals were sent into banishment and many others had to hide for months. But protests continued in different forms, reasserting the solidarity and courage of the women at every turn. In September 1959, when the African National Congress convened a special conference, a bright red banner proclaimed MAKABONGWE AMAKOSIKAZI—WE THANK THE WOMEN.

Today, struggle is again on the rise in South Africa. If the courage and heroism of the South African masses this time finds a revolutionary course, then apartheid can be smashed. On this International Women's Day, oppressed and working women should declare their solidarity with the struggle in South Africa and resolve to avenge the treatment of our sisters under apartheid. There are no more oppressed people on earth than the Black women of South Africa. □

Steel . . .

(Continued from page 4)

workers in line by preventing any independent organized struggle. It is only their methods that are different. Neither Sadlowski nor McBride—in other words, neither the liberal nor the reactionary wings of the trade union bureaucracy—will mobilize steelworkers to fight the companies and the ruling class for what they need. Neither offers any solutions for 1.4 million steelworkers or for the masses of working people.

DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

Militant steelworkers are not fooled by an open reactionary like McBride. Most of his support comes from the skilled white workers and the lower-level union bureaucrats—the most aristocratic layers of the USWA. The militants know that McBride and those who stand behind him—Abel,

Meany, Shanker and friends—are completely tied to the bosses and the ruling class. These are reactionaries who have long been strangling the U.S. labor movement.

But many militant steelworkers are supporting Sadlowski. They have illusions in the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy. Some believe Sadlowski will actually strengthen and democratize the union. Others take the lesser-evil approach: "Sablowski isn't much, but he's got to be better than McBride and Abel."

Throughout the campaign, however, Sadlowski has proved that his election would not materially change the conditions of steelworkers. At no time during the campaign has Sadlowski mobilized steelworkers to fight for their interests. If this is what he does when he is out of power, he will do even less if he is elected to office. In fact, Sadlowski and other slick-talking liberal bureaucrats like him are actually roadblocks to the organized struggles of rank and file steelworkers and the rest of the working class.

Over 100,000 steelworkers have been laid off in the past two years. In the mills, steelworkers are facing more speedup, increasing racist harassment and discrimination and a bloody trail of accidents and deaths. Sadlowski put forward his solution to these problems on the January 30 Meet the Press debate. Asked about jobs, Sadlowski said he favored improvements in the pension plan. Sadlowski claimed that if more steelworkers would retire, a few USWA members on layoff would be called back to work! There is no doubt that steelworkers need better pensions. But Sadlowski is using this as a cover. He proposes to go begging to the steel companies for a few more dollars for pensions, instead of building an all-out fight for jobs, for 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay, for a real public works program and other measures to put unemployed steelworkers and the rest of the unemployed back to work.

"RADICAL" SUPPORT

Most of the left-wing groups in the USWA support Sadlowski. In fact, these groups are now one of the main props for Sadlowski's campaign. The leaders of these organizations are leading militant steelworkers away from building the struggle. They are putting all their resources into electioneering for Sadlowski. Revolutionary-minded steelworkers who have been attracted to these groups are now spending their time trying to convince skeptical steelworkers that a Sadlowski victory will mean a significant gain. One of these groups, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has gone so far as to attack militant steelworkers, who correctly refuse to support Sadlowski, for being "cynical" and "apathetic."

The RCP, the Communist Party,

the International Socialists, the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers League and others are all playing the same basic role. Some of these groups work in the Sadlowski campaign and make no criticisms, while others do make a few criticisms, but keep them off to the side. All are building illusions in Sadlowski and the whole gang of liberal trade union bureaucrats he represents.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has repeatedly urged steelworkers not to support McBride or Sadlowski. In the pages of the Torch, we have attempted to show how a liberal bureaucrat like Sadlowski actually holds back the struggles of the working class. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), which the RSL supports, has taken this perspective into the USWA. "Don't Vote, Organize!" has been the RSC's main slogan over the past several months.

Despite its opposition to Sadlowski, the RSC has fought to defend Sadlowski supporters from attacks by McBride and company goons. RSC supporters have also attempted to work with Sadlowski supporters and other militants to organize steelworkers to fight for their real needs.

RSC supporters are organizing around the approaching contract struggle. (Negotiations begin this month; the contract expires on July 31, 1977.) The RSC is working to mobilize steelworkers to fight and strike for what they need in 1977. Organizing the power of rank and file steelworkers, breaking the grip the bureaucrats have on the union, and fighting for revolutionary leadership in the USWA—this is the road forward for steelworkers. Tailing along behind a liberal bureaucrat like Sadlowski is the road to defeat. □

1917 . . .

(Continued from page 9)

bourgeoisie had shown that it was too cowardly to fight against the Tsar. Either the workers would move forward and strengthen their rule, or they would be decisively defeated. There was no middle ground.

LENIN REORIENTS THE PARTY

When V.I. Lenin, the exiled leader of the Bolshevik Party, returned to Russia on April 3, 1917, he attacked the Petrograd leaders' line. Lenin argued that the workers must move forward, placing no faith in the bourgeois politicians and their fancy phrases. Through an internal struggle, Lenin restored a revolutionary policy to the Bolshevik Party—a policy giving no support to the Provisional Government and fighting to put all power in the hands of the Soviets. Lenin's policy triumphed at the Bolshevik Party conference in late April.

The masses were to pay dearly for the treachery of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, and for the temporary disorientation of the Bolsheviks. Tens of thousands of soldiers died at the front, but the Provisional Government would not take Russia out of the imperialist war. The peasants needed land to feed themselves and the cities, but the Provisional Government told them not to seize it. The workers starved in the cities, but the Provisional Government refused to take measures to stop speculation and

It would take the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, six more months to create the conditions for the Russian masses to regain the initiative. Through six months of education and organization, the Bolsheviks prepared the Russian working class to take

power. In these six months, the correct tactics of Lenin and Trotsky completely exposed the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries and demonstrated to the workers what they had to do.

In October, the Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, rallied the peasants and all the oppressed masses behind it, overthrew the Provisional Government and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The first and only successful socialist revolution had triumphed. □

Apartheid . . .

(Continued from page 12)

struggle against racist capitalism in South Africa, we can also help build the struggle against racist capitalism in the U.S. By bringing the truth about the struggle in South Africa to the workers in the U.S. we can help organize the workers here to build their own movement for freedom. A victory in South Africa against apartheid and U.S. imperialism is a victory for us, the workers and oppressed people in the U.S.

Today the RSL, along with readers and supporters of the Torch, is actively building Solidarity Committees Against Apartheid to educate, organize and agitate about the fight against the South African racist dictatorship.

SCAA stands for Black workers' revolution in South Africa to burn the apartheid system to the ground. SCAA also says that the struggle against apartheid is part of our struggle here. Join SCAA!

SCAA's work today is a small beginning of what must become a large and fighting movement—but it is a strong beginning. In Chicago, Detroit, New York and St. Louis, militants and revolutionaries are educating and organizing in order to build a revolutionary anti-apartheid movement.

The Black workers of South Africa have begun their revolution. Their struggle is an inspiration to the workers and oppressed people throughout the world. Their struggle is our struggle. □

UAW . . .

(Continued from page 5)

sparked an upsurge of Black workers in auto and other industries throughout the country. There can be no doubt that autoworkers will play a key role in the new labor upsurge that is just beginning to develop, particularly as the auto companies step up their drive for profits through new layoffs, harsher speedup and a further deterioration of working conditions.

Fraser and the other union hacks will be under pressure from the auto bosses to help keep wages down, to cut back on absenteeism and to allow greater speedup. And these hacks have every intention of doing the bosses' bidding. But they will also be under growing pressure from workers to fight back against the companies' attacks. In order to walk this tightrope, the bureaucrats and the bosses are agreed on the need for a slick talking liberal as president. They need someone who will try to satisfy autoworkers with a smile, militant talk and—when he's forced to—a black-jack. The union bureaucrats and the auto bosses think they have just such a leader in Doug Fraser. Our job is to begin to build a movement that can dump Fraser and the whole liberal bureaucratic crew off our backs. □

Subscribe Now!

Introductory Offer: 6 Issues \$1.00

12 Issues, \$3.00 Supporting, \$5.00

Subscriptions to all Prisoners: FREE

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please send this blank and check to:
Torch, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036

¡Sí se puede der
estadounidense!
que la victoria d
contra los agres
les transmitió a
entero. Entonces,
y campesinos de
las tropas de Su
militares respald
vez, el mensaje f
monstruo imperia
puede ser derrot

La victoria del
dejó no más de t
Negra con gobier
bwe (Rodesia), N
Suroeste) y Sudá
la victoria en Ang
peranza a los luch
ca del sur libre.

MOVIMIEN SUDA

La lucha crecía
especialmente en
los alumnos de es
africanos en el m
weto llevaron a c
y boicoteos para
uso obligatorio d
gua de los opresor
miento estudiantil
mente más allá de
gua hasta que des
tema racista de a

El movimiento
pesar de la supres
del gobierno. Má
fueron matadas cu
petidamente hicie
nifestaciones milit
miles. El movimie
nación en septiem
general en Johann
por ciento efectiv
trial de Sudáfrica
quieto por tres dí
obrerros por tres

Hoy la lucha cor
disminuido temp
y las protestas del
sados son no más
mienzo de la lucha
lución obrera neg

APARTHEID—S EL IMPEI

Los que sacan le
los salarios y condi
en Sudáfrica son l
tes de los países i
Inglaterra, Alema
todo. Compañías c
en grandes invers
Le sacan millones
cias de sangre a S
Usan Sudáfrica c
trotlar toda Africa
a vigilar el orden
Indio.

Para hacer todo
perialistas les pag
nos blancos para i
de apartheid. Lo h
por grandes prést
sudafricano—y in
vés del desviar al
mes ganancias a
blancos.

Hoy día, Sudáfr
movimiento anti-im
También es en el
entre la burguesía
mundial y el prolet
ra) mundial. Los o
por un lado, lucha
La burguesía mund