

DEATH TO APARTHEID!

South African Racists Dig In

By WILLIAM FALK

The rulers of South Africa are trying to re-establish a hard line against any reforms of the racist apartheid system. Now, more than ever, they are rejecting the idea that liberal reforms and deals can be used to maintain white capitalist rule in South Africa. In the past two months they have:

- Elected a hard-liner as the new prime minister.
- Renounced a previously agreed-on United Nations plan for independence for Namibia.
- Attacked a major Black town outside Cape Town.
- Put 11 Soweto students on trial for sedition.

last two years, however, he implemented some cosmetic changes of racist regulations. He also worked with the U.S. to set up Black pro-capitalist governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Vorster was considered a moderate in the ruling Nationalist Party. The person who replaces him—Defense Minister Piet W. Botha—is said to be a good deal to the right of Vorster. For example, Botha successfully argued for sending South African troops into Angola's civil war when other Nationalists were afraid. He also led opposition to the UN-sponsored settlement in Namibia.

Last April 25, South Africa agreed to a plan that would create formal independence for Namibia, a country South

Africa has occupied and controlled for 60 years. In July, the main armed liberation force, South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), also agreed to the plan. This fall, UN General Secretary Waldheim recommended some changes to the plan, such as increasing the number of UN troops to supervise the eventual elections. This gave South Africa less of a free hand to fix the elections.

On September 20, at the same time he announced his resignation, Vorster announced that South Africa was now going to ignore the UN plan and hold elections in Namibia in November. Only the pro-South Africa Turnhalle Alliance and the

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SWAPO supporters demonstrate in Namibia.

Vorster resigns

Prime Minister John Vorster announced September 20 that he was resigning for health reasons. Vorster, a hard-line racist with Nazi sympathies, brutally suppressed any move to upset apartheid, and used South Africa's army against popular liberation movements in Namibia and Angola. In the

*sección
en
español*

General Motors Backs Off "Southern Strategy"

By SAMMIE YATES

On September 11, General Motors Corporation announced it will now give first preference in hiring at its 13 new plants to workers represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW) union at other plants. At the same time, GM stated it has "no objection to the UAW becoming the bargaining agent in these plants."

GM built its new plants mainly in the South and Southwest because the union movement is traditionally weakest there. GM refused to hire workers at these plants with any UAW or other union backgrounds. Union organizers were harassed and fired. In sum, GM did everything it could to prevent unionizing its new plants.

The UAW called this plan the "Southern Strategy." If the Southern Strategy had been successful, GM would not only have kept the UAW

out of the South. It would have used this non-union base to try to weaken and eventually destroy the UAW completely.

Just like every other corporation under the capitalist system, GM tries any way it can to weaken the workers' organization and consciousness. This way, it can squeeze more profits out of them. Sometimes it uses the soft-sell and brainwashing, like its multi-million-dollar "quality of work life" program at GMAD-Tarrytown, New York. Other times, it uses naked union-busting efforts like the Southern Strategy. Either way, GM's goal is the same—more profits through more control of the workers.

But for the moment, GM has lost a round in this fight. GM backed down at this time because of the upcoming contract expiration next September. The Southern Strat-

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Militants Wreck Chicago Anti-Abortion Rally

CHICAGO, October 7— "Your mothers should have had abortions," shouted a Catholic priest at the demonstrators who chanted down his anti-abortion rally today.

"We've spent thousands of dollars on this," pleaded a "Friends of Life" leader. "Please go away, we've been planning for months."

"So have we," came the reply of Margaret Miller, "and we're staying here." Miller was speaking for the October 7 Free Abortion Coalition, which was initiated by the Revolutionary Socialist League and sponsored the successful action in support of women's right to abortion.

The "right-to-life" rally was endorsed by Chicago Mayor Michael Bilandic and held at the Daley Civic Center Plaza. It was the final activity of Illinois' "Respect Life Week," which had been endorsed by the state legislature. At the beginning of the week, "right to lifers" invaded two Chicago abortion clinics. On September 30, anti-abortion forces broke into the waiting rooms of the Midwest Population Center and the Park Medical Center, chanting and praying. Right to lifers were successfully turned away from a third clinic the same day.

These actions are typical. "Right to life" and "respect

life" are words the right wing uses to cover their attacks on women's right to have abortions, as well as their sexist campaign to keep women "in their place" as housewives and mothers. In recent years, these right-wingers have invaded, fire-bombed and ransacked abortion clinics around the country. And they have beaten up and threatened the women at the clinics. Meanwhile, restrictive laws, aimed at poor, working-class and younger women have been passed in many areas.

For too long these attacks have gone on unopposed. The October 7 action was important because supporters of women's rights were able to unite, and deny the anti-abortion forces another easy victory. A small counter-demonstration of 50 people was able to prevent the right wing from gaining confidence and "educating" people with their filth. The right-wingers were hoping to draw supporters from shoppers and passers-by, but the counter-demonstration reduced their rally to 400 hardcore supporters.

To begin the counter-demonstration, supporters of the October 7 Free Abortion Coalition and other militants lined up in front of the speakers' platform chanting: "Free Abortion On Demand." The "right to lifers" attacked

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Demonstrators defend women's right to abortion.

**our
readers
write...**

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

TORCH erred in anti-Briggs meeting coverage

Dear Editor,

Having participated in California's Workers' Conference Against the Briggs Initiative/Proposition 6, I was pleased to see an article on the conference in last month's *Torch*. My pleasure soon turned to dismay upon discovering a major inaccuracy in the article. The *Torch* states that the conference planners had all been active in the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative (BACABI); in fact only four members of the twenty-plus planning committee ever had anything to do with BACABI. The members of the planning committee were drawn from a number of diverse groups such as Lesbian Schoolworkers, the Progressive Caucus, Gay Teachers and Schoolworkers, the Gay Caucus of Local 2 Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders Union, Radical Women, and Union W.A.G.E., as well as the East Bay Committee Against the Briggs Initiative (organizationally and philosophically distinct from BACABI) and numerous independent working class gay activists.

The members of the planning committee realized that only the working class has the power to win gay rights. They also realized that the lack of organizing among workers to defeat Proposition 6 meant the sure defeat of gay rights and workers' rights on November 7th. The Workers' Conference was organized as the first step in a mobilization of workers to fight for gay rights here in California. It is true that the conference planners did not try to create a single ongoing organization from the conference. But it is not true that they did not see the need for workers' organizations. Rather than a single organization, they planned for a number of organizations to be based within individual unions and work places. As a result of this effort, an anti-Proposition 6 group has been formed by members of the Communication Workers Union. Activists from other industries were also able to meet and develop contacts which will lead to further organizing.

I further regret the *Torch* did not mention RSL's own participation in the conference. RSL members led or

co-led three particularly valuable and well-attended workshops.

Again I am pleased that the *Torch* has taken the time to note what I think is an important occurrence in the struggle for gay rights. I am also pleased that you took the time to make political criticisms of the event. I hope in the future you will take the time to make sure you have your facts straight. This is very important to me because I desperately need a paper I can trust and I want the *Torch/La Antorcha* to be that paper.

Mark R.
San Francisco, CA

"Your influence is prevalent in the penal system"

As-Salaam-Alaikum!!

I greet you in the Islamic greeting of peace. I've been keeping up with your newspaper the *Torch*. Although I'm a firm believer in Al-Islam, my mind is most definitely that of a revolutionary.

Your paper has relinquished some vital information concerning the exploitative methods of the capitalistic countries (particularly the U.S.A.). I'm not aware of your reader statistics, but your influence is very prevalent throughout the penal system of the U.S.A. In my estimation there are some 500,000 captives throughout this country. I'd say three-fourths of these victims read your newspaper (Revolutionary Socialist League) or the *Torch*. Those brothers and sisters who are bound, chained to the capitalistic system, and utilize that time idly, need to check out their minds and wake up. We've been susceptible to this vicious cycle of incarceration long enough.

I noticed that you offer the newspaper free of charge to prisoners—and I appreciate such an offer. I'm thoroughly interested in becoming a subscriber of your paper. And whenever my financial situation becomes a little bit

Socialism in Ethiopia?

Dear *Torch*:

I read in the *Washington Post* of September 3rd a very interesting article on Ethiopia. The article was titled "Ethiopia Reported Gaining in Fight Against Secessionists." I would like to quote a couple of passages from this article.

"The backbone of the secessionists has been smashed, and most of the areas temporarily occupied by them have been recaptured."

The Ethiopian ambassador to Kenya, Bhar Meider, said recently in Nairobi:

"... Ethiopia had no alternative but to begin its 'war of liberation' when negotiations with the Eritreans failed."

Now I raised this just to make a few important points. First of all let me say I'm not against a genuine Ethiopian liberation struggle made up of the Ethiopian masses under the leadership of a real Marxist-Leninist party. But this is not what the Derg is. In August, 1974, when the Derg overthrew Haile Selassie's regime, everybody understood that it was a military coup d'etat that took state power. Once in power that regime proclaimed the chauvinist slogan "Ethiopia

First" in the hope of duping the masses. Everybody understood that "Ethiopian Socialism" was a scheme to confuse and swindle progressive world opinion.

However, it now seems, according to Workers World Party, that by some "act of magic" the Derg has become a revolutionary party which is fighting for the liberation of the Ethiopian masses—and oppressing the Eritrean people. But socialism is not a system that can be decreed into existence. Socialism can only be established through a proletarian revolution.

The Derg claims that it has tried to negotiate with the Eritrean liberation forces and that these forces have refused to negotiate and therefore that the Derg had no alternative but to begin a "war of liberation." I have but two questions: (1) I see no reason why the Eritreans should have to negotiate their freedom with the Derg. Has the Derg forgotten that it was Haile Selassie's regime and the Ethiopian Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) of the Derg that has oppressed the Eritrean people for so many years? (2) If the Derg is so progressive and so revolutionary, why didn't they just go to the Eritrean people and the liberation forces and say—"We will give you your independence from Ethiopia to show our good faith," and then sit down and negotiate with the Eritrean peoples for the needs of Ethiopia? I'll tell you why. It's because the Derg has never forgotten their slogan "Ethiopia First" and they never will until there is a true proletarian revolution led by a Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Party, not a Military Junta.

Lenin said in his pamphlet "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" that the important thing is not whether one-fiftieth or one-hundredth of the small nations are liberated before the socialist revolution. What is important is the fact

that in the epoch of imperialism, owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split into two international camps, one of which has been corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table of dominant-nation bourgeoisies, obtained, among other things, from the double or triple exploitation of small nations. While the other cannot liberate itself without liberating the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist, i.e., anti-annexationist, i.e., self-determinationist, spirit.

It seems to me that the people and political groups which support the Ethiopian Military Junta are part of that international camp that is corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table.

Lenin also said in the same pamphlet: "In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist."

That is the way we should treat the people and political tendencies that support the Derg instead of the Eritrean liberation struggle—as "scoundrels and imperialists."

Comradely,
Larry Txabi
Newport News, Virginia

To Our Readers In Prison

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be holding its fourth national convention over the Thanksgiving weekend (late November). Since our comrades and many friends behind bars cannot attend, we urge you to write messages of solidarity to the convention. Please send them in care of the *Torch/La Antorcha*, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036. Thank you.

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Steelworkers' Convention Shows Need for Rank-and-File Organizing

By a STEELWORKER CORRESPONDENT

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) held their biennial convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from September 18 to 22. Although opposition bureaucrats tried to challenge the governing bureaucracy of International President Lloyd McBride, the latter remained in control.

First, the McBride forces had stacked the convention beforehand with appointed delegates; union staffers made up almost half of the 3,000-plus delegates. Resolutions were pre-screened by McBride's hand-picked resolutions committee. Of the dozen floor microphones, only one was available to McBride opponents. And to back it all up, at least 40 goons controlled the convention.

McBride's program

McBride's program for steelworkers comes straight from the bosses: protectionism, red-baiting, and no strikes. McBride reported "encouraging progress" in limiting steel imports. He

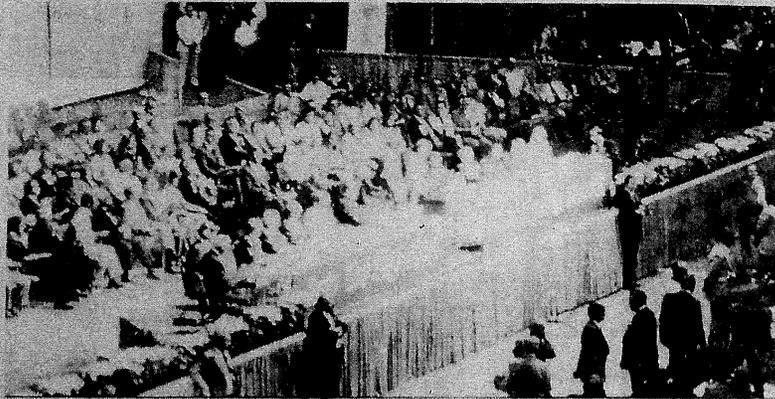


McBride and Carter.

and the bosses claim that import limitations will save North American steelworkers' jobs. Meanwhile, the bosses are shutting down mill after mill, throwing thousands of steelworkers in Ohio and Pennsylvania out of work permanently. McBride would not allow any discussion of the so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which forbids national steel strikes. His goons passed out 12 different leaflets red-baiting anyone who opposed this and any other of McBride's policies as "commie sympathizers" and "outsiders." The main speaker at the convention was President Carter, who called for steelworkers to "sacrifice" in order to fight inflation.

Opposition bureaucrats

What opposition there was to the McBride faction centered around District 31 (Chicago and northern Indiana) with some opposition as well from iron ore miners' delegates from Minnesota's



Carter addresses steelworkers' convention; calls for "sacrifice."

District 33 and District 15 in southwest Pennsylvania. The opposition bureaucrats at this convention made their major fight the call for the right of the membership in basic steel to ratify contracts. At the last convention in 1976, these same forces called for regaining the right to strike. This year they simply called for the right to ratify the contract. Steelworkers must have the right to vote to accept or reject their contracts, but this right is almost meaningless if they can't back it up with a strike.

Not only did the opposition bureaucratic forces retreat in terms of what they fought for, they "fought" by McBride's rules. McBride forbade any discussion on the question of the right of the rank and file to ratify. The oppositionists caucused for hours trying to get a roll-call vote to overturn McBride's prohibition. When they failed to get anywhere near the 30 percent of delegates necessary to get a roll-call vote, they gave up. The McBride forces then put forward "Resolution 24," a catch-all resolution which put off any discussion of contract ratification, discrimination against women

and Black steelworkers and other issues to the Basic Steel Conference later this year. This conference is made up of the presidents of basic steel locals and has only advisory powers. The oppositionist bureaucrats decided that this joke of a resolution was "the best they could get" and voted for it.

There was one militant action at the convention. About 40 steelworkers held a demonstration against the McBride wing of the bureaucracy. This demonstration was supported by a Maoist organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party. McBride's goons attacked the demonstrators and beat up at least one of them. The bureaucratic oppositionists did nothing to defend the demonstrators.

Out-bureaucrats refuse to organize ranks

The reformist opposition forces played such a chicken-shit role at the convention because they will not organize a rank-and-file struggle. The opposition leaders are typical bureaucrats themselves. Former

District 31 director Ed Sadowski and the district's present director Jim Balanoff use the same tactics as McBride against their own opponents. For two years they have been promising to set up a District 31 women's committee. But they have squelched every attempt by rank-and-file women and men steelworkers in District 31 to establish such a committee.

Supporters of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have sabotaged every attempt at serious organizing by militant elements in the movement for a women's committee. The supporters of the CP and SWP want to stay on the good side of types like Balanoff. To do this they disorganize militant struggles that do arise. The result is that they are isolated from the rank and file. They return moaning and dispirited from being creamed at the convention. But they have only themselves to blame.

Rank-and-file unrest — openings for revolutionaries

Today steelworkers are more dissatisfied and angry than they have been for a long time—and with good reason too. In the past two years more than 60,000 jobs have been eliminated. Prices continue to skyrocket. More steelworkers are killed and maimed each year as job safety deteriorates.

Steelworkers are beginning to fight back against these rotten conditions. Grievances in U.S. Steel's Chicago area plants are up 50 percent over last year's level. At the company's Clairton, Pennsylvania, plant, they are up 100 percent.

Steelworkers have organized slowdowns at Bethlehem Steel's mill in Burns Harbor, Indiana, and at Jones and Laughlin Steel in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. In July, 4,400 workers at Republic Steel's plant in Warren, Ohio, wildcat to protest safety hazards and unresolved grievances. Another

wildcat strike closed Alcoa's smelting and fabricating operations in Tennessee.

So far however, the anger of the ranks has remained unorganized and localized. Almost 20 years without a national steel strike means that steelworkers must learn almost from scratch how to struggle against the steel magnates. The USWA bureaucracy, one of the more dictatorial in the AFL-CIO, hangs like a millstone around steelworkers' necks.

But even this bureaucracy recognizes that struggle is in the air. The hysterical anti-communism and goon-squad tactics of the McBride forces at this convention—worse than at the 1976 convention—show that the bureaucrats are scared. They feel that they might lose their grip.

Serious organizing will break their grip. A new generation of steelworkers who grew up during the struggles of the 1960s is a sizable proportion of the membership. Male and female, Black, white, and Latin, younger steelworkers have little respect and much hatred for the capitalists and their government. They know that local and international union elections are coming up in the next year and a half—and the contract soon after. More and more, the talk among steelworkers is that conditions are intolerable and that the time is coming to fight back. Under this pressure the opposition bureaucrats will start talking



more militantly. They will also step up their presently timid struggle against McBride.

In this situation, revolutionaries have an opening to win more steelworkers to their program. The struggle to overturn the bureaucracy will not be won at union conventions until it is won on the shop floor. The right to ratify contracts, the right to strike, will not be passed at a USWA convention until rank-and-file steelworkers are organized in a movement that can actually strike. Now more than previously the opportunities exist to build such a movement.

SUPPORT THE CIRCLE IMPORTS WORKERS

LOS ANGELES—Fifty garment workers walked off their jobs at Circle Imports on Monday, October 9. They struck to protest unfair labor practices.

The workers are demanding that the Circle Imports management recognize their union and bargain with it in good faith. The union—the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)—won a representational election in December of 1977. But since that time, Circle Imports management has used a variety of tricks to avoid signing a contract with the union.

This strike is only one of a number of struggles in the Los Angeles garment industry. Garment workers, many of them undocumented workers from other countries and without rights in the U.S., are highly exploited and oppressed. But they are organizing to fight the bosses who use their fear of deportation and lack of rights to pay them starvation wages and deprive them of even the most meager benefits. In response to this new wave of garment worker militancy, the ILGWU has launched an organizing drive which is making considerable headway.

VICTORY TO THE CIRCLE IMPORTS WORKERS!

Michigan Bosses Press Attacks on Workers & Youth

By TERRY WALSH

The Michigan politicians and bosses are preparing a campaign of increased attacks, harassment, and cutbacks in social services for the working and poor people of the state. A look at the proposals on the November ballot shows the extent of their plans. There are six proposals that are direct attacks on living conditions in the cities, particularly Detroit.

Capitalists prepare for next recession

These attacks are starting now because the ruling class is preparing for another recession. Economic conditions are already bad in Detroit—there was no real recovery from the 1974 recession. Inflation has already been nearly 10 percent this year. Unemployment is officially about 14 percent, and 20 percent for Blacks and 40 percent for youth. Because the bosses know that conditions are going to get worse, they are maneuvering now to get themselves in a stronger position. The November ballot proposals are an attempt to get more "legal" ways to attack the working class.

There are two tax-limitation proposals on the ballot. Issue J, the Tisch amendment, proposes property tax cuts of 50 percent—similar to Proposition 13 in California. It also calls for a one-percent increase in the state income tax to make up for some of the revenue lost in property taxes. Since Michigan has a flat-rate income tax (now 4.6 percent), this will mean taking more money from poor and working people.

Issue E, the Headlee amendment, would basically limit property taxes to the present amount. Though this is less harsh than the Tisch amendment, it has the same basic purpose and long-term effect. Both these proposals are being put forward as benefiting the "little people," but their real effect is to provide more profits for corporations and to cut back jobs and social services.

Issue H, the school-voucher proposal, would take away state funding for public schools, and replace it with grants to the schools parents choose, public or private. The main backers of this proposal are the Catholic school system and parents who want their children to go to all-white schools. The effect of this racist proposal would be to make a shambles out of already decaying public schools.

Phony anti-crime measures

There are also two so-called anti-crime proposals. Issue B would establish mandatory sentences for people convicted of certain crimes. Issue I would deny bail to anyone who had been convicted of a felony. A third proposal, to make the death penalty legal, fortunately did not make it to the ballot. These proposals are put forward as solutions to crime—but all they do is provide more ways for the police and the state to put whoever they choose in prison for longer times. They don't touch the real causes of crime—unemployment and rotten living and working conditions.

Finally, Issue D would raise the legal drinking age from 18 (19 as of December)

to 21. This would provide the police with more ways to harass and arrest youth.

Workers should vote NO on all these proposals. We must fight the attacks from the bosses, and expose the lies of the politicians who back them.

They say property-tax limits and cutbacks benefit

working-class and middle-class homeowners and that the problem with the economy is the people on welfare and too much spending on social services. The only groups that really benefit from the proposed tax cutbacks are corporations. Over two-thirds of the taxes saved in California after passage of Proposition 13 were corpo-

rate taxes! The real problem with the economy is the profit-takers.

They say longer sentences, more prisons, and no bail will stop crime. We say the real problem is no jobs and rotten housing, education and social services.

To really expose and fight these lies and attacks, we must place the blame for the worsening economic and social conditions where it belongs—on the rotting capitalist system. With that understanding, we can organize for socialist revolution that will throw out the bosses, and provide the basis for a society that is based on human needs, not profits. □

WORKERS! UNITE AGAINST BRIGGS!

The following leaflet against the Briggs Initiative was put out by the Los Angeles branch of the RSL. The Briggs Initiative will be on the California ballot November 7.

The Briggs Initiative (Proposition 6) would require the firing of every suspected gay teacher or schoolworker. It would also cause any school employee who supports gay rights to lose his or her job.

Briggs and the rest of the right wing say they are protecting our children. They also told us that Proposition 13 would give us lower rents and taxes. What we got instead was loss of summer school, childcare centers, health services, jobs—and higher rents.

The right wing is lying again. Briggs says gay people are unnatural and have perverted relationships. But there is nothing perverted about a non-exploitative love relationship or sexual relationship between any two people. What is perverted is the way this sexist society tries to control our feelings and make us half-people. The brutal way that women are oppressed and treated like mindless objects is "natural" only under capitalism.

Briggs says gay teachers—or straight teachers who think gayness is okay—will harm children. The opposite is true. All children should learn that homosexuality is not something shameful. Gay children need teachers

Briggs says gay teachers—or straight teachers who think gayness is okay—will harm children. The opposite is true. All children should learn that homosexuality is not something shameful. Gay children need teachers who can help them deal with their confusion and loneliness.

who can help them deal with their confusion and loneliness. Instead, Briggs wants to create a witchhunt atmosphere in the schools. He wants to make sure that children are taught to conform to oppressive roles—boys should use girls, girls should attract boys and only want to become housewives.

Workers and oppressed under attack

This attack is not limited to gay school employees, nor even to gay people in general. Rather it is part of a right-wing offensive against all working and oppressed people. The reason this attack is happening now is that the capitalist system is falling apart. The capitalists can't afford to provide us with the things we all need, like jobs and decent schools, and still keep their profits up. So they try to drive down our standard of living and keep us fighting

each other instead of them. They want to drive women back into the kitchen and gay people back into the closet. The ruling class wants to fool people into blaming Blacks, the foreign born, or gay teachers for their problems.

In the case of Proposition 13, some members of the working class, especially from the better-off sections, fell for the lies. Now they are suffering the cuts along with everyone else. This shows that all sections of the working class must stick together. By defending the right of gay schoolworkers to their jobs, we fight back against another ruling-class attempt to cut jobs and further divide and weaken the working class. Gay and straight workers must unite against our common enemy!

Build the revolutionary party!

It is in the interest of all workers to make sure that the Briggs Initiative is voted down. But to stop the attacks once and for all we must make a revolution to overthrow this system. We want to replace it with socialism—a society democratically controlled by the workers ourselves, to produce what we all need, provide jobs and good education for everybody, and share the wealth that we create. We want a society that allows everybody the freedom to live as we choose, to express ourselves and to form the relationships we choose, without fear or repression. The Revolutionary Socialist League is working to build a revolutionary working-class party to lead the fight to stop these attacks. We want you to join us. □

Manley: Better Must Come?

Michael Manley, prime minister of Jamaica, came to New York City on October 11. In the evening he spoke at Hunter College to 600 people, most of them Jamaicans. Supporters of the RSL attended and sold over 50 copies of *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.

Manley, leader of the People's National Party, calls himself an anti-imperialist and socialist. But his government is breaking strikes, freezing wages and cutting social services, all for the benefit of the Jamaican capitalists and the U.S. imperialist-controlled International Monetary Fund. To square these two things requires a good balancing act—and that's exactly what Manley gave us at Hunter College.

Manley denounced South African apartheid and blamed its existence on "multi-national corporations," "arms manufacturers," and "the economic structure" (whatever that means!). But he didn't dare mention the role of U.S. and Western imperialism. He talked about the need for a "new economic order" but left us in the dark on what he meant. Is capitalism the problem? No comment. Is socialism the answer? No comment. And workers' revolution? That would be (and was) unmentionable. Manley talked about the need for "poor countries" (no class divisions here!) to seek alliances with "the trade unions, national minorities, poor people, and even affluent people in the developed countries." But he never said a word about the Jamaican trade unions, working class and peasantry building unity among themselves and with the workers of other countries.

By the end of the speech, Manley's left-sounding balancing act fell apart. He called for sacrifice from Jamaicans in the hope that in the future the IMF would be "more sensitive to our needs." Don't hold your breath!

Document of Struggle
"Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution"
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BLACKS MARCH ON CITY HALL

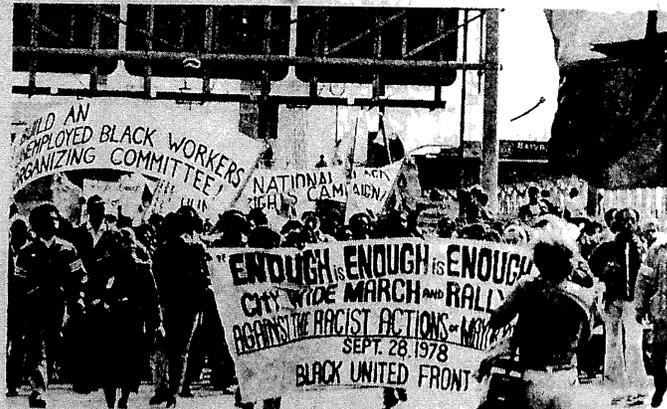
By BRUCE GLAUBER

NEW YORK—Over 1,000 demonstrators marched across the Brooklyn Bridge and rallied at City Hall on Thursday, September 28. They were protesting the racist actions of Mayor Ed Koch. Ten demands were posted on the door of City Hall, including: an end to police brutality and murder; an end to racist attacks upon Blacks and other people of color by Hasidic Jews and others; an end to the closing of city hospitals and other health-care facilities for working people; an end to 80 percent unemployment of Black youth and 40 percent unemployment of Black adults; an end to racist miseducation in public schools.

The demonstration was organized by the Black United Front (BUF), a coalition of Black organizations, church leaders, businessmen and professionals. The BUF's most prominent leader has been Reverend Herbert Daughtry, a pastor at the House of the Lord church in Brooklyn, New York.

The BUF was formed last December to protest the murder of young Randolph Evans by a racist cop in Brooklyn. It also organized marches to protest police and racist thug attacks last June in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. These attacks left Arthur Miller dead and 16-year-old Arthur Rhodes within inches of his life.

Since that time Rev. Daughtry and other leaders of the BUF have organized community patrols to protect Blacks in Crown Heights from racist assaults. Unfortunately, the effective-



Marchers demand end to racist attacks on Black and Latin communities.

ness of these patrols was limited because they allowed Black cops to join—even though the greatest danger to Blacks in the community has been from trigger-happy cops. The cops—Black and white—are hired thugs for the rulers of this society.

Bosses need trigger-happy cops

It is no accident that in the past four months, 12 Blacks and Latins have been the victims of police and racist thug assaults. As the economy falls apart, the bosses are trying to suck the

workers dry. Black and Latin workers are being hit the hardest. And the worse things get, the more the bosses need trigger-happy cops who are ready to bring people away as an example of what will happen to people who fight back.

To win the demands that were posted on the door of City Hall, we need to build a movement that can wage an all-out offensive against those who are responsible for killer cops, cutbacks in services and staggering unemployment.

This is what Rev. Daughtry and other leaders of the BUF say they are trying to do. The march which they organized

is a step in this direction. But these same leaders believe their demands can be won simply by putting some mild political pressure on politicians like Mayor Koch. During the march they conducted a voter registration drive. And in the *Amsterdam News*, they stated that they think voting is the only way to put an end to racist cops and unemployment.

The BUF's strategy of voting will never build the kind of movement we need to win our demands. Behind the militant-sounding words of Rev. Daughtry and others, we can see their true aim: to pressure the politicians for a few more crumbs, a few more jobs, a few more poverty programs. We will never stop unemployment, killer cops or poverty unless we eliminate what causes them. And we know that when workers and oppressed people start to organize themselves to really fight for jobs, the bosses and rulers of society will fight back against us. They will use their cops, their courts and politicians—their whole system—to stop us. They'll slap court injunctions on our strikes, set cops on our demonstrations, jail our militants and assassinate our best leaders.

These are the lessons of the struggles of the '60s. These are the things that Malcolm X taught us. We must not make the same mistakes again. The bosses, politicians and their whole system are the cause of unemployment, racism and poverty. We need to organize a movement that is prepared to overthrow the very people and economic system that Daughtry wants us to vote for.

Midwest Militants Confront Nazis

Blue Island, Illinois

Less than a dozen Nazis, members of Frank Collin's National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America, rallied in Blue Island, Illinois, a Chicago suburb, on October 1. Over 300 police turned out to protect the small rally. The fascists rode to the scene in a U-Haul truck and rallied on a platform behind a fence and a double row of cops.

Facing the cops were about 70 anti-Nazi demonstrators, about 40 led by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and Committee Against Racism (CAR), and 30 by the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee (BWDC). The demonstrators tried to drown out Collin's brief speech with chants of "Death to the Nazis—Power to the Working Class." Eggs splattered the shields carried by Collin's followers. Some hit the Nazis themselves. At the rally's end police arrested one anti-Nazi demonstrator. They tried to grab another, but the

person slipped away as demonstrators jostled with the cops.

The neighborhood onlookers, numbering perhaps 100, were hostile to the Nazis, but passive. The Nazi rally had been virtually blacked out by the media. Many local residents only heard of the rally through the leaflets given out by the BWDC.

A few Nazis from the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP—rival of Collin's group) were recognized standing together in street clothes to the rear of the anti-Nazi demonstrators. In the past, NSWPP members have agitated in the crowd at Collin's rallies, trying to whip up racist and anti-communist sentiment against the anti-Nazi demonstrators. But at Blue Island they just looked on and kept their mouths shut.

The Blue Island rally was the last in a series of suburban rallies announced by Collin after his successful rally in Marquette Park on July 9. All have taken place behind massive police protection. Anti-Nazi demonstrators have made it hard for the Nazis to be heard, and impossible for them to move freely. But holding their demonstrations at all is

a gain for the Nazis.

The anti-Nazi mobilizations could have been stronger with coordination between the PLP-CAR forces and the RSL-BWDC forces. About a week before the Blue Island rally, the PLP agreed to a joint meeting to discuss plans for the rally and to try to establish some coordination. The following Thursday, however, PLP canceled out. Then at Blue Island, the RSL leadership proposed joint action to deal with the NSWPP Nazis standing at the rear of the crowd. PLP turned down the offer, and the fascists stood untouched. Both groups did help one demonstrator, a member of the PLP contingent, to escape arrest.

Detroit, Michigan

On September 28, the Detroit Nazis vacated their "White Power Bookstore" on Michigan Avenue. For over a month the Nazis had used the bookstore as a base to recruit supporters and harass anti-Nazi people from



The demonstration in Blue Island.

the community.

The Nazis did not leave their bookstore voluntarily. They were driven out by demonstrations and other actions organized by anti-Nazi forces. Throughout September, Nazis were verbally and physically harassed when they appeared on the streets. On September 23, community people and supporters of the Red Tide (a youth organization affiliated with the International Socialists) and the Revolutionary Socialist

League painted over the racist slogans on the front of the Nazis' bookstore.

This and similar actions point the way forward. Peaceful protests won't stop the Nazis. They must be politically isolated and physically smashed. The recent actions show that forces committed to doing this are being organized. United action by Detroit's anti-Nazi forces must deal a quick blow to the Nazis when they show their faces on the streets again.

DEATH TO THE NAZIS!



LETTER FROM A GARY STEELWORKER:

“WORKERS AND PRISONERS CAN RELATE”

Texas Dept. of Corrections on trial...

On October 2, a civil-rights suit filed by Daniel Ruiz went in front of a U.S. District Court Judge in Houston, Texas. Ruiz, a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) for 17 years, is attempting to force the TDC to end: inadequate medical attention; the abuse of prisoners by guards and special inmate "tenders;" overcrowding; tampering with prisoners' mail; and sub-standard food preparation. Over 100 prisoners will testify against the state of Texas.

The TDC has been described by former federal prison warden Arnold Pontesso as "probably the best example of slavery remaining in this country." The TDC consists of thousands of acres of well-kept farms and it exists in the words of Pontesso, "... not to rehabilitate criminals but to perpetuate the plantation [TDC farms] as the largest agribusiness operation in the state." In order to maintain a peaceful workforce, daily terror against prisoners is commonplace. Prisoners will be testifying about the repeated outbreaks of VD, flu, diarrhea; the regular rape of prisoners by guards and privileged prisoners; and outright murder of prisoners. Testimony will also detail the brutality which is a regular part of prison "discipline."

This case is of landmark importance to prisoners in the TDC and to the rest of the working class. Prisoners will have a chance to expose the brutality of a system that takes people, gives them a number and takes the profit that results from their daily labor under slave-like conditions.

...But they continue harassment

Meanwhile, the pigs who run the Texas prisons continue their harassment. The **Torch/La Antorcha** received the following letter from Huntsville, dated October 4.

"Dear Comrades: Please be advised that the Ellis Unit Warden Mr. Lightsey has banned your publication from the inmates. All inmates who receive your paper are upset over the ban. This letter is on behalf of all inmates on the Ellis Unit. Warden Lightsey claims that your publication does not qualify for inmate consumption, of course this is his among other reactionary ideas about your publication. This is not the inmates' opinion. We who receive your publication, wish to continue receiving it! If your paper is banned, we will be forced to read those reactionary lies contained in the 'Post,' etc. We will also lose contact with the struggle of all oppressed people. Help us keep informed with the struggle. If your organization is represented by an attorney, we wish to file suit on behalf of the ban of your publication. If it is possible for us to file against the big-wheels of this unit, we damn sure will."

Free Tommy Lee Hines!

Alabama racists are trying to lynch a 25-year-old mentally retarded Black man. Tommy Lee Hines was arrested for loitering in Decatur, Alabama, on May 23. Within hours, local cops charged him with raping three white women. His trial in front of an all-white jury began on October 3 in nearby Cullman, Alabama.

The case is an outright frame-up. The cops claim Hines kidnapped the three women and drove their cars to the scenes of the alleged rapes. But Hines has limited mental ability and physical coordination. His teachers at a local center for the disabled swear Hines can't even drive a car, let alone plan and commit three assaults.

The Ku Klux Klan has used the case to whip up racist hysteria in the Decatur area. About 1,000 people attended a Klan rally in July; nearly 6,000 were at a second rally in August.

But the local Black community is solidly behind Tommy Lee Hines. They have called in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to help build a defense effort. On October 2, a group of Black marchers confronted the racists in the streets outside the court house. Twenty-three people, almost all of them Black, were arrested.

IN BRIEF—New York state prison keepers have transferred **Dacajewiah** (John Hill) from Sing Sing to Comstock prison. He is scheduled for release soon, and it is feared that the transfer to Comstock, a notoriously KKK-run prison, is a set-up for some kind of attack on him.

The Prisoners Legal Services of New York has filed suit on behalf of the **Sunni Muslim mosque at Green Haven prison** for the damage done to the mosque by the CERT team in July.

The Chicago branch of the RSL has made available its office to the **Cassandra Peten Defense Committee** for a benefit the evening of November 4. Peten is a Black woman charged with attempted homicide for defending herself from her husband's beatings. For more information on the benefit, call (312) 721-8811.

Dear Brothers and Sisters.

The Pontiac Brothers deserve our support in every way. Prisoners are from the working class. We can relate. Most prisoners are in jail for stealing. Poor people do steal. There are just not enough jobs to go around. Those workers who do work are forced to work under capitalist rules with guards at the gate. They keep us in line in semi-prisons called factories, steel mills, and coal mines. We are forced to work under hazards of health and safety endangering our lives, and abuses by the racist foremen—who are the jail keepers on the job.

I have no sympathy for the guards that were killed. No one should. The conditions of the prison led to the killing. In the prisons there will be more rebellions and guards killed. In the factories there will be more strikes and union picket lines. There will be more wildcats led by militants. Foremen crossing the picket lines will get their heads busted.

Workers and prisoners must unite. Prisoners want to abolish the prison system that treats them like dogs. Workers are treated like slaves, who aren't supposed to talk back. Our labor is



Illinois state troopers prepare assault on Pontiac prisoners' rebellion.

exploited and we make the capitalists rich. Workers need to take over the factories to free ourselves from exploitation.

Workers and prisoners can unite in the struggle for jobs. Paroled prisoners are denied jobs and treated as outcasts. Workers want to cut the

workweek creating jobs for all. But jobs for all can only be won through the working class taking power. Workers and prisoners must unite and overthrow capitalist rule.

I believe the RSL can play a leading role in building working-class support for the Pontiac Brothers. Building working-class support means that when the indictments come down, and names are named against six or 12 of the Pontiac Brothers for murder, that we pass out a leaflet condemning the State of Illinois and the whole prison system. We want to educate our co-workers about the prison system and why the rebellion was just.

We know only poor people go to prison. The rich steal... they steal millions. The few who get caught go to minimum security country clubs, with pools and tennis courts. The capitalists steal in other ways and it's legal. They exploit our labor every day making profits. Poor people go to jail. Prisoners are used to oppress poor people and make examples of them to others. Prisons are used by the capitalists so they maintain their power over the oppressed.

They will make an example of the Pontiac Brothers to prove and maintain their rule over the working class. They want to send these poor brothers to the electric chair because they rebelled against incarceration, racism, the oppressive capitalist system.

I am with the RSL. We want to build a revolutionary movement that fights for not only the reforms and grievances that prisoners have, but a revolutionary movement that destroys the prison system, the police, the bosses and foremen. Long live the Pontiac Rebellion! Destroy the prison system!

With Revolutionary Solidarity (Name withheld)

FREE THE AUGUST 8TH BRIGADE

The August 8th Brigade is a group of 10 revolutionary prisoners being framed on felony charges for the August 8, 1977, rebellion at the Eastern Correctional Facility at Napanoch, New York. If found guilty, the Brigade members will face seven to 15 years added onto their current sentences.

The members of the Brigade are: Andre Nieves, Eddie Pacheco, Hector Semidez, Enrique Suarez, Frank Abney, Felix Castro Jr., Lorenzo Perez, Luis Torres, Ronald Tacadron and Jacques Roberts.

The August 8 rebellion came after three years of struggle against racism and brutality at Napanoch prison. Prisoners were put in segregation for political activity. Beatings were common. Thirty-five guards there were in the Ku Klux Klan. Klan guards openly wore hoods while on duty. A cross was burned on a hill above the prison just days before the rebellion.

The demands of the rebellion were: an end to unsanitary mess hall conditions; immediate passage of the "good time" bill reforming the parole system; firing of Ku Klux Klan guards working at Napanoch; and amnesty for all prisoners involved. None of the demands were met.

The Brigade is now at Sing Sing Prison. They were illegally transferred from Green Haven Prison because they were leading the struggle there against Klan guards and the racist prison administration. At Green Haven, Brigade members were singled out for harassment, including death threats from guards. Since being sent to Sing Sing, some were put into segregation on phony charges. State officials are trying to isolate the Brigade from other prisoners to keep them from organizing against racism, brutality and repression inside New York prisons.

The Brigade members are not criminals, they are political prisoners, organizers and activists. Their struggle against oppression in the prisons is the same as our struggle on the streets for more jobs, better housing, decent education and an end to police terror.

People who support the Brigade can work with the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, and help us organize actions to build the widest possible support for the August 8th Brigade.

For more information, contact:
AUGUST 8TH BRIGADE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036
(212) 869-9239

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STATEMENT OF THE PONTIAC PRISONERS

On July 22, prisoners in Pontiac, Illinois, rose up against the racist and miserable conditions at the prison. Three guards were killed during the rebellion. The state is determined to indict at least six prisoners for murder, and put them on trial for their lives.

Since the rebellion, the prison has been on total deadlock. A court suit aimed at forcing an end to it reached a Chicago court on September 25.

The Torch/La Antorcha urges all our readers to support the Pontiac prisoners! For more information on their defense, write to the Pontiac Prisoners Organization, PO Box 6020, Chicago, IL 60607.

Below we are printing excerpts from a statement by the Pontiac Prisoners Organization read to the September 17 support rally.

Warmest of Revolutionary Greetings to you all!!

First we would like to thank each and every one of you people for traveling such a long distance to demonstrate in practice your support for our struggles inside this prison.

Secondly although the focus of our attention today is the dungeon in Pontiac, we want to remind our supporters that there are literally thousands of men and women throughout the state of Illinois who at this very moment are living an existence that is as close to death as any one of you could imagine, in places like Stateville, Dwight, Menard and the Federal horror-house at Marion, Illinois, where at this very moment prisoners are being tortured inside the dreaded sensory deprivation "Boxcar cells" where life of any kind is barely possible and one's own sanity is always in question. Those

prisoners need your help also.

We want to point out that state and government repression in prisons is not something that is unique to Illinois but rather it is a national phenomenon that exists in every corner of this country—and every country in the western capitalist world. And for those of you in the audience who are fair students of history your studies will reveal that the rise of prison populations, prison repression and the resultant insurrections by prisoners corresponds directly to the rise in unemployment; the lowering of working people's real wages due to increased profits and inflation; the cutbacks in social services to poor people that bills such as California's "Proposition 13" causes and the growth of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Party, etc., among other things. This is true for all this country's history, and although we do deeply appreciate him being honest enough to say so, we did not really need Ambassador Andrew Young to tell us that the U.S. has "political prisoners."

Ask Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10 if the U.S. holds political prisoners, ask the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners or the Native Americans such as Russell Means. Ask the Brothers at Attica, at San Quentin, at Rahway, at Parchman in Mississippi, at Angola in Louisiana, Jackson in Michigan—ask any of the prison-

ers in the prisons across the state and they will tell you that exploitation, racism, ghettos, high rates of infant mortality, and hunger is a more basic socially damaging and personally destructive crime to the masses of people as a whole than any that we have ever committed.

We want to let you people here today know that some of the most dangerous criminals in the society are not even in this prison. They are at large in the executive suites of the major corporations and under the American flag in government offices. And this is not to play down street crime that affects poor people because it is a real problem that must be dealt with. What we mean to imply here is that the only solution to street crime is to construct a society that is truly designed to serve the

basic needs of people. A society where people who deny decent housing, education and jobs because of sex and race go to prison instead of raggedy Black men who have to stick up to buy milk and baby food.

We want you people to begin to question an economic system that has prisons where 95 percent of the people there are for crimes of an economic nature. Ask the politicians why people have to commit crimes to survive. Ask them also why is it that Blacks and Latinos account for almost 60 percent of police "justifiable homicides" in a country where Blacks and Latinos are a little over 18 percent of the population.

Ask the politicians why the white collar criminals who commit such crimes as embezzlement, tax fraud and

forgery—crimes that by sheer scope and range have far greater social significance than street crime, and cost the people more than twice as much money spend only an average of nine months in "country club" type prisons, even on those rare occasions when they have to go, while the average one of us stick-up men in here spends 52 months in this Hades for robberies under \$200.

We want you people to begin to question those politicians' repressive solutions to crime which include building more sophisticated prisons and more severe treatment of so-called "criminals." These "solutions" are based in a grade school analysis of the causes of crime as the lack of strong moral codes, family ties, religious beliefs and in the case of Blacks and Third World people of cultural deficiencies.

We want you people to understand as we do that we have a right to live in a society where private profit does not come before the

(Continued on page 17)

Platform and Program Of the Pontiac Prisoners Organization

Throughout the history of the U.S., prisons have been utilized by the dominant socio-economic order to serve its own narrow selfish class interests. Prisons represent the ultimate institution of control, unequalled

except by police or court-ordered murder, without which the control would fail. Contrary to popular belief, prisons exist not to protect people from criminal elements but to guarantee the continuation of existing property relations. Crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations.

Prisons are institutions which embody within its psychological and socio-economic framework a microcosm of society and link the two, i.e., prison and society. Acceptance of the above statement, people can begin to see how the entire prison system works in relation to other dominant social institutions such as the courts, schools, police, religion, military, etc.

Prisons are also instruments of national oppression. They are part of the systematic program of lynch-style repression used against Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, and other Third World people in an attempt to destroy or control national destiny, aspirations and hopes for the future. Poor white, working class, marginally employed, unemployed and welfare recipients constitute the large majority of white prisoners. Because of the role prison has come to play in the attack on Third World oppressed nationalities, most often the prison population is overwhelmingly Third World (80 percent) and in the majority of the cases they're Black. Such a situation has hurried Black prisoners into

the forefront of the prison movement. They are most often its most determined militants.

It becomes clear that warehousing prisoners and terrorizing them does not get to the root of the problem. This band-aid type of solution has never worked. Prisoners are human beings not animals to be simply caged and flogged. The myth that most people confined to the prison setting are dangerous anti-social elements or murderous criminals is a convenient lie. The vast majority of people behind bars are in for crimes against property. The majority of whom were a part of the labor force or recently unemployed.

The struggle to bring about change in prison must never be isolated from the overall struggle against unequal property relations and the institutions it influences.

The Pontiac Prisoners Organization is a revolutionary collective of Black and Puerto Rican prisoners formed to combat the mounting waves of repression, racism and the continuous violation of basic human rights at the Pontiac Correctional Center. We also understand that while the immediacy of our situation dictates that we wage a resolute and protracted struggle with Pontiac as our battlegrounds, we realize that the cause of our problem had its origin long before we entered this scenario called prison. Problems and a set of conditions that will be present even after we have left and returned to our respective communities.

Malcolm X saw America as
(Continued on page 17)

Defend the Pontiac Rebellion!



On September 17, 180 people rallied in Pontiac, Illinois, to support the prisoners at the state prison there. The prison has been on total deadlock for two months, with prisoners locked in their cells 24 hours a day. The rally was called by the Pontiac Brothers Defense Committee (PBDC). The PBDC was started by the Illinois Prisoners Organization to defend the prisoners who will be indicted for the July 22 revolt at Pontiac, which is about 100 miles from Chicago. Three guards were killed and millions of dollars of property destroyed in the rebellion. The State of Illinois reportedly plans to indict at least six prisoners for murder. These men will be on trial for their lives. The 2,000 prisoners at Pontiac have been deprived of soap, showers, hot food and visitors ever since the rebellion. The deadlock is a direct punishment for the rebellion. The unbearable conditions are also intended to pressure prisoners into giving evidence to be used in getting indictments—which are expected soon.

END THE DEADLOCK!

Camp David Deal Attacks Palestinians

By PAUL BENJAMIN

On September 17, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed a series of agreements in a summit meeting with U.S. President Carter, at Camp David, Maryland. They claim their settlement will end 30 years of conflict in the Middle East.

The settlement commits Sadat to recognizing the state of Israel and signing a peace treaty with Israel by December 17. In return, Begin promised to return the Sinai Peninsula (which Israel conquered in 1967) to Egypt within three years.

Sadat also agreed to Begin's proposals for the West Bank territory (also conquered by Israel in 1967). This plan includes granting local self-government to the 1.2 million Palestinians living in the West Bank. It calls for Israeli and Jordanian security forces to patrol the borders and police the Palestinians. In addition, Israeli troops will remain in the West Bank for at least five years.

After five years a committee of Israeli, Egyptian, Jor-



The den of thieves.

support the Palestinians, and have refused to give diplomatic recognition to Israel.

Now Sadat has sold out the Palestinians by becoming the first Arab ruler to openly recognize the Zionist conquest of Palestine. Moreover, he has handed over control of the West Bank to the Zionist ruling class. Begin has already announced that Israeli troops will remain in the West Bank indefinitely. He also said his government will resume building Israeli settlements in the West Bank after 90 days. Begin's real intention is to crush the Palestinians and turn the West Bank into an Israeli colony.

The settlement represents a complete triumph for the Zionist rulers of Israel. They have won recognition and a peace treaty with the most powerful Arab state in the Middle East. They have prevented the creation of an independent Palestinian state which could serve as a sanctuary and rallying point for Palestinians and Arab militants. And they have a free hand to suppress Palestinians who continue to fight for their own homeland. By dividing the Arab rulers, the Zionists will be able to continue their landgrabbing policies against neighboring Arab states.

The U.S. ruling class, which organized the Camp David summit, also achieved most of its goals through the settlement. It's dealt a severe defeat to the Palestinians, whose struggle against Israel threatens U.S. imperialism's hold over the Middle East. Now Sadat is even more tightly in the U.S. orbit. (After breaking with his Arab colleagues, he has nowhere else to go.) Finally, the U.S. ruling class has resolved the tensions between the U.S. and Israel over Middle East peace terms, which the Arab rulers had been banking on to force Israel into granting them concessions.

The Arab ruling classes have responded by lining up solidly against the Camp David accords. The Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation, a shaky coalition including Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), condemned

Sadat as a traitor to the Arab cause. At the same time, the leaders of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other states have refused to support the accords without further concessions from Israel.

The rulers are furious first of all because Sadat has left them almost defenseless against the Zionist war machine. Without the aid of the Egyptian army—the largest Arab army in the Middle East—the Arab states lack the military power to resist Zionist attacks like the invasion of Lebanon last March.

Moreover, by signing a separate peace with Israel, Sadat has destroyed the Arab rulers' chances of recovering the territories conquered by Israel in 1967. The Syrian ruling class wants to regain the Golan Heights. Jordan's King Hussein hopes to get back the West

Bank, which he ruled for 19 years. Saudi Arabia wants to restore Arab control over the Moslem holy places in East Jerusalem. But without Egyptian military support, they have little chance of gaining any of these concessions.

For this reason, the Arab rulers claim they will continue to support the Palestinians' right to self-determination, including the right to set up their own state. But these rulers have never mobilized the Arab masses in support of the Palestinians. Instead, they have consistently worked to smash Palestinian and Arab militants who tried to organize mass struggles against the Zionists.

For example, after the 1967 war, Palestinian guerrillas based in Jordan took the lead in the military struggle against Israel. By 1970, Jordanian workers took up arms to fight alongside them. In September 1970—known as Black September—King Hussein sent in his troops to wipe out the Palestinians' bases and drive them out of the country.

In 1975, civil war broke out in Lebanon. Lebanese workers and peasants formed an alliance with Palestinian refugees against the right-wing rulers of Lebanon. Syria's President Assad saved the Lebanese ruling class by invading Lebanon to smash the Palestinian-Leftist Alliance.

Today the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation pretends to support militant action against Israel. When it was formed last December, its founders claimed that an attack on any one member would be considered an attack on all. But when the Zionists attacked Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, the rulers of Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen did nothing to help them.

These rulers have no intention of arming the masses for a struggle against Zionism. When the Front held its summit meeting in September, the so-called hardline ruler of Libya, Muammar Qaddafi, refused to dip into his oil wealth to buy arms for defense against Israel.

The Palestinians alone have taken militant action against the Camp David accords. On September 20, protests against the settlement broke out all over the West Bank. Students went on strike in Nablus, Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah and other cities. Merchants closed their shops. The Israeli government sealed off the West Bank, then rushed in troops to the area. Now 100 Palestinian mayors and other politicians in the area are calling for a boycott of the local elections called for in the settlement.

The Palestinian people have proven once again that they will not surrender to the Zionist oppressors. Their resistance points the way out of the crisis created by the Camp David accords. The Palestinian and Arab masses must break with the Arab bourgeoisie and rely on their own efforts to smash Zionism and U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. □



danian and Palestinian representatives is to negotiate the final status of the West Bank. All parties must agree to the final settlement. In other words, the Israeli government will have a veto over the future of the West Bank.

Through the settlement, Sadat has regained Egyptian territory lost in 1967 in return for selling out his Arab allies in the Middle East. In particular, he has sold out the Palestinian struggle for national liberation, which has always been the heart of the Arab anti-Zionist movement.

Thirty years ago the Zionists conquered Palestine and set up the state of Israel. Since then, the Palestinian people have waged a heroic struggle to regain the lands that were stolen from them. Their militancy is a deadly threat to the Zionist state, and its backer, U.S. imperialism. This militancy is also the major factor for revolution in the Middle East.

The Arab masses overwhelmingly support the Palestinian cause. Consequently, the capitalist Arab rulers in the Middle East have always pretended to

NEW WAR BREAKS OUT IN LEBANON

While Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was congratulating himself on bringing peace to the Middle East, his allies in Lebanon were starting a new war. Just hours after the Camp David settlement, pro-Israeli Christian militias attacked Syrian troops in Beirut. The fighting soon surpassed the heaviest bloodshed of the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. In the first week of October, at least 500 people were killed in street battles or artillery duels.

On October 5, the Zionist government sent three Israeli gunboats to shell the capital city of Beirut. Faced with the threat of increased Israeli military intervention, the Syrian government agreed to a cease-fire on October 7. Nevertheless, scattered fighting continued in Beirut after the cease-fire went into effect.

The Syrian ruling class is caught in a trap in Lebanon. Syrian troops marched into Lebanon two years ago to prevent a coalition of Palestinians and Lebanese leftists from taking over the country. Now Syria's ex-friends, the right-wing Christian organizations like the Phalange and the Lebanese Front, have allied with Israel. They want to kick out the Syrians and restore the minority Christian ruling class to full power.

The Christian militia organizations are really shock troops for Zionist imperialist expansion into Lebanon. Israel provides the Christian militias with arms and military training. And Israeli troops, gunboats, fighter-bombers and artillery



Israeli troops in Lebanon.

are there to back them up in any major showdown with Syrian troops.

The Israelis, acting through their Christian allies, want to take over Lebanon and turn it into a Zionist satellite. Last March, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon and drove out the Palestinians and leftist Lebanese forces in the area. When they withdrew in June, the Israelis handed over control of southern Lebanon to their Christian allies.

Now that the Zionists have made peace with Egypt, they are in a strong position to step up their aggression in Lebanon. On October 8, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan declared: "...we won't hesitate to send our armed forces to strike by sea or other means as far as Beirut or other parts of Lebanon."

South African Racists Dig In



(Continued from page 1) Nationalist Party itself are participating in the elections, and South Africa's army and police will remain in full force.

The rejection of the UN plan for Namibia marks a

strips of largely barren land chosen by the government. Only those Black people with jobs—not their husbands, wives, or children—are allowed to live in the cities. Crossroads is outside Cape-Town, and was built by

ernment feels ready for the first time to charge the students for the so-called crimes of 1976. Not since 1927 has there been a trial for sedition, which carries the possibility of a death sentence.

Racists can't last

The shift to the right in South Africa shows the fact that the fight against apartheid is not as active as a few years ago. The government is using this lull to try to tighten up their system even more and stamp out all potential opposition. And given the relative quiet, the rulers find it easier to move against the people.

We don't know why there has been a lull in the South African struggle. Many people fought in the rebellions of 1976-77, and many people were injured or killed. At the same time, the goals and strategy of the movement were not clearly defined in the rebellions. There are some signs that we are now in a period when the fighters

workers and their families who "legally" should be living in the "homelands" hundreds of miles away. The people of Crossroads have no legally recognized government but have created their own organizations. They have a tax system, defense squads, public services and two schools.

Earlier this year, the police destroyed the houses of 15,000 "squatters" in another area outside Cape Town, and are now preparing to bulldoze Crossroads to the ground by December at the latest.

Meanwhile, 11 members of the Soweto Students Representative Council have been on trial since September 25 for sedition and terrorism. The charges come from the June 1976 Soweto rebellion.

Soweto is the largest Black city in South Africa, and the rebellion was the most important uprising in many years. Today, the gov-



Soweto exiles rally in Tanzania.

shift in South Africa's plans. The U.S. has been trying to get South Africa to give enough concessions to make sure the apartheid system isn't overthrown by revolution. But now South Africa is pursuing an openly belligerent course and daring the U.S. to do anything about it.

Hard-line internal policy

The rulers are drawing the same hard line with their internal policy. On September 14, South African police attacked Crossroads, a Black town of 22,000, arresting several hundred and reportedly killing three people. Residents fought back with homemade weapons, but were caught off guard when the police returned a few hours after the first raid.

Crossroads is a so-called squatters' town. Under the apartheid laws, Blacks must live in poor rural "homelands" (which are scattered



Botha takes over.

in South Africa are organizing their forces both politically and organizationally.

No matter how hard a line the white rulers take today, the South African system cannot survive. In Zimbabwe and Namibia, on South Africa's borders, the anti-imperialist forces are gathering strength. South Africa's wealth is based on the labor of Black workers. In an interview with CBS in September, African National Congress member Thabo Mbeki pointed out that: "We dig the gold and diamonds. Make the machines run. Clean the sewers, clean the churches, clean the bedrooms. There is no way in which the white population can isolate itself from us." The question isn't can the whites "isolate" themselves, but can they defeat the power of the working class if it is organized by a revolutionary party? The answer is no. The struggle will not be easy, but the apartheid system will fall. □

Iran: Workers join anti-shah struggle

Demonstrations against Shah Mohammed Pahlavi's brutal regime are continuing in Iran despite the declaration of martial law in September. Over 8,000 militants fought government troops in Kermanshah on October 1. At least four people were killed when troops fired on the demonstrators. On the same day, a shopkeepers' strike paralyzed Tehran and five other cities. On October 9, cops fired on demonstrators in Amol. Clashes between cops and young militants also took place in Tehran and other cities.

For the first time since mass protests against the shah began last December, the Iranian workers have organized major job actions. On September 27, 10,000 oil workers in the western province of Khuzestan went on strike for higher wages and better housing. Four days later government workers began walking off their jobs. Within a week they shut down government offices, post offices, railroads, banks and schools. To try to meet their demands, Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami has had to revise the national budget. As of this writing, this strike is still going strong.

Ian Smith crying for help

Ignoring UN sanctions against Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the U.S. State Department granted Prime Minister Ian Smith a visa to visit this country. Smith was invited by a group of right-wing Senators. He arrived October 7 and was met by demonstrations in New York and Washington. Smith came here to build support for his "internal settlement" of the civil war in Zimbabwe. Smith's "settlement" is a fraud. It preserves white minority control over the government and army, while adding a few Blacks as a cover. This is Smith's version of "majority rule." Smith's government is under attack from the Patriotic Front, which is fighting to smash the white minority regime and seize power. The Patriotic Front has been winning many of the military battles. It now controls large areas of Zimbabwe and is gaining ever increasing support among the people.

Because of the Patriotic Front's strength, the U.S. has no confidence that Smith will last, and is hesitant to support him. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Carter "believes that the best protection for the white minority lies in a negotiated settlement that takes account of the military advantage now held by the guerrilla forces." This trip is a desperate, last-ditch attempt by Smith to go around Carter and get the support of the most right-wing section of the U.S. ruling class. Smith is trying to convince the U.S. government that his sinking ship is the only reliable agent of imperialism around, and therefore must be kept afloat. But a meeting with Secretary of State Vance in Washington did not resolve any differences.

Meanwhile, an official report of the British government confirms that British oil companies have been shipping gasoline to Rhodesia by way of South Africa. Top British officials knew this all the time, but went through a 10-year charade of a Navy blockade of the neighboring Mozambican port of Beira. This scandal is making it more difficult for the British government to maneuver in support of the Rhodesian regime.

In brief...

Guatemala. 200 miles north of Nicaragua in Central America, is also the scene of battles between workers and the government. On October 4, a strike of 80,000 government workers paralyzed the country. On October 9, government workers occupied several buildings and held them until the evening of October 10, when police attacked and arrested hundreds. The issue is a 100 percent increase in bus fares. On October 11, an advisor in the Public Works Department who publicly opposed the increase was shot and seriously wounded by "unknown assailants."

On September 14, in South Korea, 1,500 Seoul university students fought with stones and clubs after riot police attacked their demonstration. The students were chanting "Down with the dictatorship" when the police shot them with tear gas and pepper-fog. This is the second time this year students have demonstrated against the Pak Jung Hi regime.

In Tunisia, on the north coast of Africa, a trial of 30 Tunisian trade union leaders came to a close the first week in October. Twenty-six are expected to be given death sentences. The trade union leaders were convicted of leading a general strike last January 26, which shut down the country. The regime of Habib Bourguiba is trying to clamp down against the workers, who staged nearly 400 strikes last year. However, in spite of this trial, the trade unions have not been broken, and Bourguiba is expected to pardon the convicted labor leaders out of fear of more protests.

—PB & WF

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south africa: victory to the black workers' revolution

General Motors Backs Off "Southern Strategy"

(Continued from page 1)
egy was forcing the UAW officials to take a hard line and talk about a serious strike next year.

GM not afraid of hacks

But it is not the UAW leadership which GM fears. For the last 30 years, the UAW leadership has been content to bargain for wage or benefit increases. This has left the most important issues facing autoworkers—like working conditions, "management rights," overtime, speedup, and health and safety—untouched. For example, GM would much rather provide hearing aids (not too expensive), than lower the noise level in its plants (which would cost millions and millions of dollars). This is the "historic relationship" which both the company and the union officials brag about. GM gets its profits. The UAW bureaucrats get their power and prestige. And the workers get deaf.

No, it's not the UAW leadership that GM fears—it's

the autoworkers themselves. Rank-and-file autoworkers have shown time and again that when they have the awareness and organization, they have the power to break through the stranglehold of the "historic relationship" and force the auto giants to their knees.

A good example of this was the rank-and-file upsurge of 1969-70. Groups like the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement led successful wildcat strikes in many parts of the country. Rank-and-file pressure forced the UAW itself to hold out against GM in a three-month strike. The upsurge in auto was spurred by actions in the rest of the working class. In 1970, postal workers and Teamsters exploded in two major national wildcat strikes (against the wishes of their "leaders"). And broader social movements like the Black liberation and anti-war movements increased the understanding and confidence of autoworkers in their potential strength.

The auto companies can already see the first signs of another 1970-type upsurge. Summer heat walkouts, local

wildcat strikes and other rank-and-file actions are on the rise. The militant miners' strike last spring as well as the recent strikes by railway workers, public employees, and others are setting an example. At the same time, the women's movement, the fight against the Bakke decision, and the struggles against white rule in southern Africa are raising autoworkers' awareness of who their enemies are and how to

workers need.

It is this kind of militant strike for meaningful changes led by the rank and file which GM is afraid of. They knew if they maintained their hard-line Southern Strategy, the union tops would have to keep talking tough, and the ranks of the UAW might just seize the opening and bust the whole thing wide open. So GM backed down.

In return, GM expects the

sign of planning to go along. They are already appointing, rather than electing, union officials at the new plants. According to one union source, one of these appointees is an ex-president of a New York local who was recently defeated by his own membership!

Without even waiting to see what the GM announcement comes down to in practice, UAW representatives are stating that the new policy "clears the way toward continuation of the historical development of a constructive collective bargaining relationship between the UAW and GM." Good-bye last month's "class war" hello contract sellout



Georgia Westclox workers vote in UAW last June. Many companies have moved South to avoid unionization.

defeat them.

Groups of militant autoworkers like the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee are developing the programs, strategies and organization needed to force a real fight for the things auto-

UAW to drop its "class war" talk, clamp down on the angry rank and file, and get back to business as usual—"how much money do you need to sell the contract to the ranks" bargaining. The UAW officials show every

Fight bureaucrats and bosses

UAW members must build on their victory against GM's Southern Strategy. They will have to continue the fight to see that every GM plant is unionized without long delays. They will have to fight the bureaucrats to see that these new locals elect leaders from their own ranks tested in the unionizing struggle. And they need to start right away to formulate the demands and put together the rank-and-file organization which can take on both GM and the UAW tops in the upcoming contract fight. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Workers shut down the railroads

Members of 11 railway unions walked off their jobs on September 26 to support a strike by railway clerks against the Norfolk and Western Railway (N&W). For four days they paralyzed rail traffic across the country. Some plants went on short hours for lack of supplies.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) struck the N&W in July over speedup and automation. In the past six years, N&W has laid off 15 percent of their workers. And they're trying to claim that over 1,000 clerks shouldn't be in the union because they're really supervisors.

Seventy-three rail lines paid the N&W almost six million dollars a week to try to break the strike. The union answered by setting up roving picket lines to shut them all down. And they did it! Rank-and-file workers refused to cross BRAC picket lines, even though their unions gave no official support to the walkout.

President Carter broke the strike. He used the National Railway Labor Act to force the workers back to their jobs. That law gives the government the power to order a 60-day cooling-off period and make the unions go through a bunch of legal steps before they can strike. During that period the government hopes to shove a settlement down the workers' throat. Hopefully, they won't be able to do it. In any case, the railroad workers' unity and militancy scared the hell out of the ruling class. They've set an example for all workers to follow.

Bosses attack Caribbean workers

Most of the 990 Puerto Rican workers who were brought here in September to pick apples in the eastern states went back home without earning a penny. They had been promised \$2.85 an hour, food, lodging and job training. They had seen movies where workers lived in nice clean camps and used

light-weight aluminum ladders on the job.

Those few workers who got hired found filthy camps, no meals and 20-foot wooden ladders that seemed to weigh a ton by the end of the day. They got no training, and the bosses told them they were too slow and inexperienced.

The bosses say they want Jamaican workers instead, whom they bring in on a special permit from the immigration department. The bosses don't have to pay Social Security or unemployment insurance for them. Meanwhile, the Jamaicans get paid by the basket instead of by the hour. They have to work like slaves to make a day's pay. They can't complain or quit, or they'll be deported.

Puerto Rican workers are U.S. citizens. They have the legal right to complain or join a union. If they get fired, they have the right to stay in the U.S. to look for a better job.

The bosses want to be able to control workers so that they can wring more profits from them. The bosses want laws to keep foreign-born workers out and special permits to bring them in. Most often, they want foreign-born workers to take the lowest-paying, most back-breaking jobs since they are in the worst position to fight back.

Puerto Rican workers often have had to take these jobs. But even Puerto Rican workers have too many rights from the bosses' point of view. So now they want workers who they think they can exploit even more.

Earn a living and die!

Dangerous substances on the job cause more than 20 percent of all cancer cases in the U.S., according to a new study by government health experts. Take asbestos: Out of four million workers heavily exposed since World War II, at least 1.6 million will die of cancer; out of 4 to 7 million less heavily exposed, "only" one-fourth as many will die. Arsenic, benzene and coal tar pitch will probably cause 13 percent of annual cancer cases; iron oxide, nickel and petroleum distillates, 3 to 18 percent; and

so on. . . . The study only lists the nine most dangerous substances to which at least 20 million workers are exposed. The experts admit their figures are conservative. **Capitalism Kills!**

Strike wave hits the schools

Teachers began the new school year with a nationwide series of militant strikes. These included walkouts in Cleveland, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Memphis, Seattle and Santa Fe. Other strikes took place in Indiana, Rhode Island, Arizona and Minnesota. Overall there were at least 85 strikes in over a dozen states.

In several states teachers were thrown in jail for ignoring court injunctions aimed at breaking their strikes. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 274 teachers were jailed in mass arrests. In Dayton, Ohio, and Fall River, Massachusetts, teachers were also arrested for setting up picket lines. In Camden, New Jersey, the courts are threatening to impose a \$5,000-a-day fine and jail union leaders unless the teachers return to work.

In Cleveland, 10,000 teachers, clerks and maintenance workers closed down the school system after their contract expired on September 1. On October 4 they rejected a tentative agreement and maintained their picket lines despite a court order. Negotiators reached a new settlement on October 11.

The Cleveland school workers were furious because they haven't had a wage increase in two years. In addition, 1,200 workers were laid off in the past four months. Similar issues set off militant strikes in all parts of the country.

The teachers' struggles are part of a rising tide of public worker militancy. This summer, public workers in Memphis, Detroit, Philadelphia and other cities walked off their jobs to win better wages and job security. Now tens of thousands of teachers are adding their weight to the public worker strike wave.

—AL

Autoworkers Organize for Strike at Dodge Truck

Rank-and-File Committee Leads Fight

Local 140 of the United Auto Workers union is a militant local with a history of wildcats, heat walkouts and work actions. The union leadership has played a role of trying to smash the struggle by ignoring strike vote demands, lying to the membership, throwing militants out of meetings, and even locking members out of their own union hall. The union leadership has always been more organized than the militants, and has succeeded in keeping the struggle down. This situation is beginning to change, as the following report from a supporter of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) explains. The RAC has the support of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

By an AUTOWORKER
CORRESPONDENT

Our current organizing ac-

we felt the compromise was worth it so we could maintain the united front.

Militants in our plant have traditionally been divided by the left groups, which refuse to work together. For example, last year one group called a meeting in the union hall, while another group called for a picket at the union hall for the same day. This disunity on the left demoralizes the best workers, and aids the union leaders and company in crushing our struggles.

When we returned to work from changeover, we distributed our leaflet and had over 20 workers passing around our petition. (The supporters of the SL typically refused to do the work of the committee even though they participated in the united front meetings.) During these weeks, intense speedup, harassment and job combinations caused

we distributed a leaflet calling for workers to support three motions: 1) that a strike vote be set for the following week; 2) that a major demand of the strike be no disciplines for the heat walkouts; and 3) that a democratically elected strike committee be chosen to run the strike.

The union meeting was a great success. Over 250 workers attended. The local president was shouted down when he tried to interrupt speakers from the floor, and he was unsuccessful in trying to rule the motions out of order. All three motions passed with no visible opposition except for the union leaders.

So far, the union officials have ignored these motions, but two important things have happened for our struggle. First, a number of younger militants have a better understanding of the effect that organizing can have. And second, every new leaflet or meeting has brought new workers into our struggle.

Union tops move under pressure

Because of the pressure from the ranks, the union leaders have been moving—slowly—toward a local strike. They have been putting together their "strike package" of unresolved grievances, close to 400, and having steady meetings with labor relations. At first they put out bulletins announcing the progress of their talks, but there has been a blackout for the last couple of weeks. Even the stewards don't know what is going on.

In a struggle such as this, it is important to keep the initiative, to stay a step ahead of the bureaucrats. We have to look down the road at the obstacles we face—the strike vote, authorization from the international, the possibility of a sudden



"settlement." For this reason, the key demand is the demand for a democratically elected strike committee so the rank and file can decide the issues, the timing, and build enthusiasm for the strike, our strike.

Militants build for strike committee

We started to build a "shadow" strike committee of the most conscious militants. This core of workers began meeting and talking to each other, working out a common strategy toward our goal of a rank-and-file controlled strike. We put out a long and detailed leaflet about what a strike committee is and can be, to be given to the workers who will organize the struggle. These workers can then have a common understanding of the strike committee, and organize their work groups and departments. Hopefully through the various struggles building for a strike, we can gain enough credibility to become the nucleus of the strike committee.

We want to create a "dual power" situation in the local, where the union officials and bargaining committee may have the official power, but the strike committee has all the credibility among the rank and file. This would give the strike committee the real power of our union—the unity and organization

on the shop floor.

The next showdown will come at the October union meeting, when the general membership will vote on setting up a strike committee. Already, a number of things have become clear.

First, most of the left has developed in a period of lull in the class struggle, and has responded with politics of opportunism (link up with the best of bad alternatives in the bureaucracy), sectarianism (we won't work with other political groups) or abstract idealism (this local strike should be a general strike for workers' control). The opportunists will be thrown out with their bureaucratic patrons. The sectarians will be left outside the class struggle. The abstract idealists will continue to live in their dream world, only to awake and find that their dreams have become real but nobody knows who they are.

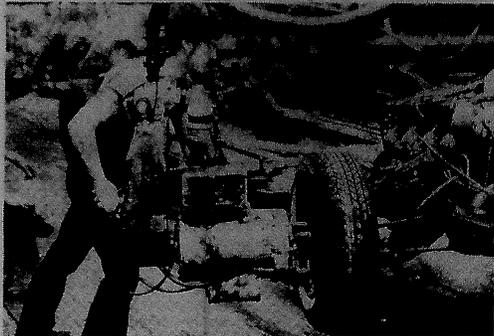
Concrete leadership needed

Revolutionaries must learn to give real leadership to concrete struggles, and emerge with increased organization and self-confidence of the working class, always moving closer to solidarity of the class, to workers' control and to revolution.

Secondly, we must refine our tactics of dealing with the present union leaders. It is easy to call them names, but it has little effect. The president of Local 140 made his dishonesty and contempt for the rank and file perfectly clear at the September union meeting by opposing a clear proposal for membership control of our strike. No amount of name calling could have achieved the same effect.

Finally, even a small upsurge in the struggle, such as at the Truck plant over the past few months, gives a glimpse of things to come. The fighting spirit and determination of the working class is growing. We have a lot of hard work and organizing to do to make sure our struggles are successful on a broader and broader scale.

For more information on this and other organizing activities in the auto plants, contact: RAC, PO Box 639, Detroit, MI 48203.



Autoworkers face speedup, harassment.

tivity began following two heat walkouts at the Dodge Truck plant in Warren, Michigan (just outside Detroit) this past July. Hundreds of Truck plant workers were put on notice for discipline, but no action was taken until the plant was shut down for changeover in August. Then management sent telegrams to selected workers, including disciplinary layoffs and discharges.

Supporters of RAC, Autoworkers United to Fight, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), a silent observer who supports the Spartacist League (SL) and several independents and militants attended a meeting and decided to form the Heat Walkout Defense Committee (HWDC). The CPML's supporters walked out of the meeting, and tried to set up their own defense group, which didn't pan out. Another meeting was set for the HWDC, and plans were made for a petition and a leaflet.

At the leaflet-writing meeting, RAC supporters made a number of compromises, especially around the question of how to fight within the union. The final leaflet was vague on this point, but

more and more workers to file grievances and begin talking about a strike.

The Heat Walkout Defense Committee decided to encourage this movement for a strike, and merge it with the fight against disciplines and firings from the heat walkout. The day before the September union meeting,



Angry Dodge Truck workers confront union bureaucrats.

In last month's centerfold, we sketched our view of the developing economic crisis, why a socialist revolution is necessary and the need to build a Leninist revolutionary party to ensure that this revolution is successful. We also discussed the growing capitalist attacks on the working class, the rise of the right-wing movement, and our strategy to fight it. We concluded with a call for those organizations and individuals who are for a revolutionary struggle against the Nazis and Klan to join their forces to fight against these racist groups. In this month's article, we will discuss another important set of enemies of the working class — the reformist leaders and organizations.

At the present time, reformist ideology and reformist organizations have a political stranglehold over the U.S. working class. The overwhelming majority of workers in the U.S. today accept one or another form of reformist ideology. The reformists tightly control the trade unions, the only mass organizations of the U.S. working class. And the largest and most influential organizations on the U.S. left are groups, such as the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose political practice is reformist to the bone.



A ruthless political struggle against reformist tendencies is an essential part of revolutionary work. As Lenin's fight against the Economists, Mensheviks and other reformist forces in the Russian working-class movement showed, the construction of a revolutionary party is impossible without such a struggle. The socialist revolution cannot occur as long as the majority of the working class remains under the political and organizational domination of the reformists.

To wage a fight against the reformists, we must understand who they are and why they are a threat to the working class.

In the most general sense, reformists are people who believe that the capitalist system can and should be improved through a series of reforms. They argue that capitalism is basically healthy, and that its relatively few problems can be solved by specific measures directed at these problems.

But reformists are more than individuals who want to reform capitalism. They represent a political force and play a specific political role in capitalist society.

In this epoch, the capitalists use super-profits (gained through imperialist plunder, through the super-exploitation of Blacks, Latins and other oppressed people, as well as other means) to grant concessions to certain layers of the working class. In return for the concessions, these workers develop a material interest in supporting capitalism. The reformists are based on and represent this labor aristocracy.

Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class

The social role of the reformists in general can be seen by looking at the section of the reformist movement that actually has power, the labor bureaucracy. The bureaucrats play the role of political and social broker between the workers and the capitalists. Through their control of the unions and other workers' organizations, the bureaucrats pressure the capitalists for concessions which they use to pacify their base and secure their own power and privileges. In return, they divide the working class and keep it under the control of the capitalists. Because of this social role, the bureaucrats do not want to end the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and the misery and oppression that it means.

land, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and heir-apparent to Meany; Albert Shanker, head of the American Federation of Teachers; and Lloyd McBride, head of the United Steelworkers of America. Although they like to keep it a secret, most of these people consider themselves socialists. They are members (or "friends") of an organization called Social Democrats, U.S.A. (which used to be the right-wing faction of the Socialist Party before the latter split in the early 1970s). The Meany-Shanker group is as corrupt, bureaucratic, racist, sexist and anti-communist as one can imagine. For years, it has worked with dog-like devotion to keep U.S. workers tightly bound to the Democratic Party and firmly under the heel of the capitalists. At the same time, it has conspired with the CIA to protect U.S. imperialism from the world's people. This bunch is so craven and reactionary it can barely be called reformist.

In recent years, Meany and his cronies have been losing influence to the more liberal wing of the bureaucracy. Doug Fraser and the other leaders of the United Auto Workers union are probably the most dominant people among these challengers. Also in this same group are Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) union and Victor Gotbaum, who is director of District Council 37 of the same union.

Fraser, Wurf and Gotbaum have been joined by William Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists, which used to be a stronghold of the more conservative bureaucrats. Ed Sadlowski, unsuccessful challenger to Lloyd McBride in the 1977 United Steelworkers election, is also a part of this grouping. Finally, a number of bureaucrats who were previously considered to be close to the Communist Party appear to be moving into this orbit. These include Leon Davis of District 1199 Health Care Employees Union, and Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 of the Steelworkers.

Although most of these liberal union leaders have been little more than a loyal left opposition to Meany for years, recently they have begun to talk more militantly and to organize their forces. Like Shanker and his friends, the liberal bureaucrats also consider themselves socialists. Most, if not all, of those mentioned above are members or "friends" of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The DSOC is a relatively broad-

REFORMIST ENEMY IN WORKERS' MO

based coalition of union leaders, politicians, and intellectuals led by Michael Harrington, the author of *The Other America* and other books. Harrington built the DSOC out of what had been the more left-wing faction of the old Socialist Party. Among the DSOC's members and supporters are Tom Hayden, Julian Bond, Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug and a whole slew of liberal bourgeois politicians, old "movement" leaders, and middle-class intellectuals. The DSOC's strategy is to build a liberal-reform movement inside the Democratic Party to fight for a program of mild reforms, centering around "grass-roots" democracy and welfare-state programs. Although the DSOC is anti-communist, it rejects the hysterical Cold War outlook of the Meanyites, supports detente, and appears to have a friendly orientation to the so-called Eurocommunist parties of Western Europe.

The Meany-Shanker and Harrington forces form the right and left wings, respectively, of U.S. Social Democracy. But they are not the only reformist forces in the U.S. today. There is another wing of the reformist movement in the U.S., which will become increasingly important as the level of working-class struggle grows. This consists of the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Although these organizations call themselves revolutionary and Marxist, they are not fighting for the socialist revolution. Instead, their goal is the gradual transformation of traditional capitalism into state capitalism. Despite this, and their (very infrequent) revolutionary rhetoric, the political practice of these organizations is fundamentally reformist.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The larger of the two organizations is the Communist Party. Although it still calls itself Marxist-Leninist, the CP ceased being revolutionary in the late 1920s. Since about 1935, the CP's practice has been reformist, and class-collaborationist.

Although it is a shadow of what it was in the 1930s and '40s, the CP still has considerable influence in the trade unions. It has close ties with the top leadership of the old CP-led unions, such as the United Electrical Workers and the furniture workers' union. It has a considerable number of friends in the middle levels of the bureaucracy, particularly in the Steelworkers and the UAW. Finally, it is building concentrations among the rank-and-file workers in basic industry, particularly steel and auto. Although the CP may be losing ground relative to the Harrington people, overall its political influence appears to be growing.

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REFORMISM: IN THE MOVEMENT

At the present time, the CP's national strategy is to build what it calls a "people's anti-monopoly coalition." This is supposed to be a broad movement of all the people, including so-called progressive capitalists, against the most right-wing section of the ruling class. In fact, it is a call for a class-collaborationist alliance of union bureaucrats and liberal-capitalist politicians around a milk-toast reform program and support for detente and East-West trade. Within the unions, the CP's current tactic is to build a "left-center coalition," an alliance between its own forces and the liberal bureaucrats, such as Fraser, Winpisinger and others, to fight against the Meany-Shanker forces (and, of course, the revolutionaries).

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Next in influence after the CP is the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP claims to be Leninist and Trotskyist, and to be fighting for a socialist revolution in the United States and throughout the world. But, like the CP, there is so little revolution in its words, and its political practice is so reformist, the SWP, for all practical purposes, is really the left wing of the reformist movement in the U.S.

Recently, the SWP has begun concentrating on building its presence in the trade unions. After years of focusing almost exclusively on the middle-class movements and the campuses, it has begun to send its cadres into industry and has been talking more about the class struggle than it has in years.

As a result of its work in the middle-class movements and its distance from Russia, the SWP appears to be gaining ground on the CP. The SWP's strategy is slightly to the left of the Stalinists'. Largely because of its claim to be Trotskyist, the SWP cannot put forward an openly class-collaborationist policy like the CP's. This leads the SWP to orient to a slightly more militant layer of the bureaucracy than the CP.

The similarity between the orientation of the SWP and that of the CP is already getting the SWP entangled in a number of contradictions. In a major talk at the SWP's "Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference" held in August, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the SWP paper, the *Militant*, criticizes the CP for cozying up to Fraser, Winpisinger and Co. Waters vigorously denounces these people as bureaucrats and class traitors (which they are). In contrast to the CP, says Waters, the SWP wants to build a "class-struggle wing of the labor movement." As a result, the SWP is orienting to really

militant rank-and-file candidates such as... Ed Sadowski.

It's hard to know if Waters is dishonest or just deceived. As *somebody* in the SWP must know, Sadowski represents the same political tendency as Fraser and Winpisinger. They are all members or supporters of the DSOC! The only difference is that Fraser actually runs the UAW (that is, he's an "in" bureaucrat), while Sadowski and his buddies only have power in the middle level of the Steelworkers' bureaucracy (they're the "outs"). As a result, Sadowski can appear to be an insurgent—a "real militant"—while Fraser can't. It is therefore better for the SWP's image to back a guy like Sadowski, while they take an "oppositional" stance toward Fraser.

The SWP's strategy is to pressure this more left-talking wing of the labor bureaucracy to set up a labor party. Although the SWP says this party should be based on transitional demands, it puts these demands forward in a reformist manner, carefully slipping over the fact that a workers' revolution is needed to win and secure them. The SWP's labor party, like its own practice, would be reformist.

In the SWP's plan, this party would be the leadership of a reformist alliance between labor and the women's, gay, Black, Latin and other mass movements. While the SWP, unlike the CP and the DSOC, refuses to work inside the Democratic Party, it courts liberal capitalist politicians in other areas of its work. As the class struggle picks up, and the workers become more radical, more and more of these capitalist representatives will be calling themselves socialists. And with this cover, the SWP will be trying to bring them into its labor-party

movement. The result would be a class-collaborationist movement that looks a lot like what the CP and DSOC have in mind. The major difference would be that it would be outside the Democratic Party.

Reformists on the rise

These, then, are the major reformist forces in the U.S. today. Except for the Meany forces, they are growing. Despite their differences, the DSOC, CP and SWP share the same, fundamental strategy. Within the labor movement, they want to build up the liberal, left-talking wing of the labor bureaucracy, which at the appropriate moment would seek to challenge the Meany-Shanker wing for control of the labor movement.

While this power struggle among the bureaucrats will offer tremendous opportunities for revolutionaries, the strategy of the DSOC, CP and SWP represents a grave danger to the working class.

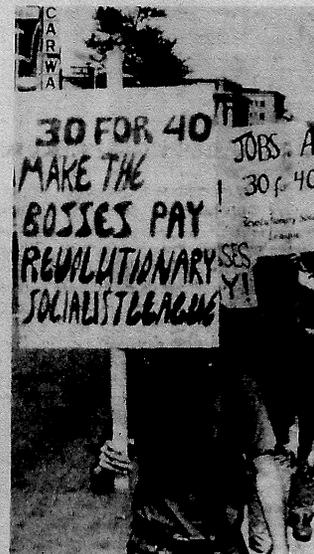
On the whole, the labor leadership in the United States today is bureaucratic and out of touch with the rank and file. For the most part, it is made up of older white males, with politically and socially conservative views. This is especially true of the Meany-Shanker forces. At the same time, increasing portions of the working class are young, Black, Latin and Asian, and female, people whose whole social outlook is different from that of the hacks.

If the workers were to launch a major wave of struggle to defend themselves from the escalating capitalist attacks, the present-day labor bureaucracy would be hard put to keep this upsurge under their control. They would hardly be able to communicate with the workers, let alone win their confidence sufficiently to channel the struggles to safe, legal limits. The result might well be a mass working-class movement, militant as hell, increasingly radical and (at least temporarily) out of control of the bureaucrats.

This kind of working-class upsurge would shake the system to its rotting foundations. It would present revolutionaries with an open field for agitation and propaganda. And it would give the struggle to build a revolutionary party a tremendous shot in the arm. In short, it could break the political situation in this country wide open and put the socialist revolution on the agenda.

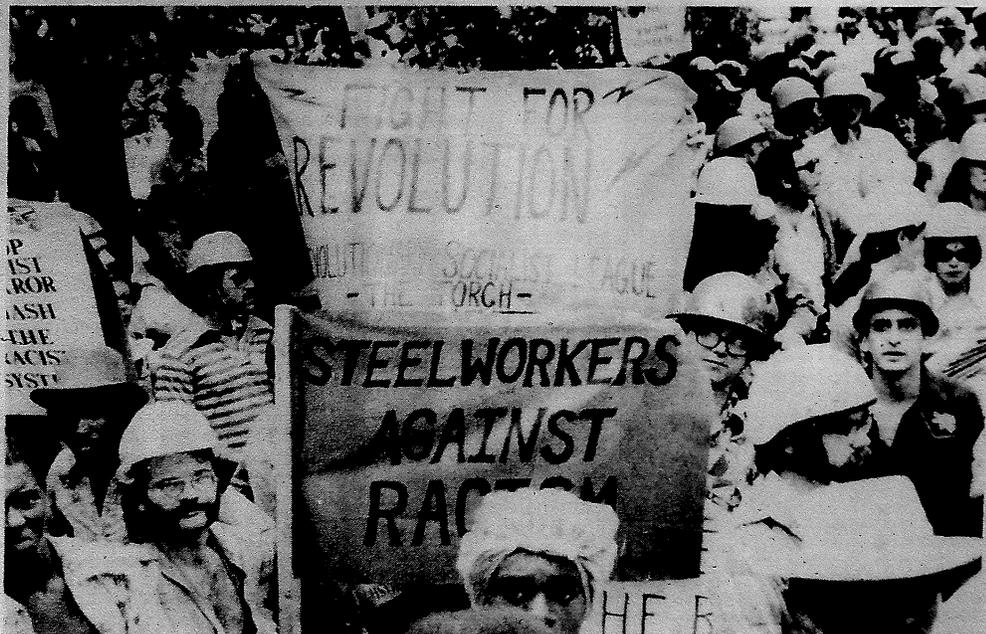
At all costs, the capitalists want to avoid this kind of explosion of the class struggle. And the reformists are anxious to please them. The real

content of their work is to refurbish the labor bureaucracy, to kick out the political cave-men of the Meany type, and replace them with younger, slicker, "socialist" bureaucrats. The new bureaucrats, unlike the Meany-Shanker forces, will be able to communicate with the ranks. But their goal will not be to lead the workers in a struggle against capitalism. On the contrary, their goal will be to use hook or crook



to divide the workers, derail their struggle and, through this, protect capitalism from the workers' onslaught. If the reformists are successful they can gut the working-class upsurge of its revolutionary potential and throw the revolutionary movement back years.

This doesn't have to happen. It can be stopped if we recognize the danger and take steps to deal with it. There are a number of organizations on the U.S. left today which have shown a real desire to fight the reformists' forces. We of the RSL have important political differences with these organizations. These differences must be discussed and clarified. But while we carry out this discussion, we must find ways to unite our forces in concrete actions against the reformists. At first these actions may be small, but they can be a crucial first step on the road we have to travel. Next month, we'll take up this and related questions in more detail. □





Sandinista rebels have led military struggle against Somoza.

Nicaragua: The Workers Must Rule!

By TONY CURZO

Nicaragua's 10-day insurrection is over. By September 25 the U.S.-backed dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, had regained control of the country through a military campaign of unbelievable brutality. Somoza bombed and strafed the cities and killed at least 3,000 people.

The rebels' arms were no match for the U.S.-supplied firepower of Somoza's National Guard. After a heroic resistance, the rebels were forced to withdraw.

The devastation caused by Somoza's troops was astounding. The *Washington Post* reported that "small businesses and stores in at least five of the nation's provincial capitals have been completely destroyed by fires and National Guard shelling." "The whole town is a cemetery," said Ronaldo Arguello of the Red Cross in describing Estelí.

An NBC News correspondent trapped in Leon during the fighting witnessed the execution of 36 teenagers, picked up at random on the city's streets. The full toll will never be known since an untold number of bodies were buried in mass graves.

Somoza in trouble

Somoza has won this round, but his indiscriminate attacks on the cities have isolated him more than ever. The crisis of the regime has intensified. And the pressure on the opposition bourgeoisie and on U.S. imperialism to get rid of Somoza while there is still time has also increased. On September 25, after 32 days, the opposition capitalists called off their general strike. This came around the same time that the U.S. State Department started to make serious noises indicating it might help them ease Somoza out of office.

The major role in the recent rebellion went to the youth, particularly the working-class youth and the students. The main sectors of the Nicaraguan working class did not seem to play much of an independent role. The workers were gen-

erally supportive of both the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) and the opposition bourgeoisie.

The Nicaraguan working class is fairly young and inexperienced, and its level of organization is not high (for example, only eight percent are in trade unions). Its relatively passive role is highlighted by the fact that the opposition bourgeoisie has called two general strikes this year, and both times, when the bosses ordered people back to work, everyone went back.

Workers must seize the leadership

The Nicaraguan workers have to break with the opposition bourgeoisie and seize the leadership of the struggle. If the bourgeoisie manages to keep control of the struggle, it will spell disaster for the workers.

What today passes for an anti-Somoza bourgeoisie has always backed Somoza in the past. Even though Somoza has robbed them blind, the capitalists have preferred this hangman to the uncertainty that might follow his removal. Why? Precisely because, like Somoza, they too are capitalists and fear the working class.

The anti-Somoza bourgeoisie lives off the exploita-

tion of the workers and the rape of the country no less than Somoza does. Like Somoza, this bourgeoisie needs a "strong state" to hold the workers in check. And like Somoza, it is a tool of the U.S. imperialists, who bleed Nicaragua dry.

If today the bourgeoisie wants to rid itself of Somoza, it is only because he has lost control of the situation. The capitalists want to make a deal with the National Guard. Under this deal, Somoza would be removed through a U.S.-backed coup. The guns, troops, and officers of the Guard would go to the opposition bourgeoisie.

Even if Somoza is replaced by a self-styled "progressive," "popular," "revolutionary" government representing the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, it would not solve very much for the workers and peasants. It might give them a breathing space in which to organize. But it would not end unemployment, low wages, illiteracy, disease, and all the other results of capitalist/imperialist plunder.

More important, such a "popular revolutionary government" would set the workers up for defeat. When Somoza leaves the scene, the workers are likely to launch a powerful wave of struggles against the brutal exploitation they have endured for decades. When that happens, or as soon as

it is tactically feasible, today's "democratic" bourgeoisie will use its control over the state apparatus—particularly the National Guard—to turn on its present ally, the proletariat, and smash it.

This is why breaking the



The anti-Somoza bourgeoisie lives off the exploitation of the workers and the rape of the country no less than Somoza does.

workers' illusions in the bourgeoisie is a crucial task. The masses of workers have to understand that the bourgeoisie can't be anything but the most fleeting and temporary ally in the anti-Somoza struggle. Otherwise, the workers will be going into battle with their backs unguarded, and will end up getting the knife.

This underlines the fact that the most pressing need in Nicaragua today is a revolutionary Leninist workers' party. Such a party is needed to organize the workers to seize the leadership of the anti-Somoza struggle and channel it in the direction of a workers' revolution. Without a revolutionary party, it will be impossible to expose and defeat the deceitful maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and prepare the workers for the seizure of power.

The first place to look for the forces that might make up such a party is the FSLN, which has been in the vanguard of the insurrection and of the historic struggle against Somoza.

But the FSLN is not homogeneous; it is made up of three tendencies. Two of

these—the Terceristas and the Prolonged People's War tendency—are pro-capitalist guerrilla forces. They have joined together in a strategic alliance with the bourgeoisie, pioneered by the Terceristas. They are openly fighting for a bourgeois "Popular Democratic Government." Neither of these tendencies can lead the proletariat to a socialist revolution.

The third is the Proletarian Tendency, now calling itself the Proletarian FSLN (FSLN-P). This appears to be the largest group and the one with the most ties in the country. The FSLN-P believes that the struggle must be against both Somoza and the opposition bourgeoisie. It also calls for a united front of all the workers' organizations.

The Proletarian FSLN appears to be an ideologically mixed group, which may still be developing politically. It seems to be the most class-conscious of the three FSLN tendencies. If it seriously carries out what it says about opposing both Somoza and the bourgeoisie, it will be a development of historic importance for the class struggle in Nicaragua.

Unfortunately, however, for all its subjective desires not to ally with the bourgeoisie, the FSLN-P does

not call for a workers' government as the goal of the anti-Somoza struggle. Instead, it calls for a "popular revolutionary government." It is difficult to tell exactly where the FSLN-P stands on this crucial question. Either the FSLN-P is aiming at a workers' government, but is confused about how to organize and fight for it; or else it is fighting for a government dominated by the opposition bourgeoisie.

Is the Proletarian Tendency for the workers taking power from the entire bourgeoisie through a revolution? Or is it for a latter-day version of what happened in Russia in February 1917? (In that revolution, the workers toppled the Tsarist regime only to have the Mensheviks hand power to a "popular revolutionary government" of the bourgeoisie, in which the workers' representatives fronted for the capitalists.) As far as we can tell, the FSLN-P has yet to give a clear answer to this all-important question.

It may be that the FSLN-P is not fighting for a workers' government. If so, there (Continued on page 15)

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NICARAGUA

Capitalism Is the Enemy

The following is a reprint of a leaflet by the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua.

The history of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is one of betrayals of the working class and submission to Yankee Imperialism. From very early in its history it has been distinguished as a faltering class, untrustworthy and incapable of assuming its historical role.

- In 1948, the "opposition," including the collaborationist Partido Socialista Nicaraguense (PSN—Nicaraguan Socialist Party), reaches an agreement with the dictator Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

- In 1950, the "opposition" conservatives again come to an agreement with the dictator so that he could be re-elected for the presidential term 1951-57.

- In 1971, Fernando Aguero Rocha (Partido Conservador Oficialista—PCO, Official Conservative Party) signs a pact, arranged by the Yankee Ambassador Shelton, with Anastasio Somoza Debayle, in which Aguero guarantees Somoza continuing in power in exchange for 40 percent of the seats in Congress. This was four years after having sent more than 200 unarmed workers and students to die at the hands of the Somocista Guard.

What is the difference between this bourgeoisie and that which we see today, among the crucifixes, showing that the dictator must go?

Since the birth of the Somocista Military Dictatorship, the "opposition" bourgeoisie has applauded every one of the crimes that the Somozas have committed in defense of their class interests. No bourgeois has mourned the deaths of the revolutionaries who have been murdered for defending the workers' interests. Nor are we revolutionaries interested in sanctifying any bourgeois "martyr." What interests us is correctly locating the enemy and unmasking it when it tries to pass itself off as a "defender of the people" before the eyes of history.

The "opposition" bourgeoisie is launching its own battle, with its own methods and its own program. They seek to replace "Somoza the Insatiable" with a group of "honorable businessmen" who will make their system less undesirable. If today they step forward to raise their voice to "condemn" the crimes of their democracy, it is because the workers are rising up in arms and threaten to smash them.

Apologists for bourgeoisie

The empty cry of "unity against the dictatorship" is nothing more than a cynical apology by those who have betrayed the interests of the

working class, allying themselves with its most savage enemies.

We Marxist revolutionaries have no interests in common with the "opposition" bourgeoisie. The unity we fight for is with the workers, poor peasants and the most oppressed sectors of the working class. If for now we fight against the same enemy, we do so with the clear and

bracing it. We believe in the criminality of the system in which the bourgeoisie, with whip and cross in hand, has established its parasitic existence.

Enemies of the workers

The misery in which the great majority of the Nicara-

gued of the system in which, to greater or lesser degrees, the capitalist class feeds on the blood of the workers. Whether this exploitation is carried out by a Jesuit landlord or a "moderate" exploiter, the essence is unchanged and the fact remains unaltered.

For 44 years the workers have carried on their shoulders the weight of the social



National Guard rounds up fighters during September uprising.

solid understanding of the interests of our class and the objectives we pursue. We don't believe in the possibility of a "good" bourgeoisie, nor do we want to risk the future of our class by em-

bracing it. We believe in the criminality of the system in which the bourgeoisie, with whip and cross in hand, has established its parasitic existence. The capitalists (small and large) live off the exploitation of the workers. Somoza is just one example of the

evils that the Somocista Military Dictatorship and the capitalist system have brought with them. And now that, in a display of great revolutionary strength and heroism, the proletariat is

rising to smash the system that oppresses it, the apologists for the bourgeoisie try to contain it, inviting it to reconcile with its enemies and accept a handful of reforms.

The workers' task in the current conjuncture

The task of the workers in the current conjuncture is not to support a governing junta of the bourgeoisie. The Movimiento Democrático Nacional (MDN—National Democratic Movement), the Union Democratica de Liberación (UDEL—Democratic Liberation Union), and the gang of "Los Doce" ("The Twelve"), are all buzzards eating the same prey: They are lackeys of Yankee Imperialism.

The workers must continue their struggle against capitalism without ever putting down their arms, seeking, at the same time, how to cement their unity with the most oppressed sectors: poor peasants, Indians and Blacks. Also developing and strengthening, militarily and politically, their revolutionary organizations. And they must prepare to overthrow the "opposition" bourgeoisie without waiting for it to fail to fulfill its program. The task of the workers in the current situation must be the struggle for the organization of their own revolutionary vanguard. One which, based firmly on the principles of Marxism, will be able to not betray them and to correctly lead them to the overthrow of the Somocista Military Dictatorship, capitalism, and the construction of socialism in Nicaragua.

The Workers Must Rule!

(Continued from page 14) would be no substantial difference between it and the other FSLN factions. Then it would be an outright misleader of the Nicaraguan workers, peasants, and the Nicaraguan revolution. If this were the case, one of the key tasks of true Marxist revolutionaries, either inside or outside the FSLN-P, would be to expose this fact and take steps to build a new revolutionary organization, independent of the FSLN-P.

If, however, the FSLN-P is actually for a socialist revolution, its call for a "popular revolutionary government" is a deadly mistake. Such a slogan can only confuse the workers about what the tasks are. Like the Terceristas' slogan, this amounts to saying that you can have a "revolutionary," "progressive," "truly democratic" government "of the people" which is something other than a workers' government!

The bourgeoisie and various reformist/centrist forces come up with slogans like a "popular revolutionary government" to fool the masses into accepting a class-collaborationist alliance between the left and the bourgeoisie as a supposed intermediate step to

socialism. But the slogan means and can only mean, a bourgeois government in which the interests of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie will not be touched. Whatever the Proletarian FSLN thinks it is doing, this is what this slogan means. Such a slogan will never break the workers from the opposition bourgeoisie and the Terceristas.

It is entirely possible that the comrades who lead the Proletarian FLSN are aiming at a workers' government, but think they can use the bourgeoisie for their own ends. They have stated, for example, that if the opposition bourgeoisie wants to follow behind the workers' movement, that is fine. In the words of a member of the Political Commission of the FSLN-P: "The bourgeoisie will have to join with this force [the proletarian organization—Ed.] because otherwise it would remain isolated." (Causa Sandinista)

This statement amounts to a dangerous misunderstanding of what the bourgeoisie is up to. The bourgeoisie never has been interested in committing suicide. When driven to the wall, it may join temporarily with centrist forces. The political

alliance is sealed with a deal, which goes like this: The bourgeoisie agrees to join the struggle, even the government, together with the leftists. The leftists in turn ("temporarily") agree not to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The very nature of the deal means that the leftists agree not to organize the workers to fight for a workers' government, not to smash the bourgeois state machine.

This is usually all that the bourgeoisie needs to reorganize its forces and strike back. Relying on its wealth, social connections, leadership skills, its ties to imperialism, and its state apparatus, the bourgeoisie turns around and smashes the centrists (and of course the workers).

The FSLN-P does from time to time acknowledge that if the opposition bourgeoisie wins out, it will make short shrift of democracy. It will try to smash the workers at the earliest opportunity. But the FSLN-P's failure to tell this to the workers in a mass way, and its failure to fight for a workers' government, can only mean that it does not yet understand the role of revolutionary leadership. So-called revolution-

ary organizations which have thought they could use the bourgeoisie have never led the proletariat to a true workers' revolution. Their strategies have led either to the victory of right-wing dictatorships, such as Pinochet's, or to state-capitalist regimes.

Further indication that the Proletarian FSLN may be confused about how to fight for a workers' government can be seen in its failure to call for workers' and peasants' committees (soviets) to lead the struggle. As the experience of the Russian Revolution shows, nationwide workers' and peasants' soviets are the concrete way to organize the workers to seize the leadership of the struggle against the dictatorship and prepare them for the seizure of power. Democratically run by the masses themselves, these committees can unite the workers, arm them, and link them to the peasants and other oppressed people.

Led by the revolutionary party, these committees can become the main force of the workers' insurrection. Afterwards, they form the backbone of the workers' government. Calling for and organ-

(Continued on page 17)

EDITORIAL

Workers' Unity Is Workers' Strength

An important report on workers' unity appeared in the latest issue of *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (RML). (The RML and the Revolutionary Socialist League are sister organizations.) We quote from the beginning of the article:

"On Tuesday, August 22, a unique explosion went off in the Industrial Estate—an explosion of workers' solidarity. On that date striking workers of Combined Tobacco Company, workers from other factories and RML comrades gathered opposite the plant gate for a mass picket and solidarity meeting. The event was arranged by the Combined workers with the guidance of the RML.

"Workers from many different factories, the trade unions, the left-wing Youth Forces for National Liberation (YFNL) and Workers' Liberation League (WLL) were all invited to support the picket.

"Nobody came from the unions. Two WLL members came after the meeting only to get photos and information for *Struggle* [newspaper of the WLL—Ed.]. But never mind, many groups of workers came. There were BITU, TUC, NWU and UAWU workers. [These are the main unions in Jamaica—Ed.] There were workers from Tanners, Caribbean Castings, JOS, JRC, Paper Processors, Seprod and Beal Industries. There were workers from all 'bout. And they brought one message to the Combined workers—**WORKERS' UNITY IS WORKERS' STRENGTH!**

"A crowd of around 100 workers had gathered at the peak of the meeting."

Some workers may not



Kingston, Jamaica: Workers from all over joined the plant-gate rally in support of striking tobacco workers.

think that this action was a very big deal. After all, you could say that it was only 100 workers and it was only one strike.

But those 100 workers who came out to support the Combined workers did something very important. They carried a message that should be a lesson for all workers—"Workers' unity is workers' strength."

What does this message really mean?

The working class (and other working people, like farmers) are the great majority of the world's people. We do all the work that makes society go. We work in the mills and factories to produce the goods society needs. We make the buses and trains run; and grow, harvest, ship and process the food people eat. Yet we don't see the fruit of our labor. We don't control what we produce on our jobs, or anything else in the society for that matter.

All these things are controlled by the capitalists for their own profits. They steal the products of our labor. But they are only a tiny minority leeching off the great majority.

How do they do it? Behind the capitalists stand the police and the

army. The capitalists have guns, tanks and bombs to try to keep their control over the workers.

But even in times of war, when the capitalists have been forced to arm a large number of workers, the capitalists still have kept control.

This is because they have found something even more deadly to the workers' movement than bullets. That is dividing the workers, keeping us from banding together in a fight for our common interests against a common enemy—the capitalist class.

The capitalists try to split apart our class along the lines of race, color, sex, trade, city, country, you name it. They try to convince one group of workers that their interests are different from those of other workers.

This divide-and-rule is

such an obvious trick—and it should be one of the easiest things for us to overcome. Yet time after time, workers ignore the struggles of their brothers and sisters, only to be ignored when they themselves are out fighting.

Just imagine the difference if the workers in this country got together and supported each other's strikes and struggles. If this happened—if every strike and every struggle was backed with the might of a united working class—we could shut the country down tight. We would have the capitalists scared out of their wits.

And if the workers were united, had guns and had a revolutionary party to lead the struggle, the capitalists could count the days they had left on one hand.

This doesn't just go for one country. If the workers of the whole world were to stand together—to fight together against the capitalists instead of fighting each other—we could smash this rotten system that keeps us all in chains.

That's the lesson we should learn from the workers of Jamaica who supported the strike of the Combined workers.

**Break the Chains!
Workers' Unity is
Workers' Strength!**

TO OUR READERS

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be holding its fourth national convention over the Thanksgiving weekend. Because of the extensive preparations and other work involved in holding the convention, we will not be publishing the December 15, 1978-January 14, 1979 issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha*. We will resume our monthly publication schedule on January 15 of the new year.

SUPPORT THE COMBINED TOBACCO COMPANY WORKERS!

We production workers at Combine Tobacco Company are striking against the wassly wages that management is trying to force down our throats. Like all other workers and poor people our living standards are forced down daily as prices climb higher and higher. In the cigar industry the workers are mostly women and are very poorly paid. We at Combine Tobacco have to work very hard to make home more than the national minimum wage.

The bosses at Combine Tobacco are using the ILO guidelines to protect themselves. To some of us they are even offering 1 cent increase. On top of this they are using the police to back up their offers. From the second day of our strike police have been harassing us. They came on Friday last, 3 car loads of them to clear us from our peaceful picket line. Before that they pushed a service revolver into a brother's nose after they pushed him to the ground.

We... and all poor people must take action against these slavery wages and conditions. We must defend each others struggles because we face the same attacks. We call on all workers in all unions to support our struggles. We would greatly appreciate any assistance that we can get. Donations to our strike fund would help us to provide bus fares and food expenses while we are on strike.

We also encourage workers and other people to send letters of protest to the Management at Combine Tobacco 22 B at Bell Road and to the press. We call for sympathy strikes to better the conditions that we are all facing. We invite workers to come to our picket line at Development Road in front of the factory main gate and reason with us about the oppressive conditions.

LONG LIVE WORKERS UNITY!!!

17.8.78

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Nicaragua

(Continued from page 15)
nizing workers' and peasants' committees, therefore, is not just a formality. Like Lenin's slogan: "All power to the soviets," organizing the committees says, "We're for the workers ruling, and we are building the organs of that rule."

Is the Proletarian FSLN for soviets? If so, it has not to our knowledge told anyone. And it missed a golden opportunity in the recent insurrection, when **comites de barrios** (neighborhood committees) rose up in many places. It could have worked

to spread these committees throughout the whole country.

It could have also helped organize soviets under the form of **strike committees** in the factories, farms and communities to take over the general strike; to put it in the hands of the workers and peasants; to guarantee food supplies; to defend the communities, etc. This would have been a **concrete** way to advance the self-organization of the workers and to prove that the FSLN-P is different, if, indeed, it is different.

PLATFORM

(Continued from page 7)
being one large prison. And that to struggle against the injustices **wherever one finds themselves on bourgeois dominated soil** is to live.

What we struggle for:

- a) An improvement in the General Health Care System.
- b) The right to form a prisoner's union to serve as a collective bargaining agent to insure minimum wages.
- c) An end to long-term imprisonment.
- d) Meaningful education and vocational training.
- e) Ensure the right to full religious freedom and expression.
- f) Make the prison more accessible and accountable to the community which would end isolation of prisoners from their communities.
- g) An end to racist and arbitrary handling of the disciplinary procedures by prison officials.
- h) An end to prison overcrowdedness.
- i) No forced labor. Prison-

ers should be allowed to choose freely a job which will allow for meaningful employment, and prepare them for employment in society.

j) The right to free expression of political beliefs and the right to vote.

k) An improvement in the consumer items made available through the prison commissary.

l) An end to solitary confinement and segregation.

m) Elimination of all oppressive and arbitrary limits and conditions on parole.

n) The elimination of the death penalty.

We also struggle for:

- o) Freedom for all political prisoners.
- p) The right to rebel against tyranny as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.
- q) The ending of the fascist practice of building more prisons as a response to "so-called" lower-class crimes.
- r) The abolishment of the prison system. □

Statement

(Continued from page 7)
needs of people.

We have a right to live in a society where needed services and goods are produced by workers instead of useless luxury items and trinkets.

We have a right to exist in a society minus the oppressive social relationships that alienate people from one another and create crime are eliminated.

We don't believe that exploitation can be ended under capitalism nor do we believe that crime will end and prisons be abolished as long as the system of oppression which creates and profits from these conditions continues to exist. So today we will give you no promises that there will be no more bloody prison rebellions here.

We will not deceive you and tell you that we will be content here with better food and cleaner living quarters.

We will not misinform you and have you believe that

once we get relevant educational programs and adequate training in skilled labor so that we can enter the job market when we leave, that we will not be back.

And we certainly don't want to advance the idea that the problems in prisons can be solved by hiring more responsible prison guards and professional administrators, and by merely improving the general conditions in prison period. And while we all in here would welcome such needed reforms, we also feel it necessary to point out their inherent limits as well as the very real danger that such prison reforms will be taken as ends in themselves instead of a means to put a check on the authoritarian power of administrators and to lessen the severity of prison repression. Our ultimate goal is still the **complete abolishment of prisons and the system which makes them necessary in their place.** □

We don't know whether the call for workers' committees is still timely, given the recent military setback. If not, it will soon become timely again. If the FSLN-P is for proletarian revolution, it will have to organize them.

The Proletarian FSLN did organize fighting squads called Revolutionary Comandos of the People (CRP). These fighting detachments have played a useful role, but they are not soviets. They are not designed to take in all the workers. Moreover, they stand for the "popular revolutionary government" as well as the bourgeois-nationalist slogan of "Free fatherland or death" borrowed from the Terceristas. And the name "people's comandos" predictably hides the fact that they must be organizations of the workers and peasants.

Another problem is the FSLN-P's illusions in state capitalism. The group believes that Cuba, China, Eastern Europe, and other state-capitalist countries are workers' states. So long as these comrades believe that the strategies used in these societies led to the creation of workers' states, they will continue to believe that some class other than the workers can seize power and set up socialism. They will

continue to believe that you don't need workers, you don't need soviets, you don't need a real workers' government. A strategy based on this point of view leads to one of two things: the victory of the old bourgeoisie, or the rise of a new, state-capitalist bourgeoisie out of the ranks of the middle-class left. Both alternatives mean a defeat for the workers.

The FSLN-P seems to have friendly relations with the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Nicaragua. Like their U.S. comrades in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the RML of Nicaragua claims to be Trotskyist. But, like the SWP, it is not a revolutionary party. It, too, has illusions that Cuba, China, Russia, etc., are workers' states.

And in its program for Nicaragua, the RML is careful not to challenge the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. It calls for "an integral land reform." Instead of Lenin's slogan of "Land to the tiller," it calls for the expropriation of all the holdings of "the Somoza family and Somocista parasites," instead of the expropriation of the whole bourgeoisie. This approach can never lead the workers to revolution.

The Proletarian FSLN appears to have some of the

best and most dedicated revolutionaries in Nicaragua—comrades who sincerely want to smash the bourgeoisie and set up a workers' government. Whether the organization as a whole will be able to lead the struggle toward proletarian revolution, however, appears to us to be still an open question.

In conclusion, we would say to the comrades of the Proletarian FSLN that they have to decide whether they are for genuine workers' rule, based on the soviets and arrived at through a workers' revolution. Or whether they are for one form or another of capitalism, whether it's the naked type espoused by the Terceristas in their alliance with the bourgeoisie or the more covert type (state capitalism) advanced by forces like Mao and Castro. The fate of the Nicaraguan revolution depends to a large degree on how these comrades resolve this contradiction. □

Last month's article, "Defend the Sandinistas for Socialism," was written by a representative of that organization. We apologize for the omission of that fact.

Chicago Rally

(Continued from page 1)
and tore down the Coalition and Revolutionary Socialist League banners. For the next hour, the pro- and anti-abortion forces chanted at each other across a line of 10 cops.

The "right to life" were forced to change the whole focus of their rally. Even while their own speakers were addressing the rally, at least half of their forces concentrated on trying to shout our demonstration. This completely disrupted their planned program. The Catholic priest's hysterical outburst just summed up the defeat dealt to the right-wingers.

Organizers of the counter-demonstration, considering the action such a success, decided to march a half mile away to the Federal Building. As the demonstrators marched and chanted, they drew a sympathetic response from people on the street.

The Federal Building rally heard speakers from the RSL

and from the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which had a contingent of 10 to 20 people at the demonstration. RSL speakers explained the meaning of the slogan "Smash the Right-Wing Attacks."

There is a growing right-wing movement in this country, they pointed out, and representatives of this movement, from the Nazis to Anita Bryant, through to anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly and the "right to life" forces, all have a common goal. "They want to drive women into the kitchens and the nurseries, impose rigid repression in the name of morality, and take away the gains won by oppressed people in the '60s and '70s. They attack different sections of the working class and get us to fight among ourselves. And because they do this they weaken our fighting ability and drive down our living standards."

The demonstration was organized by the October 7

Free Abortion Coalition, a group initiated by the RSL for the purpose of planning the day's events. The demonstrators included contingents from the RSL, the ISO, the Abortion Rights Coalition of Bloomington, Indiana, Red Rose Book Store, Workers Defense Committee, and the Black and White Defense Committee.

The main demands of the demonstration were:

- Free Abortion On Demand—No Forced Sterilization.
- Smash the Anti-Abortion Movement—Smash the Right-wing Attacks.
- Members of the Coalition also agreed on a number of secondary slogans, used in leaflets and placards, that made it clear that defending abortion rights alone was not enough.
- These slogans were:
 - Free, safe contraceptives.
 - Free 24-hour quality childcare.
 - Defend gay people's right to raise children.
 - Smash the Phyllis Schlafly movement—ratify the ERA.
 - Not the church, not the state, women should decide their fate. □

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