VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

Tentative Settlement Includes Few New Gains

BY PAUL ALDRIDGE

MARCH 15—As we go to press, the leadership of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) have announced a new tentative settlement in the 10-day-old national coal strike. Both the coal bosses and the union leaders are describing it as a major concession to the miners. However, it falls far short of meeting the demands of the miners and should be rejected.

The main “concessions” made by the BCOA include:

- The right to strike: Since the strike began on December 6, one of the major demands of the miners has been the right to strike over safety grievances. During the last year, over 140 miners were killed on the job. Only the militant miners’ refusal to work under unsafe conditions kept the total from soaring higher. In the last year alone, unsafe working conditions sparked hundreds of wildcat strikes.

Under the previous proposal, anyone who “has picketed or otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike” shall be subject to discipline, including discharge. The new settlement drops this clause. Instead, the union leaders and the coal bosses have agreed to rely on a previous “anti-wildcat” ruling by the Arbitration Review Board (ARB).

The ARB ruling, no. 108, states that miners can be fired for wildcating or even passing out literature calling for a strike. The union leaders claim that agreeing to this settlement will allow them to challenge this ruling in court should the bosses try to enforce it.

Under the new proposal, militants will be at the mercy of the courts and the union leaders should the company fire them for wildcating. Even if the union leaders challenge a firing under the ARB ruling, there is no guarantee that they would win. While dropping explicit penalties against wildcat leaders is a victory, the right to strike is by no means secured.

- Health benefits: Under the new settlement, miners will no longer be able to challenge this court should the bosses try to enforce it.

While dropping explicit penalties against wildcat leaders is a victory, the right to strike is by no means secured.

BY PAUL BENJAMIN

On March 3, Prime Minister Ian Smith signed an agreement to share political power with three Black political leaders in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). These politicians—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabergi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—claim the settlement guarantees Black rule in Zimbabwe by December 31, 1978.

In fact, the settlement is a betrayal of the struggle against white rule. It allows the white minority ruling class to hide behind a few Black puppets, while it continues to oppress and exploit the people of Zimbabwe. Workers and peasants in Zimbabwe must reject this sellout and struggle to overthrow the traitors who agreed to it.

Agreement protects whites

What does the promise of “Black rule” actually mean? The agreement states that Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau will “join the racist butcher,” Smith, on an executive council to draft a constitution and set up elections for a new government. All executive council decisions must be unanimous. This means that Smith has veto power over all decisions made by the transition government. As well, the agreement gives the white minority equal representation on a council of ministers which will take charge of day-to-day affairs.

The sellout also includes specific measures to protect the wealth and power of the white minority. These include:

- White control of the army, police, courts and prisons for at least 10 years.
- Protection of white-owned private property. Whites are only four percent of the population, but they own 80 percent of Zimbabwe’s wealth and almost half of the land. If the new government expropriates any of this property, it must pay “prompt” compensation—whether or not the white owners remain in the country.
- The white minority will remain the backbone of the civil service, a stronghold of white supremacy.

Civil service pensions are guaranteed. This allows...
More on the Vietnam-Kampuchea war

Dear Torch,

I thought the article in the last issue on the war between Vietnam and Kampuchea (Cambodia) was good in its analysis and conclusions. Vietnam is expansionist, and revolutionaries must defend Kampuchea’s right to exist. A good, concrete example of this can be found in one of the underlying issues in the border war, and that is the conflicting territorial claims on the oil-rich seabed in the Gulf of Thailand.

Vietnam, Kampuchea and Thailand are all involved in that dispute, but Vietnam and Thailand have tried to settle it between them, squeezing Kampuchea into a corner by reaching an agreement which recognized Vietnam’s claim to a 200-mile economic zone (that is, control over all waters between the borders and extending 200 miles out to sea). This agreement would allow Vietnam to take a huge slice out of what have traditionally been Kampuchean waters; these waters are also where some of the richest seabed is located. Kampuchea then issued a declaration of a 200-mile economic zone based on the 1939 “Brevile,” drawn by the French to divide their administrations of the two countries.

If the Vietnam-Thailand agreement stands, Kampuchea will be left with only a small wedge of sea territory under its control. The vast bulk of its territorial waters would be in the hands of its enemies. This would make the naval defense of Kampuchea almost impossible. It would also mean that Kampuchea is robbed of vast amounts of natural resources which it needs to pass to its enemies, thus weakening Kampuchea even more.

Since 1975, Vietnam and Kampuchea have clashed relatively rarely over small islands in the area, but the results have been Indecisive. A Vietnamese victory in this war would mean, however, that Vietnam is able to enforce its claims and annex Kampuchea’s territorial waters. It is a classic example of capitalist justice—whether we are discussing individual, national or class rights. Our “rights” are only as real as your ability to defend them. The Vietnamese have a right to self-determination, a right which Vietnam is seeking to grab for its own.

This issue adds weight to the Torch’s position that Kampuchea must be defended against Vietnamese expansionism, despite the state capitalist nature of the Kampuchean regime. By defending Kampuchea we are defending our own self-determination, a right which Vietnam is seeking to grab for its own.

New York

RSL Launches Fund Drive

On March 15, the Revolutionary Socialist League launched a three-month fund drive to raise $20,000. We appeal to all friends of the Torch/La Antorcha to help us reach this goal.

This money is needed to continue the recent expansion of our work in several areas. In the coming year we plan to:

• We have expanded the Torch/La Antorcha from 20 pages to 24, more than doubling the size of La Antorcha. However, we are still short of our goal of making the Torch/La Antorcha a fully bilingual newspaper.

• We have greatly expanded our international work. We have established fraternal relations with the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica and greatly expanded discussions with revolutionary individuals and groups in Africa, Latin America and Europe.

• We have increased our work with prisoners. Today we are sending more than four times as many free Torch/La Antorcha subscriptions to prisoners than we did a year ago.

• We led the defense of two Black lesbians victimized for defending themselves against an attack by their anti-gay landlords. We also organized committees in Detroit and Chicago to fight Nazi and KKK terror. And we have continued to organize against South African apartheid and to fight the reactionary labor bureaucracy through our work in the unions.

• We have established a Los Angeles branch of the RSL. All these activities require more funds and major expenses. While the number of our members and sympathizers has grown, this alone is not enough to meet the increased expenses. Funds are now urgently needed to continue to expand our work.

Make checks or money orders payable to RSL or the Torch/La Antorcha, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

In this issue...

3 Nazis routed in St. Louis
3 Nazis stab Detroit woman

4 Miners defy Taft-Hartley
4 Support free coal strike

8 Support for coal strike builds
8 Latin strikers organize at Elmo

Support the August 8th Brigade

14 New right threatens gays and youth
14 Press for Free Right to War
14 Gay prisoner murdered in Florida

8 Struggle in the Horn of Africa
16 Class struggle grows in Puerto Rico
16 Class struggle wins victory

11 Nicaraguan massed rise against regime
11 General strike fails in Peru
11 Malcolm X

26 End of the Cold War
26 World in Revolution

28 In this issue...

28 letters we read
28 Labor in Struggle
28 African struggle for self-determination

41 FEATURES

37 Backpage summary

our readers write...

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

"Legals and illegals, we are victims of the same system, capitalism"

Dear Comrades,

The attacks of the capitalist system against the whole working class have become a lot more widely known lately. Attacks not just against the working class as such, but against working people in general.

This shows that the capitalist system is dying. It is in its death agony. Its exploitation to save its profits won’t stop at making victims of everyone . . . no one is safe. The mind perverting all sorts of atrocities, to make sure that they, the bourgeoisie, don’t have to risk anything, to starve people to death, to violate human rights a thousand and one times. Yes, they can do this, since they have bought the law. They have enough control over the whole state to do and undo what they please. President Carter has misunderstood “human rights” to the whole world, but I don’t understand why. Is Carter underestimating “human rights”? Possibly for this man human rights are simply means to exploit the job, and “la Migra” making raids against all the people. But don’t don’t understand why they don’t allow us to enter their “country” again. I’m seeing that we come to support this country’s economy, which is the same as the economy of Mexico’s natural riches. But he doesn’t give us the freedom to work the land that once belonged to Mexico and which was stolen from it.

And it isn’t just us, the so-called illegals, who are the victims of the system: Everyone in general, legal and illegals, Black and white, all of us together are victims in one form or another.

I would like to give you one example, since I am writing this here at the end myself, like thousands or millions of those who will read this article.

I have been working, for about five years in a place with about 75 employees, earning today what we earned five years ago. The boss in those days didn’t pay “overtime.” Yes, but here comes the “but” that many used to give the employees with more time one week of vacation a year. Well, he cut it off. Why? Well, as the reward for having reported him. And if I forgot to tell you, all the people who lost their week’s

vacation were people legally in this country.

Another example is a large furniture store, with about 400 employees, mostly newly married. A lot of women with dreams of having a family. There’s a woman manager in that place who wants to require all women who want to have children to first ask permission to get pregnant. At certain times such as Christmas when the work doubles, it is impossible for an employee to miss work or for a woman to have a baby, because she runs the risk of being fired for not having permission to have her child at that time. And I could show you thousands of other examples where American citizens are also victims of the system.

These people have weapons with which to fight for their rights (weapons such as their language, English, their citizenship, unions). If they are treated this way, what fate awaits the whole class of undocumented workers? But this shows that each of reaching ourselves can’t do anything. The solution is one organization, one worldwide union of all the working class in general, legal and illegal, Black and white, to be able to make a socialist revolution where all the proletariat will have the power.

We have to and we must destroy capitalism for the betterment of ourselves and future generations.

HR
Los Angeles

Young militant writes on L.A. busing

Dear Torch,

I am a participant in the Los Angeles area student movement. We are being integrated and bussed. That’s no problem, but there is a problem is what students do when class is off. Different students are of different cultures and races. When students play segregated, they tend to bond together in groups. Whites in one group, Blacks in another. Mexicans in another and Asians, Indians, Armenians and so on. These groups are caused by racism. Racism in the working class is far more horrible than in any other class. Why? Because that prevents the workers from organizing together effectively.

The “ruling class” keeps workers down. They oppress workers. How? Easy, they put us down and pit us against each other, so we keep ourselves down. The way they keep us down is through racism. Also many other things I will not go into them.

I also seem to find more lower class students being bussed. I feel that they are being bussed to better schools in the upper-class neighborhoods. Why are the low class neighborhood schools so bad? That is another way the “ruling class” keeps workers down. They give us poor educations so we can’t advance. We must not be able to have progress or the ruling class will drown in their own blood.

I like your paper. Please consult me on this subject.

MLH
Los Angeles
P.S. By the way I’m a 13-year-old student
Nazis Stab Detroit Woman

DETROIT March 13—The Nazi attempt to hold a convention in St. Louis this weekend is only one sign of increased fascist activity around the country. Here in Detroit, the Nazis recently opened up a “White Power Bookstore” to peddle their tirade. Shortly after the racist bookstore opened, the RSL launched a Workers Defense Committee (WDC) to take up the fight against the Nazis. The WDC has a number of demonstrations at the bookstore and cut out a number of labor leaders from the anti-Nazi struggle. The Nazis claim that their book store is “anti-Semitic.” The WDC is building a united anti-fascist defense force to undermine the fascists and mobilize the working class.
Miners Defy Taft Hartley

The following article was written in the wake of the new collective agreement announced. It discusses the miners' response to the Taft Hartley Injunction and Carter's strike-breaking strategy.

The overwhelming majority of the 160,000 striking miners are refusing to obey the Taft Hartley back-to-work order. On the first day, the order was in effect, less than 500 miners showed up for work. Not one miner returned in Ohio and only a handful reported for work in West Virginia.

The Carter Administration is stepping up efforts to enforce the Injunction. But it is not likely that the miners will abandon their month-long strike. Three times in the past, the ranks of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) have ignored Taft Hartley Injunctions. "No Congress, no president can answer the miners' call to strike," threatened actions of President Carter and the coal bosses.

"I'm going to defy the president!"

The miners' hatred for Taft Hartley runs deep. When Taft Hartley first became law in 1947, 200,000 miners struck in protest. These feelings are just as strong today. As one miner said: "I've been a miner all my life. I've defied the bosses and the union bosses and now I'm going to defy the president of the United States." During the hearings in preparation for issuing the current injunction, not one UMW representative was willing to promise that the miners would accept the order. A local union president from Virginia explained, when asked about how he was going to deal with the Injunction: "I've got no choice but to return. But if I get a call that if I step in a union mine I'll get my head blown off, I'll stay home. I expect that call.

Moreover, the miners are prepared to do whatever is necessary to defend their strike. "If Carter sends in the troops, we'll have a Vietnam invasion." In this country, if he's asking for war, he's going to get one," a Pennsylvania miner warned.

Carter threatens miners' strike

This situation developed after the miners' vote on the "tin" contract offer from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). By March 6, it was clear that the miners had rejected the offer and would continue their strike. That night, Carter appeared on national television to announce that he would ask for a court injunction under the anti-labor Taft Hartley Act.

Under the cover of "protecting the national interest," Carter threatened to force the miners back to work. On March 9, he appealed to the federal courts for the back-to-work order. Later that day, a federal judge ordered the miners to return to work for an 80-day "cooling-off period."

Under the Injunction, the members and officers of the UMW are restrained from soliciting, interfering with or affecting the orderly and peaceful closure of the strikers. The Bituminous coal industry of the U.S. and (b) from interfering with or affecting the orderly and peaceful closure of the strikers.

To help enforce the Injunction, Carter offered the use of U.S. marshals, the FBI and federal troops to the governors of 16 states affected by the strike. As a final snap in the face, Carter threatened to cut off food stamps to the striking miners.

Despite his claim of "neutrality," Carter is playing a strike-breaker for the coal bosses. In the short run, he hopes that enough miners will trickle back to work to take the edge off the coal shortages created by the strike. He is especially interested in reopening the strip mines in southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and western Kentucky. These surface mines can reach full production rapidly.

Over time, Carter hopes the reopening of a few surface mines and a few deep mines in more conservative UMW districts will undermine the confidence of the miners. If Carter breaks the "miners' unity," he can then push for negotiations at the district and local level.

Attitudes toward seizure of mines divided

The government still has one more alternative left: if the miners continue to hold out against Taft Hartley, Carter can ask Congress to pass legislation that will give the government ownership of the mines for 90 days. The seizure of the mines means that miners would return to work for the government. Terms for resuming work would be negotiated by the government and the union. In turn, these terms would become the basis for a settlement with the BCOA. In the coalfields, attitudes toward government seizure are divided. One militant, a union committee chairman, explained: "Government seizure is just Taft Hartley with the flag wrapped around it."

Miners fought government in 1943 strike

At the beginning of World War II, President F.D. Roosevelt pledged by the reforms to the Stalinist union leaders. However, the government's imperialist warmongering coalition tactic is to start World War III. The miners have never gotten anything from the bosses or the government that they didn't fight for. The government has seized the mines in the past and each time the miners have had to fight tooth and nail for any gains that are won. An example of this was the 1943 coal strike.

VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

Throughout the strike, the miners have been demanding a full restoration of their medical benefits. To meet this demand, 80,000 miners voted to strike. The government decided to pay $500 a month on their medical bills. The proposed contract does away with "cradle-to-grave" medical coverage the miners won in 1950.

Pensions: The proposed contract will immediately raise the pensions of miners who retired before the end of 1976 to $257 a month. This still means that the older miners receive $225 less than the miners who retired after 1976. Miners have demanded that pensions be equalized. Thus, $500 a month, in effect, the bosses are afraid to take the strikers out to sell the older miners--in many cases their own fathers--a new contract.

Total wages and benefits: Under the new contract, miners will receive a $4.90 per hour increase over three years in total wages and benefits. This is a gain of 25 cents over the last proposal. The outcome of the vote on the proposed settlement will be known for at least 10 days. Even if the miners accept, their strike will still be a victory over the coal bosses. The miners set out to break the militant miners' movement and take away many of the gains won in the past. The miners' has grown stronger in the course of the strike and have forced the owners to retreat. The government's campaign does not satisfy the needs of the miners. The miners have met the government's demands by the threat. They are successfully holding out against the government's attempt to break their strike.

The miners are old and working-class support for the miners is growing. Miners should vote no on the proposed contract. Real concessions on the right to strike and the full restoration of medical benefits and pensions can be won by continuing the strike.
Aerospace strike continues

The strike against McDonnell Douglas is moving into its third month at plants in California. Over 8,000 members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) have been on strike against the aircraft manufacturer since January 14.

The strike was triggered by management’s refusal to negotiate a new contract since the miners walked out in October, when the miners struck for the government’s support to the miners. When they arrived in Munich, Kentucky, a rally was held in support of both strikes.

On February 25, mem-
bers of the United Auto Workers, in a mile-long caravan, bringing bags of flour and other staples to the miners. When the miners don’t want to

South workers, United Steelworkers, Amal-
gated Clothing and Textile Workers, and the Interna-
tional Union of Electrical Workers. With the excep-
tion of the AFL-CIO, which claimed it was unable to support the miners because they hadn’t been asked, most interna-
tional unions have been pressed by the rank and file to make good on their verbal commitments.

This support must con-
tinue. Carter is trying to take away the miners’ right to food stamps. Support from the rest of the labor move-
ment will help the miners withstand this attack and maintain their strike.

Support for Coal Strike Builds

Early in the strike the coal bosses were bragging: “If the miners don’t want to accept the deal, there’s a man-made car stave, and for a while it looked like the coal bosses would get what they wanted.

But the miners strike, the bosses will give up anything without a fight. As has been proven in the past, the key to victory is militant unity and struggle.

Miners show power of working class

The miners are striking to defend the interests of the miners in the 1940s. Once again, they are striking for the principles of the U.S. government.

The miners’ strike is the most militant demonstration of worker solidarity and unity in the last 30 years of U.S. labor his-

Every attempt the government makes to interfere in the union.

Auto workers fight harassment

A new wave of layoffs is beginning to hit auto workers in Detroit. Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three auto companies, is laying off 10,000 workers at its Sterling Heights Stamping plant and 500 at the Warren Stamping plant. Production has been reduced at the Mound Road plant.

Chrysler is trying to cut its losses by increasing productivity. Along with the layoffs, this means speedup, a general disregard for safety and increased management harassment.

The UAW is refusing to lift a finger. It has been up to the rank-and-file workers to organize a defense against these attacks. Workers at the Warren Stamping plant, including supporters of the Revolutionary Auto Workers Committee (RAC), have been able to fight back against the layoffs and an end to management’s harassment of workers in the plant.

Finally, under pressure of the workers at the meeting, the bureaucrats agreed to reopen the case of one of the fired workers.

At Warren Tank, a Chrysler plant outside Detroit, 65 workers showed up at the February 26 union meeting. They were told to speed up, find the "source of harassment and rehire all of the workers."

These actions point the way forward for workers throughout the industry. If management attacks are going to be stopped, the rank and file of the unions must stand up and take action.
NY legislators push death-penalty law

On March 10, Roxane Gay was "acquitted" in a New Jersey court for the stabbing death of Blenda Gay, her husband. The state ruled that Roxane Gay was insane when she killed her husband, and that she should be sent to a mental institution. The judge also claimed that Roxane Gay is still insane, and she will now have to waste years of her life in a mental institution. Businessman and professional football player, beat Roxane Gay on many occasions. A neighbor commented: "It sounded like he literally bounced her head off the wall," Roxane Gay had been stabbed Blenda Gay, her husband, and her nightmare didn't end for Roxane Gay once her husband was dead.

During the trial, the court was more worried about the "good name" of Blenda Gay than about the fact that he was a wife-beater. A prosecutor for the prosecution, Dr. Robert Sadoff, even denied that Blenda beat Roxane at all! He claimed that what was going on was "playful roughhousing" which Roxanne "expanded in her mind."

Under capitalism, defending yourself or fighting back against abuse is considered a crime or insane. Living through beating or being driven to the name of "martial bliss" is considered proper and sane. So it's no wonder that the state is using mental health as its excuse to put you away. We are not fighting back against the oppression they face under capitalism. We say the state has no right to send Roxane Gay to its mental institution.

Free the Prairie Fire Five!

On February 1, five militants accused of planning terrorist activities were indicted by a Los Angeles County grand jury. The indictment, which included 15 counts of murder and attempted murder, was based on evidence that the FBI had collected in the course of their investigation of the group.

The Revolutionary Socialist League does not believe that individual acts of terrorism further the fight against capitalism. However, that is not the main question in this case. Whether or not the five were actually involved in bomb attempts, the capitalist state has no right to judge them. We urge our members to defend these sisters and brothers from the state's attack on them.

Latin Prisoners Organize at Elmira

Dear Comrade: The Elmira Correctional Facility, known as "The Hill," is a medium security institution which holds 2,100 inmates. The food which is served here isn't fit for dogs, the beans are always burned, the rice is always soggy or too stiff cooked together. After eating the mashed potato, if there is any left over, the water it will dissolve, the salad is out of this world (meaning that to eat it you must eliminate all UPO's), the coffee can drive your car for 4 miles or 60 minutes. One takes a shower and before he finishes drying up his feet, he's dirty again, because there are no mats to protect his feet, mildew is all over the place. The silver pipes are turning green, and the drain system is no good.

The Kangaroo Court (Judges' or disciplinary board) have kept locked many brothers regarding non-existent or no fault. If one gets beaten up, even if he didn't swing back, over seven or four days, they keep the light for fighting. I'm sure you've heard of the recent demonstration Elmira Correctional and Great Meadow correctional officers had to try and get control of the prison yard in front of the office. Well, they're using the excuse that we inmates have increased assaults against the officers 300 percent since he's been in office. This is true, but that's not because of Benjamin Ward, it's because the officers have increased their harassment. I'm not saying that Benjamin Ward is doing any good job, because whether he is a capitalist or Uncle Tom, the prison system will still be destructive to those who enter.

The Latin Dialogue Organization started around March 1975. It is the only one of the organization was to teach the Hispanic population their cultural and political background. Then sometime during 1974 or '75, we added Marxist-Leninist theory, party building, capitalism, black nationalism, etc. But as it stands today, the organization has been crippled by this administration because it has labeled brothers as revolutionaries, trouble makers, etc. It has transferred every coordinator that has functioned as he's supposed to. They de moted our time from 2 hours and 15 minutes to one hour and 30 minutes. They have just recently stepped up their harassment against brothers of the organization. They have harassed workers who come from the outside to update our hand. They have twice stole our Puerto Rican Liberation Flag. Twice we almost had to riot to get it back. They take a month and a half to admit a new member to the organization, etc.

What the Latin Dialogue Organization is struggling for is the liberation of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Latin American Countries from imperialist rule. I personally have kept my objectives on an international level, for all oppressed people are my people.

I have written to many organizations out there for support and possibly a helping hand, and out of every organization I have written to, so far you are the only one who has given us the little support you can give. Without support from the outside I can't even attempt to fight against these Racists, Rednecks, Uncle Toms and Puerto Rican traitors that have so damaged the lives of so many brothers. I spend the $11.50 I receive from the state on books for the organizations, and that leaves me broke because I get no funds from my family. I spend most of my time trying to educate as many brothers that I can. I stay up until the wee hours of the morning writing letters for support, and all I get the it is a waisting allotment of ink and paper for nothing. Because sometimes I don't even get a reply from the M.P.F.

It's one thing to get stepped on by this administration, but the people outside call us animals. But it burns me up that the people denouncing this system I have thought so many times of leaving the struggle, forget the people's war and just take care of number one. But I always had the feeling that the people will fight when things get rough, that one must struggle even harder. This is the only thing that has kept me going for so long.

In closing let me say that I'm very pleased to unite with you all in unity shall we win, but with no support will we lose.

In peace and unity,

AH

Elmira

Latin Prisoners Organize at Elmira

Support the August 8th Brigade!

On August 8th, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on a hill above Napanoch prison in New York. With that, the plight of the prisoners took over housing blocks 8-B and 11 and took hostages. They demanded decent food, passage of a good time bill which would cut minimum sentences, amnesty for all those involved in the rebellion, and removal of racist guards.

The administration promised to review the grievances and supposedly granted amnesty to all the prisoners involved in the rebellion. So in good faith the brothers ended the rebellion.

Since then the prisoners and the state have gone on a terror campaign; Forty-three brothers were thrown into segregation and then shipped to prisons all over the state. Many brothers have been indicted on charges including first-degree rioting and first-degree attempted coercion and assault. Eight of the 10 are Latin.

They have been trying to keep the prisoners from getting any mail. A frame-up trial is being set up. But the prisoners have continued to fight! They formed the August 8th Brigade to expose the state's oppression in the prisons and to defend the brothers who are being framed. Recently, they filed a class action suit to keep the mail from being tampered with.

The August 8th Brigade needs a lot of support. They've got to contend with KKK guards, seditive keepers, and the racist court system. The August 8th Brigade has no money and, so far, only minimal support. Brothers of the Torch/La Antorchta can help. People on the outside can send contributions for the defense. Brothers and sisters in the prisons can write messages of support and solidarity. Send letters and contributions to the Torch/La Antorchta and we will forward them to the Brigade. Send to: Torch/La Antorchta, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

PAGE 6 / TORCH / MARCH 15-APRIL 14, 1976
In December, the Judicial Department of Massachusetts upheld the "rightness and 'legality' of the state's laws against prostitution. They also ruled that those oppressive laws should be applied to male prisoners as well as they are to women prostitutes.

Last month, Joseph M. Jordan, the Commissioner of Boston's police force, showed how the court's new decision will be used. He instructed police in Boston to arrest men and women suspected of "crime on an 'equal' basis." But he didn't say that prostitution charges are one of the threats police always use to keep gays "in their place."

This new policy means that gays and young gays, in particular, will face even more harassment and arrests as they do now.

Gay people who meet in the parks and streets become harried and harassed, and are often not like or cannot afford to get into the few places where so-called "homosexuals" to socialize openly will be easy prey for the police. Gay youth, who have no place to meet each other and be open about their sexuality, the new police policy has made "Stay in the closet!"

It is no accident that the news of this new policy is not enforce now. Anti-gay sentiment in Boston has been roused following the news that the group of older homosocial men were paying sexual high-school age boys for sex. Recently, a young male of the same age was arrested.

Eve In Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign in the South Florida, anti-gay forces have lived up to "homosexualizing" gay youth as a way to win support for their attack on gays. The Gay City police raided the offices of The Body Politic, a gay magazine in Toronto, using the same excuse. They then proceeded to harass and arrest young gays who demonstrated in the magazine's defense.

Now the Boston cops have been given the go-ahead to step up the arrests and how to act.

For gay youth it's worse. They are never even caught, but the police are always there to "habilitate" in government youth programs. Or else you are always being hunted and shown by society and forced to fend for yourself. Many runaways have been "run away" in order to escape their oppression. Then they must face the worst that this society can offer. The result is the deaths of many, young people. This is the purpose behind the new police policy in Boston.

Moreover, gays are often raped, or otherwise abused and raped by the jails. They have to fight society's oppression, and never received any justice.

On January 31, Arthur Dubay, a 19-year-old gay prisoner at the Sumner County Correctional Facility in Bushnell, Florida, was raped and tortured by prison guards, including "molesters" and straight guards, who are also the same ones who are raping gay youth in high-school age. The guards are not the same ones who are raping gay youth in high-school age. The guards are not the same ones who are raping gay youth in high-school age. The guards are not the same ones who are raping gay youth in high-school age. The guards are not the same ones who are raping gay youth in high-school age.

Moreover, the ruling class is responsible for the conditions that breed crimes. They keep the prisons locked up, and are even encouraged by the prison keepers.

Gay rights are denied. They also deny them any legal right to express their sexuality. And the illegal expression—the rapes—continues, and are even encouraged by the prison keepers.

In some prisons across the country, these actions are not simply the actions of the prison guards or the prison keepers, but the actions of the prison staff and the prison officials. In some prisons across the country, these actions are not simply the actions of the prison guards or the prison keepers, but the actions of the prison staff and the prison officials.

Gays and youth fight the same enemy

Young people and gay people are among the most oppressed people in society today. Society tries to convince everyone that homosexuality is childish, molestlfe, and that all young people are immature, unable to think for themselves, unaware of what they need. Many of them, when they are younger, are not afraid of beingCreation.

Capitalists control people's lives

The way society is now, the capitalists control everyone's lives for their own purposes. Their purpose is to get richer and richer off our work and lives. Under capitalism, everything gets turned into money, even our bodies, even our needs for food and sex. And if we can't get something to sell—"even if it means selling your body—then you are worthless" is the policy of the working class and the workers. It is the policy of the working class and the workers. Capitalism creates prostitution and the working class and the workers are the main force behind this.

We have heard from two prisoners who have won court battles in defense of their rights. One prisoner at the Connecticut Correctional Institution in New York, we have heard from, won a decision forcing the keepers to allow a previously banned issue of the Torch/La Antorcha into the prison. The second prisoner at the Connecticut Correctional Facility in New York, we have heard from, won a decision forcing the keepers to allow a previously banned issue of the Torch/La Antorcha into the prison. These are two, important victories.

We are not saying that the victory is only the first steps in a process. We know that the victory is only the first steps in a process. But the victory is important in two ways. First, it means that Connecticut prisoners will have more difficulty keeping the Torch/La Antorcha out. Second, although the decision is only the first steps in Connecticut, it is an important precedent for the legal battles to come. Prisoners can use this decision as ammunition in forcing other states to recognize their right to receive the Torch/La Antorcha. We will provide specific information about the decision to prisoners on request.

More specifically, the Somers victory is important in two ways. First, it means that Connecticut prisoners will have more difficulty keeping the Torch/La Antorcha out. Second, although the decision is only the first steps in Connecticut, it is an important precedent for the legal battles to come. Prisoners can use this decision as ammunition in forcing other states to recognize their right to receive the Torch/La Antorcha. We will provide specific information about the decision to prisoners on request.

Prisoner Suits Fight Torch Ban

As we reported last month, federal and state prison authorities across the country have banned Torch/La Antorcha. The prison keepers fear the development, revolutionary consciousness among prisoners, and are trying to prevent them from receiving the Torch/La Antorcha. As a result, they want to prevent the prison system and, thus, to prevent the world's largest youth movement from reaching the jails. This is the reason behind the new police policy in Boston.

We have heard from two prisoners who have won court battles in defense of their rights. One prisoner at the Connecticut Correctional Institution in New York, we have heard from, won a decision forcing the keepers to allow a previously banned issue of the Torch/La Antorcha into the prison. The second prisoner at the Connecticut Correctional Facility in New York that right to communicate with other prisoners. These are, both important victories.

The Somers victory is important in two ways. First, it means that Connecticut prisoners will have more difficulty keeping the Torch/La Antorcha out. Second, although the decision is only the first steps in Connecticut, it is an important precedent for the legal battles to come. Prisoners can use this decision as ammunition in forcing other states to recognize their right to receive the Torch/La Antorcha. We will provide specific information about the decision to prisoners on request.

More specifically, the Somers decision will be a valuable precedent in a federal suit being filed by prisoners through the National Prisoner Project, an ACLU affiliate. This suit is aimed at the entire federal prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the Torch/La Antorcha, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize against the prison system, they are forced to organize against the prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for word.
Eritreans and Somalis Fight for Self-Determination

BY TONY CURZO

War is raging on the Horn of Africa. Oppressed peoples in Eritrea and the Ogaden region are fighting for the right to split off from Ethiopia and determine their own fate. On the other side, Ethiopia's military government is fighting to preserve its national unity. The Eritreans and the Somalis will help to clarify the issues at stake in these conflicts.

Eritrea is a country of three and a half million people in the northern part of the Horn of Africa. Its people are Christian and herders, of the Moslem faith. There is a sizable working class in the cities. The Eritreans under Ethiopian rule are exploited and oppressed. Wages are kept very low; labor unions and independent political parties are outlawed; the population has to pay outrageous taxes to prop up the Ethiopian regime, and they live under brutal government repression.

In the Ogaden region similar conditions exist. The Ogaden is located in the southeast corner of the Ethiopian empire. It is a dry region, mostly desert. The people are ethnic Somalis, who make a living as nomadic herdsmen, going from place to place in search of water and grazing land. Since Ethiopia seized the Ogaden at the turn of the century, the people have been subjected to high taxes and to religious persecution. The Ogaden Somalis are Moslems, while their Ethiopian rulers are Christians. The people of the Ogaden are ethnically and culturally the same as the Somalis of neighboring Somalia.

Russian imperialism aids Ethiopian regime

Of these two liberation struggles, the first is closer to victory. After 17 years of guerrilla war, the Eritrean forces control 85 percent of the country. Only the five largest cities remain in Ethiopian hands. The Eritreans have surrounded and are subjecting them to daily bombardment. If it were not for imperialist intervention on the side of Ethiopia, the total liberation of Eritrea would be only a matter of time.

In the Ogaden, the Somalis last year took advantage of Ethiopia's internal instability and the fact that the Ethiopian army was pinned down in Eritrea. Backed by neighboring Somalia's arms, troops, and air power, the people of the Ogaden drove the Ethiopian 3rd Division out of the region and seized more than 90 percent of the territory.

The future looks promising. The Ethiopian army was demoralized and falling apart. By December of last year, the final victory of the Ogaden Somalis seemed assured. But then Russian imperialism intervened.

In a few weeks the Russians shipped over $500 million in arms and supplies to the Ethiopians, in one of the biggest airlifts in history. They sent 2,000 Russian advisors and more than 10,000 Cuban troops to strengthen the Ethiopians. Meanwhile, Somalis were unable to persuade the U.S. and its allies to supply them with any arms.

Backed up by Russian arms and Cuban troops, an Ethiopian force of 75,000 launched a major offensive in the Ogaden on January 22. The Somalis had to retreat because they had nothing to match the Ethiopians' increased firepower. On March 9, Somalia's government (under heavy pressure from U.S. imperialism) announced that it was withdrawing its forces from the Ogaden. Their withdrawal leaves the people of the Ogaden at the mercy of the Ethiopian and Cuban troops. As of this writing, one-third of the Ogaden has been seized. The rest will be overrun in a few days.

It is too early to say definitively what will happen now on the Horn of Africa. Neither the Eritreans nor the Somalis are in a position to fight a conventional war with Ethiopia. The Somalis appear to have been effectively put out of action. But the Eritreans are in a better position to wage a long guerrilla struggle. Their forces are highly motivated, they are well dug in, and they have the overwhelming support of the population.

However, the newly-arrived planes and tanks are bound to hurt the Eritrean struggle. Moreover, the Ethiopian troops stationed in the Ogaden will soon be moved to Eritrea. The Eritreans will probably survive the onslaught, although they will undoubtedly suffer serious setbacks and may have to abandon the cities they have captured.

The wars in the Ogaden and Eritrea are a result of the historic oppression of peoples that resulted from the imperialist carve-up of Africa. In the 1880s and 1890s the European imperialists divided Africa among themselves without any regard for the Africans' ethnic, religious, or linguistic boundaries. The borders often cut up major ethnic groups among several colonies.

More often still, whole peoples were incorporated in colonies where they came to be dominated by other ethnic groups. These colonies eventually became today's African states.

The Horn of Africa is typical of this history. Eritrea was an Italian colony until the end of World War II. In 1952 U.S. imperialism, acting through the United Nations, handed Eritrea over to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, without consulting the Eritrean population. Selassie's rule proved to be brutally repressive. He imposed Amharic as the official language. He outlawed all independent political parties, shut down newspapers, banned trade unions, and arrested or shot all opposition. In 1958 his troops put down a general strike by firing machine guns on the workers.

The history of the Ogaden and Somalia is similar. After Ethiopia's King Menelik II defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1896, the European powers decided to cut him in on the imperialist action. Somalia was divided five ways: the Ogaden went to Ethiopia; three pieces went, respectively, to Britain, France, and Italy; and a fifth piece became part of British-ruled Kenya, where it remains to this day.

In 1960 the imperialists allowed the British and Italian-held sectors to merge and form the independent state of Somalia. Beginning in 1961, the Somalis of the Ogaden fought a long guerrilla struggle to kick out the Ethiopians and join Somalia. The Ethiopians finally stampeded it out in 1970 after Somalia's current state-capitalist government of Siad Barre betrayed the struggle to make a deal with Selassie.

Dergue continues national oppression

Selassie fell in September 1974 -- was replaced by the current military government, known as the Dergue (pronounced Derjue). The Dergue wraps itself in "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric but it has pledged to continue Selassie's policies of national oppression.

To preserve the empire, the Dergue is following a domestic policy of total regimentation of the population and widespread terror against real and imagined opponents. The Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU) has been banned since December 1975. It has been replaced with a government-controlled bureau which all unions must join and obey. Migrant workers have been arrested or shot and many unions have been disbanded. Neighborhood committees called kebeles have been organized to control the population all the way down to the city block level.

Meanwhile, thousands are killed on the streets every week in a gruesome campaign to stamp out all opposition to the government. These policies further prove that, instead of socialism, the imperialist-controlled, severely centralized state-capitalist system, with the army bureaucracy as the new ruling class, has been installed.

This kind of imperialism plays in the Horn of Africa can be seen by looking at the policy. The Horn of Africa is extremely important to the imperialist powers. Whoever controls the Horn has access to

(Continued on next page)
Masses rebel against Iranian dictatorship

On February 18, a massive rebellion broke out in Tabriz, Iran’s second largest city. The masses were protesting the death of 70 people in a previous rebellion in the city of Qom on January 9. The demonstrators in Tabriz attacked the headquarters of the National Resistance Party, the only legal opposition to the Iranian regime. They also set fire to four banks and damaged 69 others. Over 100 people were killed in Qom by police or army troops. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi’s government also jailed 700 politicians.

The shah’s regime is one of the most brutal in the world. He has fired the Shah’s secret police, the Savak, for murder or maiming over 100 political prisoners. But mass opposition to the shah has been growing steadily. Last November 15, 100 students in Tehran demonstrated against government repression. On the same day, thousands of Iranian students and workers took to the streets to protest the shah’s visit here. These latest rebellions in Qom and Tabriz are the largest anti-government protests in 15 years.

The shah has been building an empire of international capitalist power in the Middle East, but today these mighty rebellions at home may force him to a retreat. The more problems he has at home, the less can he throw his weight around in neighboring countries.

Students in Ghana take to the streets

Militant students in Ghana have gone into the streets to oppose the March 30 referendum for a “national union government.” The proposal is a coup-up for continued military rule.

On January 13, students in Legon burnt Colonial Acheampong in effigy (Acheampong is the head of the regime). This touched off a struggle with riot cops. At the University of Ghana, in Accra, and the University of Science and Technology, in Kumasi, students went on strike against the regime. Troops were sent in to break up these protests. Government thugs have also broken up meetings organized by the Professional Bodies Association, which demands an immediate return to civilian rule. Meanwhile, the state-controlled newspapers and radio are carrying a propaganda campaign supporting the referendum.

The government is in trouble. Its policies have ruined the Ghanaian economy. Inflation has skyrocketed to 150 percent a year. The national debt has zoomed to $720 million in 1977. Food shortages, hoarding and famine are spreading across the country. Now the military is trying to head off another political crisis by pretending to set a civilian government in motion. This starts out by banning all political parties. It also allows government officers to resign their posts and run as civilians. Acheampong and other military leaders are expected to resign and run for political office. By the army to back them up, these so-called civilians will continue to oppress the Ghanaian people.

It’s doubtful that Acheampong’s rigged referendum will end the struggle for freedom in Ghana. However, for the Ghanaian people to win real freedom, the workers, students, and peasants will have to join together in a revolutionary struggle to smash capitalism.

Anti-fascist demos banned in Britain

On February 22, the British government ordered a two-month ban on political demonstrations in London’s area. The ruling class wants to suppress working-class campaigns to drive the fascist National Front off the streets. The NF has penetrated the streets of one jobless youth, the NF has organized racist community groups, and has mobilized its reactionary demonstrations against the proletariat. This long series of mobilizations, 700 East Indian youth smashed a group of National Front thugs in Bolton, last February 10. But now, under the ban, the fascists will have a free hand to attack their own. Militants who try to stop them will find that their/fight, the fascists who try to stop them will be able to run free. By attacking the most oppressed, they hope to split the workers and buy themselves a little time.

Italian Communist Party backs government

On March 8, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti worked out a deal with the Communist Party and three other parties to form a new government. The agreement ended seven weeks of government crises. For the first time since 1947, the Communist Party will formally support the government’s economic program, which has a new series of attacks on the workers. The program already calls for a $3.5 billion tax increase.

The long negotiations leading to the agreement foreclosed the working-class struggle which was gathering strength last winter. But, over 200,000 workers marched in Rome demanding jobs and economic reforms. But the workers’ momentum died down after Andreotti resigned on January 16. Communist Party leaders discovered that the government was maneuvered for a role in the government. It remains to be seen, however, whether the new government can prevent workers’ struggles from breaking out again.
Class Struggle Grows in Puerto Rico

Colonial Government Attacks Strikers

BY CLIFF GORDON

A major working-class battle is being fought in Puerto Rico. Strikers by the Electrical and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER) and the United Workers of the Metropolitan Bus Authority (TUAMA) are now entering the third month with no end in sight. The strikes are a test of strength between the Puerto Rican working movement and the U.S.-dominated colonial regime.

Since December 27, 6,200 electrical workers have been striking the Water Resources Authority (AFC), which controls all of the island's electric generating power. In San Juan, 1,700 bus drivers and mechanics have been out against the Metropolitan Bus Authority (MBA) since January 10. While Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo is stepping up government threats and violence against these workers, particularly the UTIER, neither union is backing down on demands for big wage increases.

Unions and picket lines attacked

TUAMA has not negotiated with the MBA since late January. UTIER broke off talks with the AFC in mid-February after the government met the union's compromise proposal for an 81 cent an hour wage increase with an offer of only 31 cents. With neither union willing to re-open talks with the government, the strikes are being fought out on the picket lines.

On February 18, the government retaliated with a police attack on UTIER pickets in front of the Puerto Nuevo thermoelectric plant. As the strikers tried to stop scabs from entering, the police shot down two workers and injured 20 others with clubs.

The government has also filed a law suit against UTIER, claiming $3.5 million in damages for acts of sabotage. While workers have taken action against the colonial government's property to help win the strike, the law suit is nothing but a propaganda trick. Barcelo's own agents have been blowing up power lines from the beginning of the strike as part of a government campaign to turn the Puerto Rican people against the strikers. Using newspapers, radio and TV, Barcelo's government is also playing up UTIER President Luis Lauriselle as a leading member of the pro-independence Puerto Rican Socialist Party (TUAMA) against the U.S. government.

So far, Barcelo's efforts to isolate UTIER have failed. The day after the Puerto-Rueda shootings, over 5,000 rallied in San Juan to support the striking unions. Nearly 60 unions have joined the Inter-Trade Union Committee to support UTIER and TUAMA from government repression. Even TUAMA President Jorge Pizoo, who voted for Barcelo last year, has been forced to denounce Barcelo's anti-labor policy. Recent reports indicate that the fire fighters' union may join UTIER and TUAMA in striking for wage increases.

National Guard troops have been on alert for weeks. But faced with the powerful solidarity of the Puerto Rican working class, Barcelo has not dared to use them. He is also hesitant about bringing in scabs against UTIER on a large scale, although AFF management has been threatening to do this.

Behind the bitter struggle over these strikes is the possibility of a new wave of anti-colonial revolt among the Puerto Rican working class. The worsening economic crisis in Puerto Rico is strengthening anti-imperialist sentiment. Under the heel of U.S. rule, unemployment is nearing the 50 percent level. Two-thirds of the Puerto Rican people are eligible for food stamps. Inflation is pushing the wages of Puerto Rican workers even further into poverty.

Through smashing these strikes, Barcelo hopes he can hold down wages in Puerto Rico and attract more investment to stimulate the economy. This would also demoralize the labor movement before the workers develop the confidence to make their struggle political and fight directly for the liberation of Puerto Rico from U.S. rule.

Beyond this, Barcelo needs a victory over UTIER and TUAMA to further his strategy for making Puerto Rico the 51st state of the U.S. Barcelo sees statehood as a way to deal a setback to the national liberation movement that would take years to overcome. He also wants the federal economic aid and benefits which statehood would bring to help ease the economic crisis.

The chief internal obstacle in the way of Barcelo's ambition for statehood is the militant labor movement in Puerto Rico. While wages remain far lower in Puerto Rico, the trade unions have made progress in closing the gap with the U.S. As a result, U.S. corporations no longer view Puerto Rico as a primary source of cheap labor. Instead, the U.S. capitalists are now using Puerto Rico mainly as a tax shelter for banking operations and industries such as oil refining, which employ skilled labor.

U.S. investments in Puerto Rico are exempt from almost all taxation. They are not subject to federal regulation dealing with environmental protection and health and safety standards for workers, or to other social legislation. If Puerto Rico becomes a state, it will lose these remaining attractions for U.S. business. So, Barcelo is trying to convince the U.S. ruling class that he can compensate for this by crushing the trade unions and restoring Puerto Rico as a pool of cheap labor for U.S. industries.

Last week, Barcelo ordered brutal acts of repression against the labor movement. In October, a secret police "torture ship," the Barcelo Caballo, a Teamster shop steward, to death. When an influential anti-labor politician, the U.S. ambassador to Puerto Rico, was assassinated by farm workers, however, the U.S. government decided to back off.

The formation of the broad base of the People's National Party, Barcelo's main political ally, has led the rest of the capitalist class to join Barcelo in the struggle against the government. The People's National Party (PNP) is the government's own political party. To keep working class pressure from building up, the PNP is trying to purge the militant, anti-imperialist political forces.

In December, Barcelo delivered the first strike ultimatum, demanding no job security, no strike, no job action for the union's demand for a $1 an hour wage increase with an unacceptably low offer of 18 cents. With UTIER on strike, the PNP is stepping up its attacks on the power shortages and the three serious economic troubles as functions for breaking the union with force.

General strike needed

While for the moment Barcelo, blocked from using troops, can keep the working class attack on imperialism going, he has not given up. The movement must continue to reach a level of action in support of UTIER and TUAMA.

The next step in the struggle build for a general strike and government to meet the strikers' demands. To allow the go on as it is risks exhausting workers and their supporters, particularly the government. A general strike, on the other hand, can bring the strength of the Puerto Rican working class into action at the same time as pressure Barcelo into backing down. The formation of a broad anti-imperialist trade union committee indicates the real rank-and-file support for a general strike could be organized among every union in the coalition.

Puerto Rico can never be free as long as it is owned and run by a U.S. imperialist government. The other proposal for making Puerto Rico's permanent part of the U.S. is not change ownership. It is the same oppression which the U.S. class inflicts daily upon the people of Puerto Rico.

As the present strikes demonstrate it is the working class which has the power, determination, and ability to unify the masses of oppressed workers which are necessary to lead revolution against U.S. imperialism — the important opening for the workers to strengthen the national liberation struggle under their class leadership.

Jamaican Workers Win Victory

The biggest sugar strike in Jamaican history has ended in victory for the workers. Twenty thousand field and factory workers waged a month-long struggle against the government-owned National Sugar Company (NSC) and the Sugar Producers Federation (SPF), a group dominated by the big private land owners. Early March, the strikers won a 20 percent across-the-board wage increase (about 9¢-10¢) which this brings the average wage in the industry up to about $39 per week (about $39 U.S. ). For the first time, the sugar workers also won a pension plan.

The sugar workers' strike followed a January work stoppage by co-operative farmers. The farmers were protesting the government's failure to repay them $10 million which it borrowed in 1975 to set up the co-ops. Over 20 co-ops refused to deliver sugar cane to the NSC grading facilities at Frome, Monymusk and Bernard Lodge. This forced management at these factories to cut back production.

The resulting threat of layoffs at the factories brought the workers into action. Starting with short walk-outs at Frome and Bernard Lodge a powerful strike by field and factory workers developed mid-February. The workers quickly went past protesting debts and began making wage and other demands. By the 21st, 10 of the dozen or so grading factories were closed.

The co-op farmers were limited to partially closing operations at the three factories they run. The rest of the sugar workers, however, used their direct control of the factories to bar the cane from the field. The big estate owners were forced to let their cane rot in the fields.

The People's National Party, the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley, stood silently with the U.S. against the striking unions. The government itself is one of the industries.

(Continued on page...
Masses Rise Up Against Somoza Regime

To win real freedom, the workers must organize their own revolutionary party and fighting organizations to defend the masses both from Somoza and the capitalistic politicians.

1981. He tried to head off the rebellions by promising election reforms, social security benefits for farm laborers and domestic workers, and an extra month’s salary for all workers.

Workers throughout Nicaragua responded by going into the streets demanding: “Death to Somoza! Somoza resign!” and “We want democracy!” In Masaya, the native Nicaraguan (Indian) population rose up in what observers called a “virtual insurrection.” In Diriamba, guerrillas from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) joined demonstrators in pitched battle with the National Guard. In Managua, the national capital, militants took on the National Guard in struggles which left at least 10 dead and 50 wounded.

Somoza stays in power

Mass opposition to Somoza exploded in January after the death on January 13 in Managua of Joaquín Chamorro, a capitalist politician who opposed the government. Chamorro’s organization, the Democratic Liberal Union (DLU), called a national protest strike on January 23. Although the strike shut down Nicaraguan commerce and industry for two weeks, Somoza was able to quash it and remain in power.

For the second time in seven months, Peru’s workers have gone on a general strike against Francisco Morales Bermúdez’s military government. The strike was called on February 27 by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers. The confederation demanded the release of 2,000 militants jailed after the last general strike on July 19.

In Lima, the national capital, militant youths took to the streets and fought the riot police. The government killed at least 150 strikers including 15-20 trade union leaders.

Despite the militancy shown by the youth, the strike failed to shut down most Peruvian industry. Reports indicate that many of Peru’s 2.8 million workers went to work as usual.

The failure of this strike will encourage the military government to step up its attacks on the workers. The ruling class needs to smash the unions to prevent the collapse of capitalism in Peru. Peru has a foreign debt of more than $26 billion. Over 40 percent of its exports go toward paying off debts to imperialist banks and corporations.

Istemberg has the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans to shore up the economy. But the IMF has demanded massive attacks on the working class as the price for rescuing Peruvian capitalism. The IMF insists that Peru’s government institute wage controls, and that it end the food subsidies the workers depend on to survive.

It was the government’s attempt to impose these measures that led to the general strike last July. That strike shut down Lima and 10 other Peruvian cities. Bermúdez was forced to retreat and cancel his attacks on the workers.

But now the collapse of the February general strike can sow demoralization among the workers. It can provide the government with the opening it needs to go on the attack while base workers are disoriented.

General Strike Fails in Peru

For the second time in seven months, Peru’s workers have gone on a general strike against Francisco Morales Bermúdez’s military government. The strike was called on February 27 by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers. The confederation demanded the release of 2,000 militants jailed after the last general strike on July 19.

In Lima, the national capital, militant youths took to the streets and fought the riot police. The government killed at least 150 strikers including 15-20 trade union leaders.

Despite the militancy shown by the youth, the strike failed to shut down most Peruvian industry. Reports indicate that many of Peru’s 2.8 million workers went to work as usual.

The failure of this strike will encourage the military government to step up its attacks on the workers. The ruling class needs to smash the unions to prevent the collapse of capitalism in Peru. Peru has a foreign debt of more than $26 billion. Over 40 percent of its exports go toward paying off debts to imperialist banks and corporations.

Istemberg has the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans to shore up the economy. But the IMF has demanded massive attacks on the working class as the price for rescuing Peruvian capitalism. The IMF insists that Peru’s government institute wage controls, and that it end the food subsidies the workers depend on to survive.

It was the government’s attempt to impose these measures that led to the general strike last July. That strike shut down Lima and 10 other Peruvian cities. Bermúdez was forced to retreat and cancel his attacks on the workers.

But now the collapse of the February general strike can sow demoralization among the workers. It can provide the government with the opening it needs to go on the attack while base workers are disoriented.

Haymarket Books, the book service of the RSL, carries a wide selection of revolutionary literature, including Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, as well as books on labor history, Black liberation, economics and more. Haymarket also has a number of books in Spanish. For a free catalog, write to: Haymarket Books, PO Box 8062, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

League Pamphlets

1. Imperialism: How the U.S. Captured State Capitalism

2. State Capitalism: How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed . 15¢

3. China’s Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line...35¢

ORDER TODAY!

SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:
RSL, PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036.

MARCH 15-APRIL 14, 1978/TORCH/PAGE 11
Last month, February 21, marked 13 years since Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City. For the anniversary of Malcolm X's death, Wayne Gordon gave a talk to the New York branch of the RSL, focussing on Malcolm X's evolution and his contributions to the struggle of Black and all oppressed people against the capitalist system. Below are excerpts from the talk.

BY WAYNE GORDON

It is hard to define Malcolm X in any cut-and-dried fashion, because his life was one of constant change and growth. He spent his early adult years as a pimp, dope pusher and dope user, thief and gangster. He had been demoralized by the special hell that capitalism reserves for Black people. At the same time, Malcolm X always remembered his father—a Garveyite—a militant nationalist who had been murdered by the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1946 Malcolm X was convicted of burglary and sentenced to 10 years in jail. In prison his family brought him the message of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam. After he left prison in 1952, Malcolm X was to become the Nation of Islam's leading spokesman and organizer. He built the organization from 400 in 1952 to 40,000 in 1960.

The message the Muslims reached him with was: “The white man is the devil.” It is easy to say that this points to the wrong enemy: the whites as (literally) demonized instead of the bourgeoisie as material exploiters. But it would be wrong to miss the positive side, the part this notion played in Malcolm X's growth and the growth of the Black movement.

One thing it meant to him was you don't have to hate yourself. To gain self-respect, Malcolm X emphasized learning the true history of Black people, to offset the fake image of Africa as a land of cannibals, to learn what Black people had to suffer through centuries of slavery and the struggle for freedom. The importance of self-pride, of not blaming taught us to shout and sing and pray until we die, to wait until death, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we're dead, while the white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on this earth!" In rejecting the slave psychology of the Christian church, Malcolm X, particularly rejected non-violence, pacifism, and all "love thy enemy, turn the other cheek" nonsense.

"Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everybody. But if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."

As Malcolm X developed the Nation's doctrine of self-defense, it became a call for revolution. In his last speech as a Black Muslim, the "Message to the Grassroots," he declared, "Revolution is bloody, bloody revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise... It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These (liberal) people aren't asking for any nation—they're trying to crawl back on the plantation."

Malcolm X's nationalism was directly counterposed to the liberal integrationism of the leaders of the civil rights movement, particularly Martin Luther King, Jr. Through a combination of lawsuits and mass non-violent demonstrations and boycotts, these so-called leaders aimed to pressure the liberal capitalists into forcing the Southern segregationists to drop their most obvious laws. This was the only strategy that made the U.S. politically sensitive to how it looked in the eyes of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The integrationists believed that U.S. capitalism was a good system, which left Black people only because of the prejudices and injustices of the Southern wing of the bourgeoisie and white liberals. They believed that the liberal bourgeoisie, through the medium of the liberal Democrats, would be willing to play with the Black movement (under a little pressure). Then the middle-class elements who led the movement should be able to integrate into middle-class America. They would become corporate managers, college professors, civil servants, and suburban homeowners—just like the rest of the middle class.

"Leaders" try to hold back struggle

But to do this, the integrationists had to hold the masses of Black people in check. The urban masses in particular continued to go beyond the control of the integrationists. After all, even if all laws behind segregation and discrimination were abolished, the Black ghetto dweller would still be poor, underemployed, stinking schools and services. The integrationists were afraid that the anger and bitterness of the Black masses would explode in a struggle against the entire capitalist class, not just its Southern branch. When Black people did rise up, as in the rebellions of the mid-60s, the civil rights "leaders" supported the capitalists' efforts to crush them.

After the 1967 Black uprisings in Newark and Detroit, King and other "leaders" issued a statement supporting President Johnson's call for "law and order" and denouncing "mob rule." "Non-violent!" Martin Luther King, Jr., had stated, "I'm very sorry federal troops had to be called in. But I'm not going to question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted." Non-violence was for the masses, but violence was right for the government against the masses. That's why they gave him the Nobel Peace Prize, for pacifying the Black masses.

Malcolm X put no faith in the liberals and their strategy to give the U.S. a new face. The white liberal differs from the white conservative in only one way: the liberal is more deceitful than the conservative." He gave no support to the Democrats. "I'm not a Demo­crat. I'm not a Republican. I don't even consider myself an American... I'm speaking as what I am: one of twenty-two million Black people in this country who are victims of your democratic system."

Leadership, either by government or by the NAACP, was never very clear about what was to be accomplished, who the people were accomplishing it for, and why. The people themselves believe that they are losing the country. "Now the country" was not what its Black inhabitants, who were never playing to a White audience, believed.
Malcolm X, "Revolution Knows No Compromise"

Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City. For the anniversary of Malcolm X's death, Wayne Gordon gave a talk to the New York branch of the RSL, focussing on Malcolm X's evolution and his contributions to the struggle of Black and all oppressed people against the capitalist system. Below are excerpts from the talk.

BY WAYNE GORDON

It is hard to define Malcolm X in any cut-and-dried fashion, because his life was one of constant change and growth. He spent his early adult years as a pimp, dope pusher and dope user, rumored gangster. He had been demoralized by the special hell that capitalism reserves for Black people. At one time, Malcolm X remembered his father—a Garveyite—a militant nationalist who had been murdered by the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1946 Malcolm X was convicted of burglary and sentenced to 10 years in jail. In prison his family brought him the message of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam. After he left prison in 1952, Malcolm X went on to become the Nation of Islam's leading spokesman and organizer. He built the organization from 400 in 1952 to 40,000 in 1960.

The message the Muslims reached him with was: "The white man is the devil." It is easy to say that this points to the wrong enemy: the whites as literally demons instead of the bourgeois as material exploiters. But it would be wrong to miss the positive side, the part this notion played in Malcolm X's growth and the growth of the Black movement.

One thing it meant to him was you don't have to hate yourself. To gain self-respect, you had to learn the true history of Black people, to throw away the fake image of Africa as a land of cannibals, in order to learn what Black people had to suffer through the slave trade and slavery and the importance of self-pride, of not blaming yourself for your suffering, of knowing your history, of something that all the oppressed had been given without protest of race.

The main ideological influence in the Black community, teaching self-hatred and servility, is the Christian church. Malcolm X attacked it bitterly. He said: "The white man has brainwashed us Black people to accept our gaze upon a bloodstained, blue-eyed Jesus. We're worshipping a Jesus who doesn't even look like us."

"The white man has taught us to shout and sing and pray until we die, to wait until death, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-belfry, when we're dead, while the white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on this earth!"

In rejecting the slave psychology of the Christian church, Malcolm X particularly reviled nonviolence, pacifism, and all "love thy enemy, turn the cheek" nonsense. "Our religion teaches us to be intelligent, be peaceable, be courteous, obey the law, respect everybody. But if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."

As Malcolm X developed the Nation's doctrine of self-defense, became a call for revolution. In his last speech as a Black Muslim, he delivered the "Message to the Grassroots."

"Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise. . . . It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These (liberal) Negroes aren't asking for any nation—they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

Malcolm X's nationalism was directly counterposed to the liberal internationalism of the leaders of the civil rights movement, particularly Martin Luther King, Jr. Through a combination of lawsuits and mass non-violent demonstrations and boycotts, these so-called leaders aimed to pressure the liberal capitalists into forcing the Southern segregationists to drop their most obvious laws. This was in the context of the post-war prosperity and the Cold War, and the poorer Blacks, for whom integration was meaningless, Malcolm X saw a class difference. He compared the first group to the "house slave" of the old plantations and the second group to the "field slave.

"Now then, you have the masses of Black people in this country who are the offshoot of the field Negro, during slavery. They are the masses. They are the ones who are jobless. They are the last hired and the first fired. They are the ones who are forced to live in the ghetto and the slum. They are the ones who are not allowed to integrate. They are not the hand-picked Negroes from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who got the crumbs that fell from the white man's table. They are not the ones who slipped into the White House or those big hotels when the doors were opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to live in a third-rate education or forced to work for a third-rate wage. They are not the hand-picked Negroes who benefit from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who got the crumbs that fell from the white man's table. They are not the ones who slipped into the White House or those big hotels when the doors were opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to live in a third-rate education or forced to work for a third-rate wage. They are not the hand-picked Negroes who benefit from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who got the crumbs that fell from the white man's table. They are not the ones who slipped into the White House or those big hotels when the doors were opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to live in a third-rate education or forced to work for a third-rate wage.

"Leaders" try to hold back struggle

But to do this, the integrationists had to hold the masses of Black people in check. The urban masses in particular continually tended to go beyond the control of the integrationists. After all, even if all laws behind segregation and discrimination were abolished, the Black ghetto dweller would still be poor, underemployed, with stinking schools and services. The integrationists were afraid that the anger and bitterness of the Black masses would explode in a struggle against the entire capitalist class, not just its Southern branch. While the Black masses did rise up, as in the rebellions of the mid-60's, the civil rights leaders supported the capitalists' efforts to crush them.

After the 1967 Black uprisings in Newark and Detroit, King and other "leaders" issued a statement supporting President Johnson's calls for "law and order" and denouncing "mob violence" as a "reactionary force." Martin Luther King, Jr., had stated: "I'm very sorry for the federal troops that had to be called in. But I'm not sorry for the reaction that it brought since it is a reaction to our hard work."

Violence was for the masses, but violence was all right for the government against the masses. That's why they gave him the Nobel Peace Prize, for pacifying the people.

Malcolm X put no faith in the liberals and their strategy to give the U.S. a "better image." The white liberal differs from the white conservative in only one way: the liberal is more decent than the conservative. He gave no support to the Democrats: "I'm not a Demo­crat. I'm not a Republican. I don't even consider myself an American. . . . I'm speaking as what I am: one of twenty million Black people in this country who are victims of your democratic system."

Between the middle-class Blacks who wanted to get into U.S. society

Non-violent protests against racial discrimination spread across U.S.
For example, in 1962 the Los Angeles police attacked the Muslims, starting a gun battle that ended with one Muslim dead and 14 wounded and arrested. Malcolm X flew in from New York and organized an unprecedented unity rally with Black Christian ministers that condemned the LA police. There was talk of some sort of action against the cops. But then Elijah Muhammad suddenly called off the campaign.

Malcolm X's main dissatisfaction with the Nation of Islam's leadership was due to its conservative politics and lack of militancy. From his autobiography, edited by Alex Haley, the liberal author of Roots, it looks like he left the Muslims because of its corruption, or because he was learning about orthodox Islam. This is true, but it's only a small part of the story. Above all, Malcolm X left the Muslims because he wanted a militant movement, not just a more orthodox religious community, either by going to Africa or by breaking off a piece of the U.S. It was never very clear just how this was going to be accomplished. After all, all the white people were not going to let black people integrate into the system, so why believe that they would, or break up the country? At this point, the Muslims were reduced to praying to Allah, which was no more effective than praying to Christ.

Malcolm X breaks with the Nation

Malcolm X's final break with the Nation of Islam came after the assassination of U.S. President Kennedy. Muhammad had ordered his ministers to keep quiet about it so as not to antagonize anyone. Malcolm X gave a speech someone asked him about the shooting during the question and answer period and he answered: "Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad." Malcolm X was saying that General Johnson was the leader of a society that enslaves Black people through violence. Will often die through ignorance and this was nothing to mourn about. It is worth noting that Malcolm X's stand set him apart from some supposedly revolutionary organizations like the Socialist Workers Party—SWP—which sent a message of condolences to Mrs. Kennedy.

At this point he was definitely suspended by Muhammad, until he formally quit to form his own Muslim Mosque, inc. in March 1964. Out of the realm of Islam, Malcolm X became an orthodox-Muslim, but still remained so for the rest of his life. But he also came to see that what the masses needed was a guide to struggle, not another religion. In May 1964 he set up a completely non-religious political organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAA) which included most African governments. He explained: "I've never tried to take part in anything political. Couldn't see it. For one thing, I was in a religious organization that was talking about something coming by-and-by. And anything you start thinking about something by-and-by, you can't take hold of anything no matter how here-and-now. This with him came to abandon his nationalism. First he dropped the call for a separate country, re-defining nationalism to mean self-organization of the Black community. He said: "We are not separatists, nor are we internationalists." Eventually he dropped this use of the "nationalism" label also. What moved him especially was his trips abroad, breaking out of his U.S.-limited vision, which the Nation had maintained in spite of its claim to internationalism. In a January 1965 interview with the SWP's Young Socialist magazine, Malcolm X said: "... when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Nigerian ambassador who is extremely militlant an revolutionary in the true sense of the word and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful rebellion against oppression against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter. The Negro revolution is not a racial revolt."

The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAA) was to be international, including Blacks in the U.S., Canada, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Malcolm X started chapters of the OAAA composed of U.S. Blacks abroad, in France and in Africa. He intended to ally the OAAA with the OAU, thus tying together all people of African descent. How this would relate to the rest of the oppressed is not clear.

While Malcolm X rejected nationalism, he continued to call for internationalism. He preferred the slogans of "equality" or "human rights." The program of the OAAA was: "We consider the word 'integration' a misleading, false term. Recent experience shows that 'integration' actually describes the process by which . the best contributions of Afro-Americans, in fact of all non-white people, would continue to be absorbed without note or expression to benefit a fortunate few while the masses of both white and non-white people would remain unequal and underprivileged.

The OAAA also called for the self-organization of Blacks, not out of nationalism, but for the practical purposes of struggle. In fact, the whole purpose of the OAAA was militant struggle. Malcolm X wanted his new organization to play a prominent role in leading the Black masses in the fight for freedom.

Free from the restraints of the Nation, he continued to speak out. Malcolm X was one of SNCC's young militants invited Malcolm X to speak at a rally in Jackson, Mississippi. Malcolm X rejected this, but said: "A slave owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains—let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!"

L. Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours

oppression in his country. When I told him that my political, social, and economic philosophy was Black nationalism, he asked me very frankly where did that leave him? Because he was white, he was an African in Algeria, and to all appearances he was a white man....  "So I had to do a lot of thinking and redefining of my definition of Black nationalism..."

In place of nationalism, Malcolm X emphasized the world revolution: "We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era... It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of
U.S. Speaking Tour Planned for Jamaican Revolutionary

In late April, a leading member of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML)-Jamaica will begin a nationwide speaking tour of the U.S. May Day talks in New York City on April 28 and 29 and Detroit on April 30 will be followed by public talks in Los Angeles and Chicago. The tour will provide an opportunity for workers in the U.S., Caribbean workers in particular, to hear a first-hand account of the current political situation in Jamaica.

BLACK PUPPETS FRONT FOR WHITE RULE IN ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 1)

(They) are being used by the Black puppet leaders to weaken opposition to the settlement. Smith's government is trying to cut off support for the Patriotic Front forces by stepping up its war against the people of Zimbabwe. The government has ordered a 24-hour curfew on youths living in border areas where the guerrillas are active. All Blacks have their villages only for short periods in the afternoon. Curfew violators will be shot on sight.

Smith hopes these repressive measures will isolate the Patriotic Front. He wants to force those who are suspicious of the settlement to abandon the guerrillas and accept his deal as the best they can get.

U.S. imperialism hedging its bets

Another factor in the success of the agreement is the role of U.S. imperialism. For the past two years, the U.S. ruling class has been trying to stop the fighting in Zimbabwe. They fear that the armed struggle will spread, threatening their vast investments in South Africa.

Patriotic Front plays ball with imperialism

The Patriotic Front leaders claim that they will never surrender. Both Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, the main leaders of the Patriotic Front, refused to join the current negotiations with Smith. While maintaining the guerrilla struggle, they carried on constant negotiations with U.S. and British diplomats to win the support of these imperialist powers.

In January, they made significant concessions to the U.S. in talks with U.S. diplomats. A joint statement issued by the U.S. and British governments on the release of U.S. diplomats. Nkomo also agreed to a deal which would let the British imperialists lead a transition government, while UN troops occupied the country in preparation for a transfer of power to the Black majority.

By relying on the imperialists to force concessions from the Smith regime, the Patriotic Front leaders have weakened the liberation struggle. Nkomo has refused to commit the majority of his forces to the struggle in the hope that a compromise could be reached. While he negotiated with the imperialists, Smith gained time to put over his deal.

No deals with Smith!

To win Black rule, the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe must refuse any deal with Smith and his puppets. The current agreement proves that "peaceful" negotiations will only lead to continuation of white domination. The racist white minority will not give up its privileges without a fight.

Workers and peasants can further their struggle by joining the armed forces of the Patriotic Front. But they should have no illusions that the leaders of the Patriotic Front, who have already demonstrated their willingness to cut a deal with the imperialists, will not use the armed struggle to build a new society.

RML fights Jamaican capitalism

The political situation in Jamaica today offers enormous opportunities for revolutionary Marxists. Sharp attacks on the Jamaican working class by Prime Minister Michael Manley's fake-socialist government make it clear that the only alternative to increased capitalist misery is the overthrow of Jamaican capitalism and the establishment of workers' and small farmers' rule. The RML is the only organization in Jamaica fighting for this program.

The tour is being sponsored by the Revolutionary Socialist League-U.S., which established formal fraternal relations with the RML last October. Further details of the tour will be announced in the next issue of the Torch/La Antorcha.
The starting point for the USEC's analysis is that both Vietnam and Kampuchea are workers states. They believe that capitalism has been overthrown in both countries and replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the working class in these countries does not actually rule, the USEC calls them "deformed workers states." That is, the leaderships of these countries are bureaucratic and in the way of real workers rule. The USEC never actually discusses its position in their statement on the border war. However, the deformed workers' state analysis has been a long-standing position of the USEC. What the USEC statement does say is as follows (because of space considerations, they can only give a brief summary of the major points):

**On the Vietnam-Kampuchea War**

**How the USEC Abandons Marxism**

1) The war between Vietnam and Kampuchea will have grave consequences for the two countries and for the revolutionary struggles going on throughout Southeast Asia. It will help rebuild the authority of US imperialism.

2) The roots of the conflict can be found in the nationalist and bureaucratic outlook of the leaderships.

3) The weight of Stalinism internationally and the Stalinist training of the Vietnamese and Cambodian leadership explains the extent of the resurgence of nationalism in Indonesia. Because, too, of the historic落后ize deliberately intensifies imperialism...and now, because of present bureaucratic degradation that characterizes these regimes, not one of the leaderships—Vietnamese, Laotian, or Cambodian—has been able to avoid taking this course.

4) The goal is growing cooperation between Laos, Vietnam, and Kampuchea. But this cannot be "imposed.

Cooperation will require "federative structures" which "can only arise out of the revolutionary mobilization of the indochinese masses, with small struggles to decide for themselves." Because of this, the struggle for internationalism is closely connected to the fight to establish democracy.

Not one of the individual leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program for socialist democracy.

In the show run, however, "the most pressing need is the need for an immediate suspension of the armed clashes. The border issue should be settled through open and public negotiations."

**Relations of production vs. property forms**

Marxism teaches us that the explanation for all class conflict can be found by looking at their material base, in particular, the way they divide at the fundamental class relationships in society. First and foremost we must examine the relations of production and the forms of property, as they are criteria by which we judge the state of a society. The state is a product of the means of production and capitalist relations.

But rather than looking at the relations of production in Vietnam and Kampuchea, the USEC, uses property forms, as their foremost criteria. To them, individual private property equals capitalism. Nationalized property state property, is equated with a workers state. They call these the "property forms."

Since property in Vietnam and Kampuchea is state property, and since the leaders claim to be socialist, the USEC believes that these are workers states. The fact that the Vietnamese and Kampuchean Marxists lead the working class: that the workers do not have state power that they can control. As just mentioned, this is not a bit of difference to the USEC.

Since the USEC starts with this analysis—failing to recognize them in hot water. If Vietnam and Kampuchea are workers states, then they should have the same relations of production cooperation, development of the productive forces, and decreasing exploitation with this, the spreading of the revolution internationally. Having the same interests, friendly and harmonious relations between the two states. But the living reality is quite different. The USEC is caught in a contradiction. How do they deal with it?

Marxists have no lip service to the history of the region, the USEC statement reflects only the position of the conflict: the ideas of the leaderships of Vietnam and Kampuchea. According.

(Continued on next page)
NYC Workers Must Strike!

New York workers took over lobby of World Trade Center to demand better conditions.

Contract talks in New York City are underway between union representatives, hundreds of thousands of city workers, and New York City and state governments. The big question is whether the unions will take militant action to halt the government's drive to make workers pay for the financial crisis.

Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents the subway workers and the bus drivers with the state-operated Transit Authority (TA), is preparing for a strike. At the same time, a coalition of 50 unions representing city workers is meeting with the deputy mayor in charge of labor relations. This coalition has been called the so-called Big Four unions: District Council (DC) 87 of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 237 of the Teamsters Union, and the Sanitation workers' Association. The city workers' contracts expire on July 1.

New York Mayor Koch and the TA are demanding additional large cuts in essential services and the elimination of the thousand of jobs. Specifically, Koch and the TA claim they will only agree to no-cost labor contracts. In other words, they will only sign agreements in which gains in wages and benefits are required by contract. This means more people will be laid off, more jobs cut, and cutting back contract gains won in past struggles.

The city and the TA are also demanding a 20% work week, elimination of safety and other work rules, and sharp decreases in fringe benefits. Both parties want to reduce overtime rates, junk two to three paid holidays, and make sweeping cutbacks in other areas of so-called fringe benefits.

Beyond this, the TA wants an agreement that will allow it to cut up to $120 million from its budget at the expense of the workers. Koch has set a sumar goal of $40 million to be squeezed out of the city unions. This includes axing 20,000 more city jobs in the next four years. This would bring the total number of jobs lost since 1975 to over 85,000.

The effects of these attacks are not limited to the union workforce. They are part of Koch's general plans to cut back welfare, education, sanitation, mass transit, health care and other social programs which the masses of people depend on for survival.

The attack on city workers is backed up by the city's rulers, the Carter Administration. Carter has offered the city government a $2.2 billion budget gap for the coming year. The city has already been forced to cut 25% of its workers.

In response to the government's offensive, the TWU and the coalition of city unions are advancing a modest "hold-the-line" program. Basically, they are asking that wages and health and pension benefits be adjusted to compensate for inflation. They also want wage increases and cost-of-living allowances due under the past contract to be paid immediately. This move has been deferred indefinitely because of the financial crisis.

If city and transit workers are to beat back the government attack, they must strike. The city's rulers will force the workers to give them what they need. But if strike action is to be effective, city workers and transit workers must strike together. They must organize for a citywide general strike.

City and transit workers must also go past the timid and narrow demands put forward by the union leaders. These demands do not come close to meeting the workers' needs. Moreover, these demands will not win support for the workers who live in New York City. If the city's transit workers are to win, they must build support among the workers in the city. They can do this by demanding, at the least, a restoration of all jobs and services. The TWU will be forced to win them. This public works program should be paid for by the rich, not the working class, not the workers.

Above all, the city and transit unions must organize to place the leadership in their own hands. The union leaders cannot be trusted. They engaged in the government's retreat last time, and they're working with the city and state government to do the same this time around. To prevent this, city workers must organize to replace the union leaders in all unions to unite their struggles and build support among workers throughout the city. Rank-and-file organization and unity can turn ruling-class offensive into a victory for the entire working class.

USee Abandons Marxism

(Continued from previous page)

The Vietnam/Kampuchea border war is bad ideas, in particular the bad ideas of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean leaderships. This war, like the class struggle inside Vietnam and Kampuchea, according to the USee, is the natural outcome of the international capitalism drive to accumulate and expand.

In the real class nature of Viet­ nam and Kampuchea, the USee sees the roots of the border war as bad ideas. They see the workers and workers' organizations as the logical conclusion of such bad ideas. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

Tell us, "Trotskyists" of the USee, should the Vietnamese and Kampuchean leaders be overthrown or not? What kind of "revolutionary mobiliza­tion" do the USee leaderships say is necessary? And what about the working-class question? Does it have any part to play in this struggle? To these questions, the USee leaderships say no.

The USee leaderships say this doesn't just leave us with vague calls for cooperation and social­ist democracy. In their view, these are the real solutions to the problems.

For the immediate future ..., the most pressing issue raised today. But who is to suspend the armed clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the future? The USee leaderships say the only answer is to establish socialist societies. They call for an "immediate" suspension of the border clashes, and a "long-term" suspension of the border war. But who is to do this? The USee leaderships say the workers must do this themselves. And what will the workers do? They must organize for a citywide general strike.

But who, in the USee's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the border clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the immediate future? The USee leaderships say that the only answer is to do away with all the Indochinese leaderships. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

But who, in the USee's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the border clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the immediate future? The USee leaderships say the only answer is to do away with all the Indochinese leaderships. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

But who, in the USee's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the border clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the immediate future? The USee leaderships say the only answer is to do away with all the Indochinese leaderships. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

But who, in the USee's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the border clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the immediate future? The USee leaderships say the only answer is to do away with all the Indochinese leaderships. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

But who, in the USee's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the border clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons? Who is to negotiate? And what about the immediate future? The USee leaderships say the only answer is to do away with all the Indochinese leaderships. Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.
Jamaican Workers Win Victory

(Continued from page 10)
Prime Minister Manley at the height of his popularity, 1976. Today, workers are seeing through his phony promises.

Last month's Torch editorial on Kampuchea/Vietnam border war contained a mistaken formulation: "We should also support Kampuchea's demands for moderate adjustments in its policies, not to overcome the effects of French colonialism."

Transfers of Kampuchea's independence does not mean that we support the expansionist aims of these bourgeoisie. The right only we defend is the right of the Kampucheeans living in Vietnam's border region to determine for themselves whether they want to join Kampuchea or remain in Vietnam.

Malcolm X: A great revolutionary

The reason for this weakness on Malcolm X's part is not hard to find. Theoretically, he remained a Muslim, and he tried to lift him to the intellectual elite who were quite conservative. Malcolm X didn't see any section of the workers in the U.S. to make an alliance with.

Finally, there was the lack of any organization which was capable of teaching scientific socialism in the struggle of the Black people. Malcolm X despaired the Socialist Party and Communist Party united with Johnson's United States in the 1964 presidential election: "Johnsong had been running all by himself. If he had, he wouldn't have been acceptable by himself. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was the):-walt capitalistic class. Some Black imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf. So they created a ghastly atmosphere and had the whole world, even the so-called intellectuals, call themselves Marxists and other things, hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater."

Malcolm X: "I have to say this. Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to be elected because he's supposed to be a man of peace; and he has troops invading the Congo right now and invading Saigon, ..."

Malcolm X had nothing to learn from such "socialists." The Socialist Workers Party provided him with a platform. After he was thrown out of the Nation, they let him use their hall, and sponsored forums by him. They had a unique opportunity, but unfortunately, they also had nothing to teach him. At that time, the Socialist Workers Party was tainting Black nationalism. Instead of explaining to the people that nationalism was a dead-end strategy, which did not get to the heart of Black oppression—Black capitalism—the SWP merely praised it without criticism. Arguing that "consistent nationalism leads to socialism" they failed to fight for the program of Black internationalism. They refused to fight to convince Malcolm X to reject nationalism fully in favor of Marxism. In fact, Malcolm X had already begun to break from nationalism, while the SWP was still arguing for nationalism. Whether he was Malcolm X or a more advanced, Leninist position on nationalism than did the SWP!

By this time (late 1962 and early 1965), Malcolm X hardly had an organization and he was confused about what road he was taking. But he was still a threat to the bourgeoisie, so they had him killed. Malcolm X had predicted his own murder:

"In the racial climate of this country today, it is anybody's guess which of the 'extremes' in approach to the Black man's problem might personally meet a fatal catastrophe first—non-violent Dr. King or so-called 'violent' Malcolm X."

Today Malcolm X is popular. There are King-Malcolm X centers at the institutions of bourgeois learning; King-Malcolm X Democratic clubs in Black districts; movies about him are shown in public broadcasting; his autobiography, "properly" edited by Haley, has become a best seller. Even the Muslims have named their New York mosque after him.

During his life, he was hated by the "respectable" press and "respectable" Black leaders. When he said that the "United States cause home to roost," he was denounced. But when he was shot, the editors declared: "He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword."

Malcolm X never fully understood the nature of capitalism and the need for a working-class revolution to overthrow it. But despite this, Malcolm X was a great revolutionary. He hated the United States society. He hated its racist rulers and the Uncle Tom civil rights leaders. He stood foursquare with the Black masses and the oppressed people throughout the world. He told the truth as he said it. And he refused to be bought. By the time of his death he was moving toward a revolutionary socialist perspective. Whether he would have got there we don't know. But for what he did and what he did, and what he fought for, Malcolm X deserves to be remembered by all workers of all races and nationalities.

Prisoners, FREE
U.S., CANADA, MEXICO AND PUERTO RICO

■ Introductory - 6 issues, $1.00
■ 12 issues, $3.00
■ Supporting, $5.00
■ Libraries and Institutions, $5.00

OVERSEAS
■ 12 issues (airmail), $10.00
■ I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

MARCH 15-APRIL 19, 1976 / TORCH / PAGE 17

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

"REVOLUTION KNOWS NO COMPROMISE"