

Reconstruct
the
Fourth
International!

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TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

FEBRUARY 15-MARCH 14, 1979

Iranian Masses Destroy Puppet Regime

By TONY CURZO

The revolution in Iran has won another victory. The government of Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar is no more. The capital city of Tehran is in the hands of the armed population. The long struggle to drive the shah and his clique from power is nearly over.

Bakhtiar's final days

The latest chapter in the drama unfolded on Friday night, February 10, when a group of Air Force technicians and cadets at Dashan Tadeh Air Force Base in Tehran rose up against their superiors and proclaimed their allegiance to Ayatollah Khomeini. (Khomeini is the religious leader who has headed the movement

against Bakhtiar and the shah.)

The rebellious base was quickly attacked by units of the elite Imperial Guard. Inside, the technicians and cadets seized the arms store-rooms and defended themselves. They were joined by armed civilians who attacked the Imperial Guard from behind.

This incident provided the spark that set off the powderkeg. As though by a signal, tens of thousands of civilians, joined by additional thousands of deserting soldiers, stormed army bases and police stations in the Tehran area, seized weapons, and attacked the forces still loyal to Bakhtiar.

By early Saturday afternoon, it was clear that the Imperial Guard was getting beaten. The rest of the armed forces were melting away, as more and more soldiers went over to the side of the revolution, taking



Tehran demonstrators celebrate fall of Bakhtiar in February.

their weapons with them.

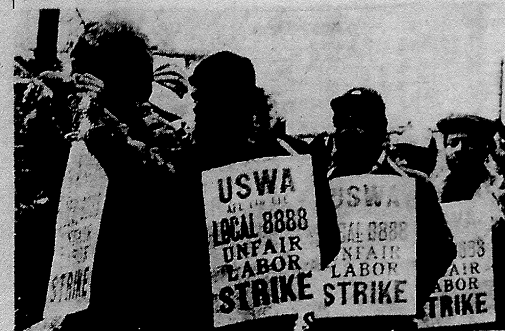
At 2 p.m. that day, the army high command had had enough. They proclaimed the army's neutrality and ordered their troops back to barracks. The withdrawal of the army brought about the immediate collapse of the Bakhtiar government.

The army's retreat did not end the struggle, however. Some army units continued to fight, and the rebels in turn fought fiercely to consolidate their control over

(Continued on page 11)

Virginia Workers Shut Down Largest U.S. Shipyard

SEE PAGE 9



Shipyard strikers on picket line.



STRIKE WAVE HITS BRITAIN

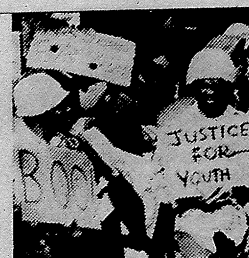
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JAMAICA

REPORT ON JANUARY UPRISING

Statement by the RML-EC

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SECCION
EN
ESPANOL

our readers write...

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

Leftists in Boston organize against KKK

Dear Friends,

The KKK organizing in Boston is the dividing line for the left in this city. The Black community has been pretty shaken by the right-wing upsurge sparked by the anti-busing movement. Outside of a few small community-based groups, the "traditional" Democratic-NAACP leadership has tried to ignore the KKK. This is consistent with their attitude toward the South Boston Marshals, a white vigilante organization which has existed for a couple of years.

The Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party have been content to tail the Democratic-NAACP leadership's say-nothing and do-nothing policy. The Spartacist League travels in the same current but tries to separate itself verbally from the others. The only groups organizing against the Klan are Progressive Labor Party, Youth Against War and Fascism-Workers World Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Communist Party Marxist-Leninist and a few old Mao-old collectives.

The Klan has been orienting to the anti-busing movement in general. They sent organizers here this fall, focusing their attention on the Marshals. As a show of courage to the Marshals and sympathizers, Klan organizers appeared in robes at an anti-Klan rally in the early fall. We do not know who actually called the rally. The two groups there were PLP and YAWF, who ended in a brief scuffle with the Klan organizers, the Marshals and the police.

PLP, ignoring the rest of the left, including YAWF, called a news conference, wrote letters to the *Globe* and *Herald-American*, and organized a demonstration in Jamaica Plain of about 200 people, many of whom were brought in from out of town.

About three weeks later YAWF and RCP organized an anti-Klan march downtown. Several small community groups and some Call sellers joined in. This appears to have been the only major joint anti-Klan effort to date. About 200-250 attended the rally and march. We were able to sell 15 copies of the *Torch/La Antorcha* and march with both RCP and YAWF groups with a sign that said: "The Revolutionary Socialist League says:

Unite to fight the right!" People seemed interested in finding out who we were, making it a point to see what paper we were selling and checking out our sign. It was a good feeling.

We will keep up on things as they break if possible and keep you informed. Comradely,
KS
Boston

"We should all unite"

Dear Friends, Comrades, Brothers and Sisters,

Responding to one of your latest issues of *Torch* newspaper, indeed we should all unite under the flag that's gonna restore social justice in this capitalistic country Amerikkka and other countries across the globe. Myself, like many other political prisoners that's under the racist, capitalistic thumb of our oppressor, has to organize in these prison camps in order to break the system that's keeping us as slaves under the laws of Amerikkka. I request that you add me to your ordering list so your words could get to other comrades, because it's very informative to us, and your article in the latest issue on Pontiac is so true. So continue to keep the people informed as to what goes on in these prison camps.

Comrade HM
Pontiac, IL

Pontiac prisoner says: "Capitalism must be destroyed!"

Dear Torch,

We of the oppressed confined in the belly of the monster, Pontiac Segregation Unit, send you our warmest greetings. And anything I now submit to your readership is a matter of record to be printed as such. While it's taken me a long time to write you this letter, asking for a prisoner's subscription, I have been reading your views through other comrades who receive your papers. But it wasn't until I read your views on "reform or revolution" that I decided to request a paper of my own, as a way of commitment.

I have been confined in the segregation unit of this concentration camp for two years now because of my personal activism against the Pontiac KKK circulating recruiting blanks to white inmates and employees back in 1977; when the wardens of this state facility charged me with being a black panther trouble maker, for my attempting to start an investigation. Now I have a pending civil rights complaint in the southern district court which has been sent back to Judge Morgan by the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals in August

of 1978. Since that time of return to Judge Morgan's court, he has done everything possible to delay this matter to the state's benefit; which was indirectly the cause for the July 22, 1978, rebellion, that killed three Klan members, etc. And still Judge Morgan refuses to act on my complaint. But these cruel facts will never come to light, because the news media will not print the facts of our historical oppression

within this racist penal system, that the blind taxpayers support, etc.

WHEREFORE, we believe that "capitalism doesn't have any strong points to stand on." It must be totally destroyed to bring about a totally new society of human values. All Power Must Be in the Hands of the People.

Yours in Struggle,
AXC
Pontiac, IL

"Women prisoners in Texas need TORCH"

Friends:

Enclosed please find two requests for prisoner subscriptions (mine is a renewal) and a check in the amount of \$4 to help with the cost of same.

I have been reading the *Torch* for a couple of years now, and avidly look forward to each issue. I especially appreciate your coverage of the prison struggles throughout the world.

A woman prisoner friend has expressed an interest in

reading the *Torch* after my description of it to her. Unfortunately, Texas prison regulations forbid my sending her an integral issue of the paper, although I have sent her bits and pieces of recent issues in various letters to her.

Accordingly, I'd like to subscribe for her along with my renewal so we can turn the women prisoners of Texas on to the *Torch's* message. They've been in the dark entirely too long. If possible, I'd like to request that any available back issues of the *Torch* also be mailed to her. I think you'll find a bunch of solid converts—and solid convicts!—in your new readers.

In struggle,
AK
Otey, TX

Ruiz suit tells the truth

Dear Editor, *La Antorcha*,

I'm a 39-year-old die-hard Chicano from San Antonio, Texas, doing a 15 year trip here at Florence. I have been reading your last two issues and would appreciate it if you would add me to your mailing list.

I have been in the Texas joint and did time with David Ruiz. Let me tell you that he is telling the truth. There are some cold-hearted tobacco-chewing hacks at the Texas joint and what is being said in the lawsuit I saw and experienced in 1964, '65, and '66. Tell it like it is Editor, cause you speak the truth. Looking forward to receiving the *Antorcha*. Thank you very much.

Surely they would love for my spirit to break. To dull my senses and my brain never to awake. But I'm lucky to say that within myself a force I've found!! That keeps lifting me up from that cold, cold ground.

Pressures and pain have made me fully aware!! That like myself my brothers suffer elsewhere!!

MM
Florence, AZ

Beast of Attica kicks the bucket

Dear Torch,

This morning I got up and read the headlines: Nelson Rockefeller is dead. The beast of Attica has kicked the bucket. It gave my heart a lift. I only wish the working class had brought him down.

Rockefeller almost personified monopoly capital in America. During the fifties and sixties, he was a big expansionist liberal, who claimed that capitalism could build enough to bring everyone up to prosperity. When capitalism began to come apart at the seams, he shifted to an openly repressive, right-wing position. He sealed his move with the murderous assault on Attica in 1971, in which 43 prisoners and guards were slaughtered by Rocky's troops.

Rockefeller's arrogance was obscene. In the early seventies he made a remark about "the average guy, making \$25,000 a year"—an amount that would be like \$40,000 today! When he moved to Washington as vice-president under Ford, he furnished the new vice-presidential mansion with a \$30,000 bed. He always considered himself above the laws that applied to others.

I'm glad he's dead but it's too bad our class never got its revenge. When we rise up to wipe out all the Rockefeller and their capitalist class brothers, we'll remember Attica. Vengeance for the Attica brothers! Smash the prisons!
DC
Chicago

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INTERNATIONAL How C

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers in New York held a march. They demanded the eight-hour day, an end to child labor, and voting rights for women. Three years later the international socialist movement adopted March 8 as International Women's Day to honor the struggles of work-



March 8, 1908: Women demand the eight-hour day.

ing women, and so it has remained ever since.

For International Women's Day this year, we are printing an article about an issue of great importance to women everywhere—rape. As the article points out, the majority of victims of this form of sexist terror are working-class women. The question is—how can rape be fought? That is the question we try to answer below.

By LAURA WADEBAY

When a woman is raped, she is not just the victim of an individual sexist, sick or perverted man. Her rape is not just an act of physical assault on her body. No, when a woman is raped, she is also the victim of the capitalist system which profits from, and feeds off, her oppression.

Capitalism, like all class societies before it, uses

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7:30 PM

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That keeps lifting me up
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Pressures and pain have
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That like myself my brothers
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Pontiac, IL

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, 1979

How Can We Fight Rape?

On March 8, 1908, women
garment workers in New
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not just an act of physical
assault on her body. No,
when a woman is raped, she
is also the victim of the cap-
italist system which profits
from, and feeds off, her op-
pression.

Capitalism, like all class
societies before it, uses

women as a source of free
labor in the home, raising
the children, doing the cook-
ing, cleaning and laundry,
trying to make ends meet.
Capitalism also uses women
as a huge army of potential
workers, to use during times
of war and labor shortages,
and as a threat against em-
ployed workers to keep
wages down. And capitalism
uses women as a source of
cheap labor in the workforce
itself. Women are the back-
bone of some of the lowest-
paying jobs around, like in
the garment industry.

In order to maintain this
special oppression of wom-
en, ruling classes have
always pushed an ideology
that women are inferior to
men. Since the beginning of
class society, women have
been treated as men's prop-
erty, and rape has been one
way that this oppression has
been reinforced. Slaveown-
ers, bosses and foremen
have always helped them-
selves to the women from
the oppressed class and
used the threat of rape to
keep these women in line.
One of the traditional
"spoils" of war has always
been the assumed right of
the soldiers to rape the
women of the lands they've
invaded.

Under capitalism, rape
serves the ruling class in a
particularly treacherous way
—it is most often done by
working-class men against
working-class women. Wom-
en from other classes do
get raped, but the over-
whelming majority of report-
ed rapes in the U.S. are com-
mitted by and upon members
of the working class.

There is a good reason
why this is true. The cap-
italists teach us that the way
to get ahead is to screw our
fellow workers. The whole
system is based on competi-
tion, dog-eat-dog, and
who's top dog. An individual
working-class man in this
society has no control over
his life. The bosses try to
buy him off by telling him he
has power over women, and
should go out and use it in
order to feel powerful. The
result is that a tremendous
amount of mistrust and divi-
sion exists between working-
class women and men.

In the past few years,
feminists in the U.S. and
Europe (mostly middle-class

women) have been organiz-
ing demonstrations and
other actions against rape.
Thousands of people rallied
around the defense cases of
Joan Little and Inez Gar-
cia, women who fought back
against their rapists. Pick up
any feminist paper and you'll
find an article about a wo-
man who fought a rapist, or
a judge who let his preju-
dices hang out in court, or
an anti-rape action.

But the people who call
these actions and write these
articles don't see rape as a
weapon the bourgeoisie
uses against our class. They
start from a feminist point of
view, that all women are op-
pressed by all men. Because
they don't understand which
class is doing what to whom,
because they don't see the
connection between rape
and the capitalist system, in
the end they have no answer
to how to stop rape.

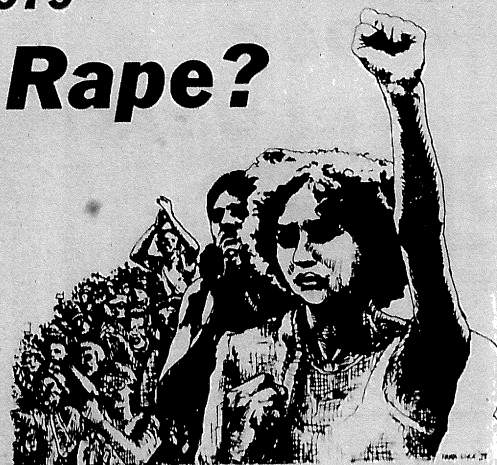
When the *Torch/La An-
torcha* has covered fights
against sexist terror in the
past, we've been fuzzy on
what our approach is. Here



Boston "take back the night" march, 1978.

are the four possibilities we
see and what we think of
each, when someone asks
us: "How can we fight rape?"

1) Urge women who have
been raped to call the cops
and try to get the guy prose-
cuted in the courts. This is
the response of most mid-
dle-class feminists, even af-
ter all the experience women
have had with this approach.



It also comes up as the
answer to wife/girlfriend
beating.

Middle-class feminists
complain that rape is not
treated as a real crime be-
cause the victims are wom-
en. They want to see rape
elevated to the status of
robbery or other "serious
crimes" that can happen to
men. The theory behind this
is that if enough men are

with no pay for meaningless
court dates, where she gets
the evil eye from the guy's
family and friends. She's
afraid that now that the guy
knows who she is, he'll show
up at her house. And after
many days in court, the guy
gets off anyway. No work-
ing-class woman who has
been through this would call
it a solution.

2) Urge women to pack a
pistol or a can of Easy-Off,
learn karate, etc. Many work-
ing-class women, especially
those who work at night,
already do this. Women find-
ing ways of defending them-
selves is an important part
of the fight against rape. But at
best it's only a partial and
individual solution. It only
works if you're quick enough
or strong enough to stop
your attacker. It doesn't work
if you're not.

In addition, promoting in-
dividual self-defense as the
solution to sexist terror tells
a sister that she's on her own
in the fight against rape. She
will have to look out for her
own ass, both in fighting off
the guy, and in dealing with
reprisals from the cops or
the guy's friends.

Closely related to in-
dividual self-defense is...

3) Women's defense
guards. Like women's self-
defense, this can be one par-
tial solution to rape, particu-
larly in situations where no
men are willing to participate
in the guards.

Women-only defense
guards are the favorite strat-
egy of the radical middle-
class feminists. For them,
sexist terror is a woman's
problem and the enemy is
simply the men who commit
rape. Therefore they call for
unity of all women (poten-
tial victims) against all men
(potential rapists).

One of the biggest prob-
lems with women's defense
guards as a general strategy
is that it does nothing to
educate and win over work-
ing-class men to the fight
against sexist terror. Men
need to ally with women to
stop a practice that really
only benefits the ruling
class. When the capitalists
can get away with oppres-
sing one group, this strength-
ens their power over every-
body. When men do not fight
sexist attacks on women,
they only increase their own
subjugation to the bourgeois-
ie. The mistreatment of
working-class women by our
(Continued on page 16)

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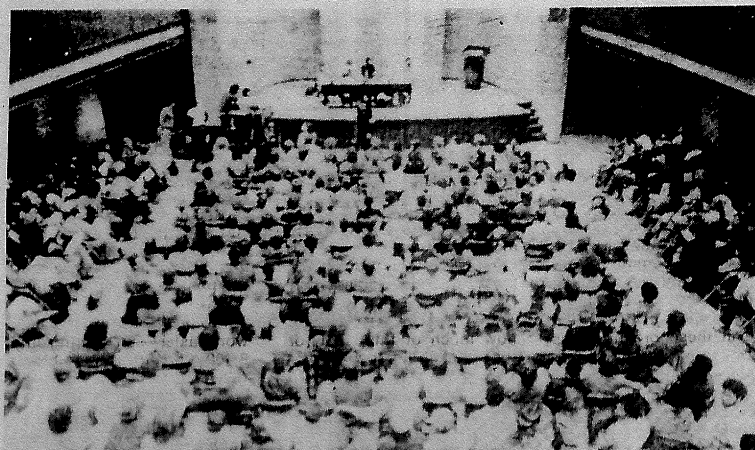
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NECLSA conference in New York City, November 1978.

NECLSA Censures YSA; Rejects Red-Baiting

Anti-Apartheid Activists Meet

On January 27 the steering committee of the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) met at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. NECLSA (pronounced neck-lace-a) is the largest of the regional federations of campus groups which are organizing against the apartheid system in southern Africa and against U.S. involvement in the area. Almost the entire New Haven meeting was taken up with a fight over whether to exclude the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA—the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) from NECLSA.

This fight continued the conflict at the last NECLSA event, a large conference held in New York City on November 17-19 (reported on in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*). That conference split over the very right-wing positions advanced by the YSA and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL—youth group of the Communist Party). The YSA/YWLL objected to building NECLSA around slogans supporting the liberation struggles and forces in southern Africa. Instead, they wanted the movement to organize solely around a "U.S. out" line. Many militants at the November conference correctly opposed this approach, wanting NECLSA to take a position of support for the actual struggles taking place in southern Africa today.

The YSA and YWLL won the votes related to this debate, in part because the YSA alone had brought in over 200 people for the conference. The final plenary session, when things were voted on, had only between 600 and 800 people. Many independent militants were turned off by the YSA's attempt to stack the meeting.

These conflicts set the stage for the fight at the New Haven steering committee meeting. Unfortunately, the political questions that were debated at the New York

conference—first and foremost, support to the liberation struggles—were never even discussed at New Haven.

Before the New Haven meeting, a group of independent campus militants had met on their own. They discussed organizational methods to prevent the YSA from dominating the movement. They produced a "Proposed Organizational Reform of NECLSA" which limited voting rights on the steering committee to student groups doing full-time anti-apartheid work and groups from oppressed nationalities "which do significant anti-apartheid work." In addition, they would accept "liaison" representatives from other groups with voice but no vote.

Steering committee splits

At New Haven, about 150 people showed up for the steering committee meeting. Before it began, chairperson Liz Dreesen announced that the meeting had been stacked. She called for all "legitimate anti-apartheid groups" to meet in another room. She said that those from "front groups," new and unknown student groups and off-campus groups would not be let in. YSAers would be allowed in only if they could show they were from a genuine campus group. When she was finished, about 60 people dashed out of the hall to get to the new room.

A crowd of about 50 angry people was kept out of the new room by guards. Many were YSAers, but many others were not; some had just been slow getting downstairs or had arrived late to the meeting. The steering committee inside voted on whether to admit more people. Eventually most groups, including the Revolutionary Socialist League, got one person in, often with no vote. Spokespersons ad-

mitted that the procedure was arbitrary and unjust to many, but they defended it as necessary to fight the YSA's stacking.

It was certainly true that the YSA had made an effort to bring in its people and those it hoped to impress. Undoubtedly this would have influenced the discussion. However, a rough count of organizations that had registered before the walkout showed that a representative vote would not necessarily have favored the YSA.

Expulsion motions lose

Once the votes to admit people were over, the steering committee passed the new organizational proposals. Then it took up motions to expel the YSA. One proposal was made by the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO—acting through its African Liberation Support Committee). The WVO, a Maoist group, wanted to expel the YSA for vaguely "political" reasons that were never quite spelled out. But the main reason was clearly that the YSA is supposed to be "Trotskyite." In the January 15 issue of the WVO newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*, they slander Trotskyists as "agents of the bourgeoisie and fascists."

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB—youth group of the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, another Maoist organization) proposed to expel the YSA for two main reasons. First, they cited the YSA's stacking and undemocratic behavior. Second, they said, NECLSA should not be dominated by a non-student organization.

The majority of independents voted against both motions for expulsion. Instead they voted for a "Formal Censure of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance." They censured the YSA for having "consistently violated the democracy of NECLSA in

order to establish their dominance within it." The motion cited the stacking of the November conference and of the previous steering committee in September.

The censure motion also condemned earlier sectarian actions by the WVO against the YSA: "We also strongly condemn actual and threatened physical attacks that occurred at the November conference and the chanting of such slogans as 'Trots Out Now.' Such activities are not conducive to rational political debate."

Week of Actions discussed

The last item on the agenda was a discussion of the planned National Week of Actions, April 4-11. (Midwest campuses, while endorsing the NECLSA week, will be organizing activities the week of March 18-24 due to different term breaks.) A number of ideas were kicked around about the Week of Actions, but only one proposal actually came up for a vote. That was a proposal by the RSB, which basically called for each campus to do the same type of action on the same day. The proposal included tying in the first day of the Week of Actions to the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.; and designating April 11 as "National Armband Day." However, it called for little coordinated regional activity. The entire proposal passed.

As part of the discussion of the Week of Actions, there was talk of NECLSA putting out posters and buttons.



February 1977: Chicago RSL march against apartheid.

Significantly, there was no discussion of the slogans that should be raised and emphasized on them.

Summing up the meeting

There are several points we feel it is important to make about the New Haven steering committee meeting. First, there is a question of the YSA's participation in NECLSA.

The Revolutionary Socialist League sympathized with the attempts of the independent militants to deal with the YSA. But we believe the real question is not the number of people the YSA brings to meetings in and of itself. From our point of view, the reason why the

numbers make a difference is that we disagree very strongly with the YSA's attempts to keep the anti-apartheid movement limited to a liberal, "Out Now"—and nothing else—line.

The YSA must be taken on for its right-wing and conservative approach. This means they must be taken on and defeated through political debate.

The YSA can be voted out of NECLSA but not out of the anti-apartheid movement. They are big and have many resources at their disposal. They can mobilize so many people for NECLSA meetings because many of their members are in fact doing on-campus anti-apartheid work. So independent militants are going to have to deal with them one way or another.

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By WILLIAM FALK

The U.S. visit of Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Hsiao-p'ing is now over. Teng left, he said he was returning to China "with the warm sentiments of the American people." The truth is that Teng never had any real "American people" on his whole trip took place at other world of capitalist cocktail parties, closed meetings, and quick inspections of cleaned-up

During his trip, Teng emphasized two things. One was that both China and the United States benefit from heavy investments in China. The other was the need for U.S., Japan and China unite against Russia. Reporters questioned on how long the U.S. expect the Chinese government to be so friendly. Teng assured them that "the Sino-American friendship will continue."

After 30 years of apocalyptic hostility, the myth of U.S. imperialism and the People's Republic of China can seem pretty amazing and confusing. Certainly must seem so to U.S. ers, who have been on a steady diet of film shows, comic books, newspapers depicting as "the red peril" and "the arch-enemy."

But the people who have been most amazed and confused—by the new China alliance (and domestic changes in itself—see box for examples), are those organizations and thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and student thought of China as a staunchest fighter of imperialism, and as a force of revolutionary socialism. Many of these revolutionary are now very disillusioned and are questioning whether China is socialist at all.

In addition to the changes in Chinese policy, recent world events have shaken the revolutionary movement. For the last years Cuban troops have been helping the Ethiopian rulers fight against the struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation. Then this past January Vietnamese armed forces launched a major invasion into neighboring Kampuchea (Cambodia). How could that two supposedly socialist countries are at war?

One of the main reasons why all these events are so orienting so many people is that many people realize that socialism is a society in which the means of production—the factories, banks, means of transportation and communication—are owned by the state. Ownership, by the state, does not equal socialism. First and foremost, socialism is a society run by the working class and oppressed people. For the working class society, the means of production need to be nationalized in the hands of the state. But the state must

THIS IS SOCIALISM?!

By WILLIAM FALK

The U.S. visit of Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Teng Hsiao-p'ing is now over. As Teng left, he said he was returning to China "laden with the warm sentiments of the American people." The truth is that Teng never met any real "American people"; his whole trip took place in that other world of capitalist cocktail parties, closed-door meetings, and quickie inspections of cleaned-up factories.

During his trip, Teng kept emphasizing two themes. One was that both China and the United States would benefit from heavy U.S. investments in China. The other was the need for the U.S., Japan and China to unite against Russia. When reporters questioned Teng on how long the U.S. should expect the Chinese government to be so friendly, he assured them that "the honeymoon will continue."

After 30 years of apparent total hostility, the marriage of U.S. imperialism and the People's Republic of China can seem pretty amazing—and confusing. Certainly it must seem so to U.S. workers, who have been fed a steady diet of films, TV shows, comic books and newspapers depicting China as "the red peril" and "America's arch-enemy."

But the people who have been most amazed—and confused—by the new U.S./China alliance (and by the domestic changes in China itself—see box for some examples), are those Maoist organizations and thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and students who thought of China as the staunchest fighter of U.S. imperialism, and as a model of revolutionary socialism. Many of these revolutionaries are now very disoriented and are questioning whether China is socialist at all.

In addition to the changes in Chinese policy, other recent world events have shaken the revolutionary movement. For the last two years Cuban troops have been helping the Ethiopian rulers fight against the just struggle of the Eritrean people for national liberation. Then this past January, the Vietnamese armed forces launched a major invasion into neighboring Kampuchea (Cambodia). How could it be that two supposedly socialist countries are at war?

One of the main reasons why all these events are disorienting so many people is that many people believe that socialism is a society in which the means of production—the factories, mines, banks, means of transportation and communication—are owned by the state. But state ownership, by itself, does not equal socialism. First and foremost, socialism is a society run by the working class and oppressed people. For the workers to run society, the means of production need to be nationalized in the hands of the state. But the state must be

the state of the workers—the dictatorship of the proletariat—not the state of the capitalists.

For the capitalists, socialism is an undemocratic system. The workers use their state to crush the capitalists, their hired lackeys and those who want to bring back the old rotten system.

But for the workers, socialism is a million times more democratic than the most democratic republic.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers will actually run things. The state will be based on mass, democratic organizations, such as workers' councils, factory committees, democratic trade unions, community associations and the workers' revolutionary party.

The workers will participate in these organizations and they will elect representatives to run the country. These representatives

will get paid what workers get paid and they can be recalled at any time. Most important, the working day will be shortened so that all workers can take part in running society.

Through their control of the state, the workers and oppressed people will run the economy. We'll decide how much of this, that, or the other thing to produce. We'll figure out how to produce what people need—

houses that are warm and comfortable, schools that teach people useful knowledge, parks where there are a lot of trees and lakes, and places to have fun without paying an arm and a leg to get in. We'll have the scientists work on fighting diseases, cleaning up the environment and making work easier—not figuring out 8,000 different ways to blow up the earth.

Under capitalism "money talks." If you have little or no money, you're nobody. You have no power and get pushed around. Under socialism, people—working and oppressed people—will come first. Capitalism teaches people that the only way to get ahead is to "get over," that is, step on other workers. Men oppress women, whites oppress Blacks, straights oppress gays, and, most important, the capitalists oppress the workers.

Under socialism, people will "get ahead" by working together, figuring out how to solve society's problems collectively and democratically.

Under capitalism we get shoved into pigeon holes that society sets up—a person is a worker or a capitalist, a Black or a white, a man or a woman.

Under socialism, we'll be able to be what we want to be. We won't have to be one kind of worker all our lives. We'll be able to switch jobs, learn new skills, develop new talents.

In short, socialism is a society in which workers and all oppressed people can be FREE rather than the wage-slaves we are under capitalism.

Now, does this sound like any of the countries that call themselves socialist today? In these societies, the workers don't run things. They don't control the state. On the contrary, the state controls them. The state and the people who run it make all the decisions. They carry out all the planning. They decide what is good and what is bad.

The workers have no power. They don't even have the right to form trade unions and other organizations to defend themselves. The rulers of these societies say that they are socialist countries. But the workers there are basically in the same boat as they are in Western Europe, the United States, South America or any of the other openly capitalist areas. They own nothing and have no say in how the country is run. They have no choice but to sell their labor-power to the capitalists in return for wages.

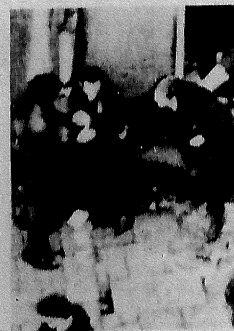
All the so-called socialist countries are state-capitalist societies, not socialism. The accompanying articles are three items from this past month's news that show this. While they don't prove, by themselves, that our analysis of the state-capitalist countries is correct, they should certainly make people wonder: Is this the kind of system that I want? Is this what I am fighting for? Is this really socialism?

POLAND...

On January 28, the New York Times revealed that the major U.S., British and Canadian banks have demanded and won the right to audit the Polish economy and approve or disapprove economic plans. Poland owes \$15 billion to Western banks, and pays back \$1 billion each year in interest alone! To get more credit from the banks, the Polish rulers agreed to the new arrangement.

The banks will now be able to play a very similar role in Poland to the one that the U.S.-imperialist-dominated International Monetary Fund plays in economically troubled countries all over the world—loaning money on the condition that austerity programs be instituted to ensure that the debt will be paid. In Poland, the bankers "approved" plans calling for economic growth to be cut in half, domestic prices to rise, and as much production as possible to be sold in Western Europe and North America. Two earlier government austerity plans caused general strikes and mass rebellions in 1970, and widespread demonstrations in 1976.

Widespread speculation is that the Russians approve of the new plan, since it relieves them of the burden of subsidizing the Polish economy. "Other Eastern European nations will probably have to follow," noted the Bank of America, and "give Western capitalists a certain say in how to proceed."



Polish workers rebel against austerity measures, 1970.

CHINA...

A Japanese study (quoted approvingly by Teng Hsiao-p'ing) reported in January that China will be going heavily into debt to Western and Japanese banks. The study says that by 1985, China will need to borrow \$200 billion from banks and corporations—13 times Poland's debt to the West.

Also in January, China announced that the property and money confiscated from Chinese capitalists ("the national bourgeoisie") will be returned—with interest. The capitalists will also get their titles back. Following this announcement, the Chinese rulers rehabilitated former landlords and wealthy peasants, saying that they had suffered "discrimination." These former oppressors of the masses of peasants will now be eligible to join the Communist Party and all other organizations.

At the same time, reports the Wall Street Journal, China is hiring a former IBM executive to teach U.S.-style factory management techniques to Chinese managers. J. Battat, a doctoral candidate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Sloan School of Management, is setting up a pilot program in management science and industrial engineering.



U.S. President Carter and China's Chairman Hua: two of a kind.

VIETNAM/KAMPUCHEA...

The Vietnamese government, after leading the victory over U.S. imperialism that inspired millions, is now trying to become a small imperialist power itself. Over 50,000 Vietnamese troops occupy neighboring Laos, and the Laotian government is little more than a Vietnamese puppet regime.

This past January, 100,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea (Cambodia) with the goal of overthrowing the Pol Pot government. The invasion appeared to be a quick success, with the Vietnamese controlling Kampuchea's major cities, including the capital, Phnom Penh. The Vietnamese also set up a client government of the Vietnamese front organization, the "Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation."

The Vietnamese army is very well equipped and has been using some captured U.S. arms—including the infamous anti-personnel guava bomb, which sprays little pellets into people's flesh. The Kampuchean army, on the other hand, is small and not well-equipped. However, they have put up a fierce struggle against the Vietnamese aggression, re-claiming parts of Kampuchea, and isolating the Vietnamese in the cities.



Kampuchean captives led by Vietnamese aggressors.

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numbers make a difference is that we disagree very strongly with the YSA's attempts to keep the anti-apartheid movement limited to a liberal, "Out Now"—and nothing else—line.

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The YSA can be voted out of NECLSA but not out of the anti-apartheid movement. They are big and have many resources at their disposal. They can mobilize so many people for NECLSA meetings because many of their members are in fact doing on-campus anti-apartheid work. So independent militants are going to have to deal with them one way or another.

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Finally, NECLSA must begin a serious discussion of its strategy for the anti-

apartheid movement. At the New Haven meeting, political discussion about what kind of movement should be built never saw the light of day. This led to the absurd situation where everyone agreed to put out posters and buttons—but their content was neither discussed nor decided upon. Lack of political debate and discussion of NECLSA's political tasks will paralyze NECLSA's ability to move forward and lead to its disintegration.

In future issues of the Torch/La Antorcha we will discuss the RSL's position on what kind of movement we should be building. We urge all militants in NECLSA to begin this discussion, starting at the next steering committee meeting in late February. □



TDC tries to kill Ruiz witnesses

Prisoners who have either supported or testified in the Ruiz law suit are facing retaliation by the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC). The suit challenges hellhole conditions in Texas prisons. The *Torch/La Antorcha* has learned of three attempts on prisoners' lives by the TDC.

Otis Lee Majors, who has been diagnosed as having golfer and liver ailments, has lost 90 pounds in the last year. Doctors at John Sealy Hospital in Galveston have tried to get him transferred to the hospital for treatment. But the TDC has refused. They are trying to kill him because he testified for Ruiz.

Leonard Jones took part in the strike at the Ellis Unit in support of Ruiz in October 1978. Jones has been beaten severely. He served 60 days in punitive solitary confinement on a diet of less than a meal a day. And he lost all goodtime.

Also at Ellis, Paul Brown is apparently being set up by assistant warden M.C. Lightsey. First he was placed in the same cell-block as the Building Tender (prisoner-guard) he testified against. Brown was able to get transferred. Now his new cell-mate is an ex-Building Tender against whom Brown had filed numerous complaints in the past. When Brown protested this cell assignment, Lightsey said he hoped the ex-BT would "kick Brown's ass."

Meanwhile the Ruiz suit is being stalled while the courts argue whether to transfer the trial from Houston to Tyler, Texas. Judge William Justice is from Tyler and wants the case transferred so he can be close to his other work. The hearings were supposed to reopen on January 15. Now it is not clear when they will start.

In a related action, Martha Quinlan, a prisoner at the TDC Goree Unit, filed a suit in November on behalf of all women prisoners in TDC. The suit charges sexual discrimination in job placement and vocational training.

Free Jose Maria Sison!

On November 10, 1977, Jose Maria Sison, a 39-year-old Filipino nationalist, was captured by the military forces of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. Sison was accused of being Amado Guerrero, chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and has been held incommunicado since his arrest. He has reportedly been severely tortured and now faces a great danger of being executed, probably without so much as a trial.

Marcos' U.S.-supported dictatorship is one of the most brutal in the world. Since martial law was imposed, at least 50,000 political prisoners have been detained and over 4,000 are still in jail. Countless others have been killed by the cops and army.

Jose Maria Sison is a symbol of the courageous resistance of the Filipino people. His death would be a blow not only to the struggle in the Philippines but to the fight for freedom and against imperialism everywhere.

For further information, write to: International Committee to Save Jose Maria Sison, PO Box 24737, Oakland, CA 94623.

Free Jose Maria Sison!
Free All Political Prisoners!

In brief . . .

On December 3, 150 people attended a rally in defense of Vernon Joe (a/k/a Jawwaad S. Bilal) in Suffolk, Virginia. Bilal, a political prisoner, was convicted on frame-up charges of being part of an attempted escape during which a guard was killed. At the time of the alleged escape attempt, Bilal was serving a 20-year sentence after being railroaded on a rape charge at age 16. Letters of support can be sent to: Vernon Joe Defense Committee, 820 Kilby Avenue, Suffolk, VA 23434.

Judges are sending more people to prison for longer sentences and parole boards are keeping them there longer. That's the conclusion of *Corrections* magazine. They report that the number of prisoners in the U.S. has increased by 13,000 in the last two years.

Michigan state statistics claim that 13 percent of violent crime is committed by parolees and ex-prisoners. But in a recent survey of Michigan residents, 55 percent said they thought that most violent crime was committed by ex-prisoners. This just shows the extent of prejudice against prisoners. The capitalists have been whipping up these anti-prisoner attitudes to support and encourage longer sentences and the "get tough" attitude of parole boards. They want the public to believe that crime is not the product of poverty and the crisis of capitalism but is caused by a "few hard-core criminals."

Judge Ben Cantrell has ordered a court takeover of the entire Tennessee prison system. He ruled that the prisons are so overcrowded that they are "cruel and unusual punishment" prohibited by the eighth amendment.

—LR & PN

GRAND JURY MEETS ON PONTIAC INDICTMENTS

CHICAGO, Feb. 8—On February 5, an Illinois grand jury to investigate the rebellion at Pontiac prison last July began hearing evidence. The State of Illinois wants to indict at least 15 prisoners for the rebellion, in which three guards were killed, several buildings burned and \$8 million damage done. Many of those indicted will face the death penalty. Indictments are expected around the middle of the month.

The Pontiac rebellion on July 22 was a huge, spontaneous "NO!" to rotten and inhuman conditions. Prison-



The state designed the deadlock to punish the entire prison population for daring to rebel.

ers faced overcrowding, excessive heat, rotten food and deteriorating educational and work programs. These rotten conditions exist in all the Illinois prisons. In fact, the Pontiac rebellion followed a smaller uprising several days earlier at Stateville prison in Joliet, Illinois.

The state wants to beat the prisoners down to teach them never to repeat the rebellion. It has hit them with a two-pronged attack—a deadlock imposed immediately after the rebellion, and prosecution.

Every prisoner at Pontiac is affected by the deadlock. At first, prisoners were confined 24 hours a day, mostly doubled-up in tiny cells meant for one man. They had no visits or phone calls, no job assignments or recreation, no showers—in the hottest part of the summer. Their meals were pushed through the bars of the cells on folded-up paper plates, by guards who often spilled as much as possible. One prisoner said it was like being locked up in your bathroom for months—with somebody else.

The state designed the deadlock to punish the entire prison population for daring to rebel. In addition, the state wanted to use the deadlock to pressure prisoners into giving evidence on the rebellion. In effect, the administration of the prison was in the hands of investi-

gators from the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement, who prolonged the deadlock. Prisoners were promised transfers or good deals for giving testimony, true or false. Meanwhile, the conditions drove several prisoners to attempt suicide.

Today, nearly seven months later, the deadlock has been modified under pressure of a federal court suit filed by the People's Law Office in Chicago—but it is still in force. Prisoners get some showers and exercise periods, phone calls, and visits, though still much more restricted than before the rebellion. The showers are usually cold, and some windows that were broken in July have been replaced only with thin sheets of plastic. Temperatures as low as 38 degrees have been officially recorded inside the cell-houses, and some prisoners have no adequate winter clothing.

After months of promises, the state has now promised to end the deadlock—in April! And even then, the state plans never to restore many job assignments. They are also beefing up prison "security." Instead of spending money to improve conditions, they are spending millions of dollars on guard towers, communications equipment, etc. They plan never again to allow "mass line movements"—movement of all the prisoners in a cellhouse at one time.

The federal court suit has not yet forced an end to the deadlock. But it has exposed a trail of lies and broken promises by the state. When testimony revealed the conditions at Pontiac, an embarrassed Governor Thompson first fired Pontiac warden Pinkney and then state prisons director Charles Rowe. Most recently the state's lawyer, Joseph Cugnino, resigned on January 30. He complained that the state had lied to him and to the court about prison conditions to the point where he could not continue.

After months of stalling, on February 7 the state

finally offered its plan to end the deadlock. But they only did so because federal judge Crowley hit the ceiling, threatening to hold prison officials in contempt and to appoint someone to take over the prisons. Some higher-ups must be getting worried that government misconduct in the investigation has been so blatant that it could hurt the state's prosecution of the prisoners indicted.

About 55 prisoners have been separated out from the prison population and appear to be the targets of indictments and prosecution in the rebellion. Half of them have been moved to Stateville, where their cells overlook Death Row. The others are in segregation at Pontiac. When indictments are issued, the defense of the prisoners is likely to take on national significance. The government wants to execute some prisoners, to deal a major blow against prison struggles. We must stop the planned railroads and defend the rebellion. Long live the heroic Pontiac rebellion—the rebellion was justified!

SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

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

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

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

Send contributions to:
Prisoner Literature Fund
PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036

TO OUR READERS IN PRISON

Have you and your friends been receiving every issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha*? If not, you should let us know. On the 15th of every month, we automatically send out the newspaper to everyone on our subscription list. So if you've received the paper once, you should receive it every month after that. UNLESS YOU'VE TOLD US TO STOP, EXPECT A TORCH/LA ANTORCHA EVERY MONTH.

Your copy of the newspaper should reach you by the 20th of each month. Sometimes there are hold-ups in mail delivery so don't worry if it's a day or two late. But if your paper never arrives, let us know. Or if you get official notices withholding the paper, let us know this too (send us copies of the notices if at all possible).

Keeping us informed will help keep our records up-to-date and, more important, will help us fight open and hidden bans on the *Torch/La Antorcha* by the prison keepers. But we can't do this without your help.

Patt



Patty with parents before the tr

On January 29 Jimmy Carter commuted a prisoner's sentence to time already served. That doesn't happen very often. So who did he pick for this extraordinary act of clemency? Some pris-

PIGS KILL FOR \$

Eula Love was a 39-year-old Black woman from Watts, California. She was also a recent widow, trying to raise three teenage daughters and hold onto her mortgaged house, with only \$660 a month from Social Security. Because she fell behind in paying her bills, owing the gas company \$22.09—she was murdered!

Eula Love died January 3 in front of her home, shot eight times by two cops who emptied their guns at her, as her children and neighbors watched. While she died, a gas company down the block, waiting for to off her gas.

Earlier in the day, when house to disconnect the service him away with a shovel. The market and bought a money bill. The meter-man meanwhile, Bill Jones, who in Supervisor Jones then drove Eula Love's house and parked attempt to cut off her gas, L and offered the money order rolled up the window and r

Minutes later two cops arrived, guns drawn, headed for Love's front yard holding a knife. The 30 feet until she was backed cornered. Then they hit her. At this point, Eula Love was tried to defend herself by thr From 10 feet away they both which struck her body, in b chest.

As she struggled to rise, with his foot on her wounded he said, then handcuffed her. "The cops were standing out had happened—like it was a yard," a neighbor said.

Eula Love is dead. Killed company—by capitalism—for \$22.09.

MEETS ON CTMENTS

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R READERS PRISON

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Torch/La Antorcha by the prison
n't do this without your help.

Patty's Daddy Buys Pardon



Patty with parents before the trial. They knew that the Hearst bucks would protect her.

On January 29 Jimmy
Carter commuted a prison-
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very often. So who did he
pick for this extraordinary
act of clemency? Some pris-

oner whose main crime is to
have been born poor or
working-class? Someone
who committed some petty
crime to try to survive?
Perhaps one of the thou-
sands who committed no

crime at all, but are in jail
simply because they are
Black or Latin or Native
American?

None of the above. Carter
let free Patricia Hearst, heir-
ess to a fortune, daughter of
a publishing magnate, ex-
guerrilla, and a rat.

Hearst was kidnapped by
the Symbionese Liberation
Army (SLA) five years ago on
February 4. Two months
later, she announced on a
tape recording that she had
joined the SLA. On April 15,
1974, she took part in an SLA
bank robbery in San Fran-
cisco. On May 16, she
sprayed a Los Angeles sport-
ing goods store with sub-
machine gun bullets to cover
the escape of her comrade,
William Harris, who had
been caught shoplifting.

A year later Patty Hearst
was caught. She began to
change her story almost
immediately. She had done
what she had done, she
claimed, because she had

been physically and sexually
assaulted by SLA members,
kept locked up in a closet
and "brainwashed." She be-
gan to rat on the three sur-
viving SLA members, to help
the state with its case and
bargain for a smaller sen-
tence.

There are two reasons why
Hearst has been freed. She's
a rich daughter of the ruling
class. And she's a rat. She
betrayed her comrades to cut
a deal with the courts.

That's what capitalist jus-
tice is all about. If you're rich
and famous, there are a
million ways to stay out of
prison. If you do end up in
prison, you're given all sorts
of privileges and put in a jail
that's more like a country
club. After a few months,
you leave and return to your
old country club.

If you're not rich, you only
get over if you're willing to
rat, to turn on your cell-
mates, on your class, on
your principles. That's what
they call "rehabilitation." Pa-
tricia Hearst is both rich and
a rat. That's why she's
considered "a good risk."

Hearst's ex-comrades,
Emily and Bill Harris, refused
to testify at her trial. They
refused to rat. They are not
from ruling-class families.
They hate the capitalist
state. They will probably rot
in jail until their time is up.

One of the biggest myths
pushed by the capitalists is
that everyone is equal before
the law. According to capi-
talist propaganda, worker or
capitalist, rich or poor, op-
pressor or oppressed, you
have exactly the same weight
before the courts, the cops
and the government appar-
atus. "Justice is blind,"
we're told. There is no
difference between the rulers
and the ruled. "Rulers? What
rulers?" we are told in the
schools and the media.
"There's nobody here but us
citizens."

The release of Patricia



Above: Wendy Yoshimura.
Below: William and Emily
Harris.



Hearst is more proof that
this is just a hustle. It should
prove to all workers once and
for all that capitalist "jus-
tice" is not impartial. The
slave and the master are not
equal. This is their system,
not ours. It exists to exploit
and oppress us and benefit
them. It tries to smash and
grind down whoever gets in
its way. It has to be de-
stroyed.

PIGS KILL LOVE FOR \$22.09

Eula Love was a 39-year-
old Black woman from
Watts, California. She was
also a recent widow, trying
to raise three teenage
daughters and hold onto
her mortgaged house, with
only \$660 a month from
Social Security. Because
she fell behind in paying
her bills, owing the gas
company \$22.09—she was
murdered!

Eula Love died January 3
in front of her home, shot
eight times by two cops
who emptied their guns at
her, as her children and
neighbors watched. While
she died, a gas company supervisor sat in his truck
down the block, waiting for the signal to move in and cut
off her gas.

Earlier in the day, when a meter-man arrived at her
house to disconnect the service, Love reportedly chased
him away with a shovel. Then she walked to a nearby
market and bought a money order for the amount of the
bill. The meter-man meanwhile had notified his super-
visor, Bill Jones, who in turn called the police. Supervisor Jones then drove a gas company truck to
Eula Love's house and parked nearby. Expecting another
attempt to cut off her gas, Love walked out to the truck
and offered the money order to Jones. His response? He
rolled up the window and refused to talk.

Minutes later two cops arrived on the scene and, with
guns drawn, headed for Love, who was standing in her
front yard holding a knife. The cops forced her to retreat
30 feet until she was backed against the house and
cornered. Then they hit her twice with a nightstick. At
this point, Eula Love was angry, hurt and trapped. She
tried to defend herself by throwing the knife at one cop.
From 10 feet away they both fired—12 bullets—eight of
which struck her body, in both legs, one arm, and her
chest.

As she struggled to rise, one cop pushed her back
with his foot on her wounded chest. "Lay down, bitch,"
he said, then handcuffed her and waited for her to die.
"The cops were standing out there laughing like nothing
had happened—like it was a dog laying over there in the
yard," a neighbor said.

Eula Love is dead. Killed by the cops, by the gas
company—by capitalism—for being Black and owing
\$22.09.

17-YEAR-OLD WOMAN SLAIN BY NYC TRANSIT COP

Carmen Orsini, a 17-year-
old high school student, was
shot to death on February 5
by a New York City transit
cop. Officer Townsend didn't
mean to kill the young
woman. He just wanted to
shoot a man who hadn't paid
his 50 cents to ride the
subway. A stray bullet hit
Carmen Orsini in the chest
and killed her.

According to the official
story, transit cop Patrick
Townsend stopped 32-year-
old Herberto Cachado for
jumping a subway turnstile.
Townsend claims that when
he asked Cachado for ID,
Cachado cut him in the face
with a six-inch blade and
ran. So he chased him down
to the platform, where Ca-
chado turned around and at-
tacked him.

Townsend fired one shot
from his .38 and then hit
Cachado over the head with
it. Supposedly Cachado then
knocked him down and tried
to get on the train, but it was

too crowded. Townsend tried
to fire again, but his gun
jammed. He then pulled a
.25 caliber automatic from
his ankle holster and fired
two shots. One of the shots
killed Carmen Orsini.

At 5:30 in the afternoon,
right where people are trying
to push into the train, they're
packed so close together
that you can't bend your
elbow without hitting some-
one. And this cop starts
shooting for a 50-cent fare!

Transit police chief San-
ford Garelick has the nerve
to say that Officer Townsend
used "proper judgment" in
firing his weapon on a rush-
hour-packed subway plat-
form. Garelick says that
Townsend was in a life-and-
death struggle in close com-
bat. So there will be no
charges against Patrick
Townsend.

There was no life-and-
death struggle when Officer
Townsend stopped Cachado

at the turnstile. Cachado ran
down to the platform. The
cop had to push through
crowds of people going
home from work to catch up
with him. This pig didn't give
a damn. He wasn't going to
let this guy get away. And he
didn't care who got killed.
Cachado may not live either.
The hospital lists him in
"guarded condition."

There will be a grand jury
investigation of the shoot-
ing. More than likely it will
be the usual whitewash.
Herberto Cachado tried to
beat the subway out of 50
cents. But he has a record of
at least eight arrests. Officer
Townsend has two medals
for bravery. So they'll find
that he was justified in
shooting at a "dangerous
criminal."

The Transit Authority has
offered to pay for Carmen
Orsini's funeral. They say
they're sorry. They call her
death a tragic accident. We
call it murder!

U.S. Steel Threatens Foundry Closing

By a STEELWORKER CORRESPONDENT

The following article was written by a member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus at U.S. Steel's South Works plant in Chicago. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus supports the activities of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Torch/La Antorcha.

CHICAGO, Feb. 1—This past Christmas, management at U.S. Steel's South Works plant here gave a unique present to the workforce. They announced that they would shut down the foundry by June of this year, eliminating 300 jobs. Management claimed it would cost too much to clean the foundry up, as mandated by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

Last year foundry workers had complained to OSHA about their terrible working conditions. The foundry casts ingot molds in forms made of sand. The air in the foundry is saturated with particles of this sand. The sand entered the foundry

workers' lungs, causing an epidemic of silicosis. This disease is always fatal; its victims die very slowly from inability to draw a breath. More than 30 foundry workers at South Works—over 10 percent—are known or believed to have silicosis.

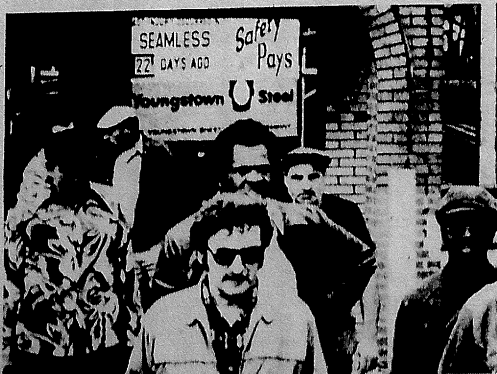
When OSHA inspectors toured South Works last year, they issued 22 separate citations for unsafe practices in the foundry alone. For these and other South Works violations, OSHA fined U.S. Steel \$215,000, one of the highest fines in OSHA's history. U.S. Steel appealed. Then, in late December, they announced their plans to close the foundry.

The local bureaucrats' response was immediate and mealy-mouthed. United Steelworkers Local 65 President John Chico called a press conference to declare that, as far as he knew, it would not cost too much to clean up the foundry. At any rate, he said, the union would try to see that any workers displaced from the foundry received all their contractual rights. Furthermore, the Local 65 leadership would consult with

OSHA to see what this was all about.

The reformist caucus in Local 65, Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity (SOS)—led by local "left" bureau-

foundry workers for complaining to OSHA. (The law is supposed to forbid employers from discharging workers who take legally permitted action against the



Workers leaving Youngstown mill after learning it will close, September 1977.

crats and supported by the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party) went Chico one better. SOS called on the union to file a lawsuit against U.S. Steel, charging the company with illegal retaliation against the

company.)

Chico knows a good legal gimmick when he sees one. At the local meeting on January 10 he announced that the local would look into filing a lawsuit along the lines described above. Fur-

thermore he, together with John Kelly—a flunky of his—and one foundry worker would go to Washington to talk to Eula Bingham, head of OSHA. Under sharp questioning from members of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Chico admitted that a lawsuit would take years, and the union would probably lose.

At the same meeting the members voted to hold a special union meeting in early February to discuss what to do about the foundry closing. This special meeting could serve as an organizing tool to mobilize the ranks to both save all the jobs and clean up the foundry.

The planned foundry closing is still five months away. In that time the revolutionaries in Local 65 and in all of District 31 have an opportunity to organize rank-and-file action to keep the foundry open. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus feels that we ought to seize this opportunity. The loss of 300 jobs may not seem like a big deal when millions of people are unemployed, but this particular shutdown raises important issues that revolutionary workers must address.

First, this shutdown is only one in a series of steel mill closures. The steel bosses are shutting down individual facilities and whole plants around the country. Workers cannot allow the

(Continued on page 16)

Virginia Lar

By LARRY TXABI

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia, Feb. 2—On the night of January 31, shipyard workers struck the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, the largest shipbuilding company in the U.S. The strike, which has been over 90 percent effective, came about after the company continually refused to negotiate with the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888.

The company has refused to deal with the Steelworkers union after it was certified as the workers' representative by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) last October 27. The shipyard charges the union with violating irregularities and improperly using "racial appeals" to gain support among the shipyard's mostly Black workforce.

The shipbuilding company is owned by Tenneco, the Houston-based conglomerate. This is not the first time Tenneco has tried these union-busting tactics. It has a reputation of being one of the most vicious anti-union companies in the U.S. This was verified at its Monroeville shock absorber factory in Hartwell, Georgia, where for years it has successfully pushed back the United Auto Workers union's attempts to organize the place. At Newport News, Tenneco has stonewalled for 22 months in the face of a strike by 1,200 marine designers. The designers are represented by a sister local of the USWA.

The shipyard workers' strike has been mostly peaceful despite attempts by the police to provoke violence. However, during the first three days there were 11 workers arrested for so-called violations of the right-to-work law, including the local president, Wayne Crosby. Now it appears that the company is getting nervous. The shipyard has asked the court to move up the hearing date on their suit against the USWA from March 5 to February 20.

The union, however, is prepared for a long strike. Committees on food, social services and community action have been set up. Another committee will seek temporary jobs for strikers. The company has taken steps to try to isolate the union from the community and from as many workers as possible. Before the strike, Tenneco fired 100 union supporters, suspended another 20 and disciplined hundreds.

The most ardent supporters of the union come from the yard's Black workers, who make up over 70 percent of the workforce. They were the decisive factor in the union election, and much of the strike committee leadership comes from their ranks. Of the 11 top local leaders five are white, five are Black, and one is Latino. The strikers are determined to hold out. One worker told this reporter: "If big com-

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



L.A. parts plant votes to strike

Superior Industries International, Inc., is the country's largest manufacturer of custom road wheels. The American Stock Exchange listed Superior as its fifth biggest gainer last November, and according to *Barron's* magazine the firm "is rolling to its third consecutive year of earnings." Superior workers know how it was done: by rolling over their backs with low wages and unsafe working conditions! In addition, at Superior's Van Nuys, California, plant near Los Angeles, a large percentage of the workers are undocumented and have to bear the brunt of management's racism and harassment. White inspectors at the plant often refer to the production workers as "the animals."

The United Autoworkers union (UAW) has represented the workers at Superior for nearly a year, but no contract has been signed. This is partly because of a heavy dose of sick stalls and scare tactics coming from management. Despite the failures of plant organizing in the past, despite heavy pressure and outright firing from management, over 88 percent of the workers voted yes on a strike vote taken January 28.

Superior's two biggest customers are Ford and Chrysler. With a strike almost certain, Superior workers are calling on other UAW members for solidarity and support. The strength of the strike vote shows the spirit of the Superior workers and their determination to succeed. —Jim C., Los Angeles.

Secret button speeds up line

Officials of United Auto Workers Local 598 called off a strike at the last minute at the General Motors truck assembly plant in Flint, Michigan. The strike was called for January 29 after an electrician discovered a secret button that could kick the line

into higher gear. Speeding up the line can make thousands of dollars extra profit for the company.

Workers on the final assembly line had been complaining for months that the line speed was increasing. When the union was finally forced by the workers to check it out, they found a parallel switching system hidden in a locked and boarded-up superintendent's office. Even without the extra speedup the workers were breaking their backs with continuous overtime. On top of that, the union figures they produced about 1,700 extra trucks in the 18 months that the secret button was operating.

The strike was called off when union officials settled for management to pay \$250 to each of the 3,000 workers involved. A monitoring device is supposed to check the line speed in the future.

GM claims they had no idea the secret button even existed. They "reprimanded" the supervisors involved and transferred them to an undisclosed plant—no doubt to try their dirty tricks on a different group of workers.

Lettuce workers on strike

Almost 3,000 members of the United Farmworkers (UFW) have been on strike since January 19 against eight major lettuce growers in California's Imperial Valley. One-third of the winter iceberg lettuce is rotting in the fields. Lettuce workers average \$3.70 an hour plus 32 cents in fringe benefits. They're demanding a 40-percent increase, to \$5.25 to \$6 an hour. The union says a victory in the lettuce fields would set the pattern for all of California's agriculture.

The growers can't find any scabs. They claim the union has been intimidating Mexican workers below the border. But UFW officials say they haven't sanctioned any violence. "No Mexican farmworker in his right mind is going to break the strike. It's just impossible," says UFW President

Cesar Chavez.

All of California's agribusiness is backing the lettuce growers in trying to break the strike. Says one of the largest growers: "If the contract they want is signed, it would put California out of the vegetable business." That's what every boss has said since the first trade union was organized. But they're all still in business, making profits off workers' backs.

Layoffs spark protests in France

Workers in France are fighting back with strikes, plant takeovers and mass demonstrations against a "reorganization" of the steel industry. Under the "reorganization" plan 27,000 workers have lost their jobs so far.

Since January 15, workers have taken over nine major plants to protest the layoffs. On February 10, strikers in the northeastern province of Lorraine, the center of the steel industry, blocked a freight train carrying 1,500 tons of iron ore. On the same day 2,500 workers hired buses, drove to Paris, and blocked highways leading into the city. Thirty-five cops were injured trying to stop the demonstration.

The whole working population of northern France is lining up behind the steelworkers. In Metz, the largest city in Lorraine, 80,000 workers walked out on January 12 in a one-day general strike. On January 18, 2,500 women travelled to Paris to protest against the layoffs. And on January 24, 12,000 students organized their own demonstration in support of the steelworkers.

Almost one and a half million French workers have no jobs. In the last year alone, unemployment went up 16 percent. Now the workers are starting to hit back. Workers in every country face the same problems. The French workers' militancy sets an example for workers everywhere.

—AL&PB

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Virginia Workers Shut Down Largest U.S. Shipyard

By LARRY TXABI

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The company has refused to deal with the Steelworkers union after it was certified as the workers' representative by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) last October 27. The shipyard charges the union with voting irregularities and improperly using "racial appeals" to gain support among the shipyard's mostly-Black workforce.

The shipbuilding company is owned by Tenneco, the Houston-based conglomerate. This is not the first time Tenneco has tried these union-busting tactics. It has a reputation of being one of the most vicious anti-union companies in the U.S. This was verified at its Monroe shock absorber factory in Hartwell, Georgia, where for years it has successfully pushed back the United Auto Workers union's attempts to organize the place. At Newport News, Tenneco has stonewalled for 22 months in the face of a strike by 1,200 marine designers. The designers are represented by a sister local of the USWA.

The shipyard workers' strike has been mostly peaceful despite attempts by the police to provoke violence. However, during the first three days there were 18 workers arrested for so-called violations of the right-to-work law, including the local president, Wayne Crosby. Now it appears that the company is getting nervous. The shipyard has asked the court to move up the hearing date on their suit against the USWA from March 5 to February 20.

The union, however, is prepared for a long strike. Committees on food, social services and community action have been set up. Another committee will seek temporary jobs for strikers. The company has taken steps to try to isolate the union from the community and from as many workers as possible. Before the strike, Tenneco fired 100 union supporters, suspended another 20 and disciplined hundreds.

The most ardent supporters of the union come from the yard's Black workers, who make up over 70 percent of the workforce. They were the decisive factor in the union election, and much of the strike committee leadership comes from their ranks. Of the 11 top local leaders five are white, five are Black, and one is Latino. The strikers are determined to hold out. One worker told this reporter: "If big com-



Cops arrest striking shipyard workers on the second day of the strike.

panies like Tenneco can end our jobs when we don't provide the services they want, then why shouldn't we have the same right?"

The United Steelworkers have gotten a lot of support from other unions in the area. The Teamsters who deliver to the yard are not crossing the picket lines. The Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union, who tow the ships in and out of the yard, are doing the same. The

Communication Workers of America local has pledged to not service the yard, and has sent members down to the line to march with the steelworkers. Around the country unions have raised more than \$5 million for the strike.

The first demand of the union is that the company come to the bargaining table. Topping the list after that are pay, safety, job security and a grievance procedure. The average pay at

the Newport News shipyard is \$2 an hour less than at union yards in the North. In December the company gave the workers a seven percent increase and claims that no further increase can be granted because that would violate the Carter Administration's wage guidelines and lead to a cutback of government contracts for the shipyard. Wayne Crosby replies: "The USWA international never did recognize the

AUTO CONTRACT UP IN SEPTEMBER

Why the Contract Struggle Is Important

In a year of growing recession, runaway inflation and increasing unemployment, contracts covering over 2.5 million workers will expire this year.

One of the most important negotiations will be between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the big three auto corporations. Not only is this the single largest contract to be negotiated, but the composition and militancy of the workforce has often placed autoworkers in the lead of struggles against the bosses.

In preparation for the contract struggle, UAW members who support the Revolutionary Socialist League/Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee held a meeting in Detroit the first week of January. These autoworkers discussed the struggles in their various locals, the economic state of the auto corporations, and the role of the present union misleadership, and began mapping out a revolutionary strategy for the contract struggle.

The goals the RSL/RAC supporters set for the contract fight are two: first, to increase the level of unity, organization, class consciousness and fighting spirit among autoworkers; second, and most important, to pull together class-con-

scious militants and revolutionaries in various locals, cities, and regions as a step toward building a revolutionary party in the U.S.

These groups of revolutionary-minded workers must meet and educate themselves, to develop a common strategy. They must develop networks of organizers in the plants and reach out to other workers in the plants through leaflets and demonstrations and public meetings, while all the time organizing whatever struggles can be built around the contract.

To help this process

along, supporters of RAC/RSL are writing a pamphlet on the revolutionary strategy for the auto contract struggle. The Torch/La Antorcha is printing a section of this pamphlet to aid the discussion among revolutionary organizers and revolutionary-minded militants in the plants. The section explains RAC/RSL's attitude toward the contract—what it is and why the contract struggle is important.

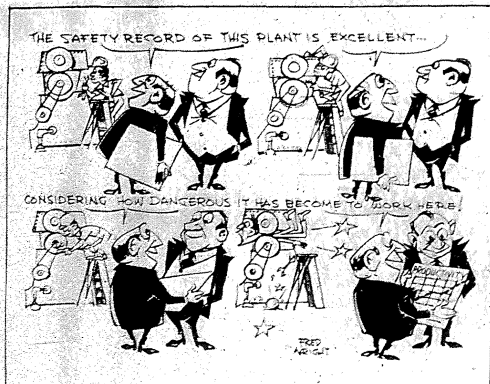
The contract is an important weapon for the workers' fight to limit management rights. Without a contract we would be constantly fighting

damned guideline, and we're not going to, either. We've been behind in pay from where we should have been for years, and the guideline is not going to stop us from catching up."

The union wants better safety regulations to prevent accidents like the one last year that killed three workers when a scaffold collapsed because the ropes holding it were old and frayed. The other issues are seniority and job security. At present the company can do whatever it pleases when a worker is sick. If the supervisor doesn't like your excuse, then you're out. "Petty harassment is common, especially for Black workers," said John Townsell, a welder at the yard for 17 years, now a vice-president of the Steelworkers local and its top-ranking Black officer. "If you go to the bathroom, they can suspend you. We want a grievance procedure to put a stop to the harassment."

Other demands include a better pension plan (workers currently get less than \$100 a month after 30 years), better health coverage and a dues check-off system.

Tenneco is a big operation which made a half-billion dollars' profit last year from natural gas. It knows, as does the USWA, that this struggle for a union against the single largest employer in the South is the acid test for other unions who want to move into the area. If a union can win in Virginia—a right-to-work state with the eighth largest percentage of non-union workers in the country—this can light a spark that will set the whole South on fire.



over such basic questions as our right to be members of the union, wage scales, vacations, benefits, and so on. If we won voluntary overtime in the next contract, the companies wouldn't schedule us to work 50- or 60-hour weeks. The contract pretty well establishes most of these questions and the companies more or less stick to them. This frees up our energies to concentrate on the other things we need.

Other than the most basic points, the companies only follow the contract when it is in their interests, or when they are forced to by the union. They violate the contract thousands of times a day—ignoring seniority, giving unjust discipline, speeding up the line, forcing unsafe working conditions—whatever they think they can get away with.

While the companies violate the contract at every turn, the union officials hide behind it. When workers want to strike over unjust firings, the local presidents say it is impossible because the contract says "no strikes over discipline."

So, why is the contract important to the rank and file?

The contract does not signal an end to the fight for (Continued on page 17)

STRIKE WAVE HITS BRITAIN

By PAUL BENJAMIN

All of Britain is reeling under the impact of a massive workers' revolt. Since early January, a strike wave involving millions of workers has shut down factories and public services all over the country. Newspapers and politicians are screaming that Britain is headed for a total collapse.

The strike wave began on January 2 when 35,000 truck drivers organized wildcat strikes. They demanded wage increases of around 25 percent—a full five times more than the government's five-percent wage guidelines. On January 11, leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union were forced to make the strike official and

eteria workers are refusing to work. Half the hospitals in the country are shut because nurses' aides, cooks and ambulance drivers are on strike. Mountains of garbage are piling up in the streets of London and other cities. In northern England, people have to boil all the water they use because water and sewage workers are out in wildcat strikes. Corpses lie in morgues—waiting for burial—because the gravediggers are out.

In addition, millions of other workers in public and private industry may soon be joining the strike wave. These include over a million construction workers, 280,000 rail workers, half a million teachers, 200,000 postal workers and

omy is in a shambles. The factories are old and inefficient and can't compete with the more modern plants and equipment in other capitalist countries. The only hope the British capitalists have is to drastically cut the living standards of the workers and increase productivity.

The capitalists, however, are finding this much easier said than done. The British workers are organized into powerful trade unions and have fought any number of militant strikes to defend their living standards. For almost 10 years the capitalists and the workers have squared off in one battle after another, every time the bosses press the attack.

In the early '70s, for example, the right-wing Conservative Party government passed the strike-breaking Industrial Relations Act. But when they tried to enforce it against a dockworkers' strike in 1973, mass workers' demonstrations and a wave of strikes forced them to back down. Then in 1973 the government imposed wage controls. These too were smashed when, in 1974, the miners struck and practically closed down the country. The miners' strike also brought down the Conservative Party government and forced new elections.

The Labour Party, which came to power in these elections, hoped to use its ties with the trade-union leaders to control the workers' struggles. For the last three and a half years, the Labour politicians and trade-union tops have teamed up to tell the workers to accept "voluntary" wage guidelines to save Britain from economic collapse. This was called the "social contract"—supposedly a truce in the class struggle between capitalists and workers. Meanwhile, the newspapers, radio and television have pounded away at the theme that it is "immoral" for workers to strike in defense of their living



Garbage piles up while workers wildcat.

standards.

But the current strike wave has destroyed the Labour Party's hope that it could hold the "social contract" together. Under Britain's parliamentary system, Prime Minister James Callaghan has until October to call new elections. He is desperately hoping that he can ride out the strike wave. To do this, he has come out in the open with an openly anti-worker, anti-union line. He has said the strikes amount to "free collective vandalism." Right now, however, it looks like the Labour Party has little chance of winning the upcoming elections. Predictions are that the Conservative Party will be able to win based on the support of wide sections of the middle class and the more conservative, aristocratic sections of the working class.

Strikes show workers' power

Just by refusing to work, British workers have busted through the government-imposed guidelines and caused a governmental crisis. They have demonstrated the true power the workers have, because the workers produce all the goods and services a society needs to keep going. Their actions should be a lesson to all workers who are afraid to take on the capitalists, par-

ticularly workers here in the U.S. who also face wage "guidelines."

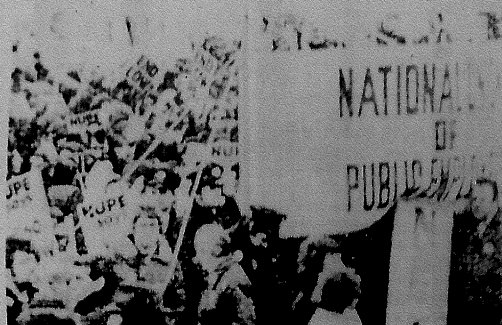
But there is also another lesson in the British workers' revolt, and that is that trade-union struggles are not enough. British workers do not have a particularly high standard of living and the battles they have fought in recent years have ended basically in stalemates. Inflation continues to erode the workers' paychecks. And the governments they topple are simply replaced by other capitalist governments.

Meanwhile, British capitalism staggers from one crisis to the next, and neither the Conservatives nor the Labour Party has proved able to save the situation for the ruling class. More and more of the middle class is becoming freaked out, and working-class youth, knowing that their chances for a decent life look slim, are totally alienated. The fascists of the National Front are growing stronger, whipping up hysteria at the workers, particularly racist hate for Black and Asian workers. The crisis in Britain may well lead into the pit of fascist barbarism, the way the crisis of German capitalism led to Hitler in 1933.

The workers can fight the most militant trade-union struggles in the world, but that will not protect them from getting mashed up in the impending crisis. In fact the more the capitalists are unable to beat down the workers, the more likely it will be that they turn to the fascists to do their dirty work.

The workers in Britain have proved that they are militant as hell and that they have a strong sense of organization. They alone could lead Britain out of its crisis, by smashing the capitalist leeches and setting up a new society based on human needs, not profit. But unfortunately the British workers lack any real understanding that if they don't organize themselves to take it all, if they don't build a revolutionary party to seize power, they will go down the tubes with the rest of society.

The coming period will be decisive. There is no way out. The capitalists will turn to more and more barbaric methods to prop up their system. The workers must organize to smash them. □



Public workers demonstrate in London, January 22. Union heads called for one-day national strike, but many workers stayed out.

call 100,000 truckers off the job. The striking drivers organized roving pickets to stop truck shipments by closing down depots, warehouses and docks.

Within a few weeks, these 100,000 workers had stopped Britain cold. Some factories closed down for lack of raw materials. Others stopped production because they couldn't deliver the goods they produced. Supermarkets started running out of food. By late January, the shipping company bosses were getting desperate. They decided to ditch the government guidelines and make the best deal they could—anything to stop the strike. On January 28 the truck drivers won a 20-percent wage hike. Meanwhile, 1.5 million blue-collar public service workers had started their own fight, demanding wage increases of more than 40 percent. Public service workers are among the lowest paid workers in Britain.

On January 22, the public workers' unions called a one-day national strike. At a demonstration in London that day, 80,000 workers shouted down union leaders who wanted to end the strike.

Since then, public service workers—without the approval of their national unions' leaders—have paralyzed hundreds of cities and towns. Schools are closed because custodians and cat-

230,000 miners. It's no wonder the ruling class is in a state of panic!

The ruling class is less and less able to run the country. Once the British capitalists ruled over the biggest imperialist empire in the world. But that empire started crumbling decades ago. The ruling class lost most of its colonies, and Britain became more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism.

Today the British econ-



Supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iranian Pup

(Continued from page 1)

the country. Military bases and police stations continued to be taken. On Sunday, February 11, the rebels launched an attack on the Iranian Military Supreme Command headquarters and overran a U.S. advisory base in Tehran. They sacked the office, official residence, private home and palace of Bakhtiar. They took the hated Israeli embassy by storm, tearing it apart. They ripped open the doors of Iran's biggest prison and set 11,000 prisoners free.

Khomeini fears masses

The events of these last few days are exposing Khomeini's reactionary politics. During a whole year of bloody confrontations with the army, Khomeini made no move whatsoever to arm the masses that were getting mowed down in the streets—even though there was plenty of money and easy access to arms in the Arab world. As late as January 29—when Tehran University was subjected to a five-hour barrage of machine gun fire—Khomeini's forces refused to distribute arms to the people. Instead, they were busy cooking up a deal with the shah's generals—people that Khomeini had many times called representatives of "the devil himself."

When the masses rose up, armed themselves and took on the Imperial Guard, they did it against Khomeini's wishes. On Sunday, February 11, Khomeini was in his compound, still meeting with General Mehdi Rahmini—the butcher of Tehran—and with the head of the police, two days after the



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Supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini guard Parliament Building in Tehran.

Iranian Masses Destroy Puppet Regime

(Continued from page 1)

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fighting had started.

That night, even though units of the shah's forces were still resisting, Khomeini—according to the *New York Times*—"issued an urgent appeal...saying that those who do not end their needless attacks (on the shah's forces) 'will be punished both under religious and secular laws.'"

Khomeini is very concerned by the fact that the army is disintegrating and the masses are armed. While the fighting was still going on, he issued repeated statements calling on people to turn in their arms; calling on soldiers to return to their units; and calling on everyone to respect state property. His appeals fell on deaf ears.

Khomeini has named Mehdi Bazargan, who heads the National Liberation Movement of Iran, to form a new government. To underscore Khomeini's commitment to preserving the shah's army and police forces, Bazargan's first act—long before he had time to appoint a new cabinet—was to name a new chief of staff of the armed forces and new commanders of the two police forces. But this had no visible effect on rank-and-file soldiers who, instead of returning to their units, continued to desert in large numbers.

Support the revolution!

The Revolutionary Socialist League strongly supports the victory of the masses against Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar was appointed by the shah and kept in power by the shah's bayonets. He represented U.S. imperialism's best hope in Iran. Had he

succeeded in crushing the revolution, Iran would have remained a client state of the U.S., and the armed forces would have retained real power.

The victory of the anti-shah forces has brought a broad coalition to power. *The Economist*, a British journal of political and economic affairs, mentions that there are already "something like 15 opposition 'parties' or groupings" in Iran, and "there are more on the fringes." Most of these groups are allied with Khomeini, but few share his goal of an Islamic republic. In addition, there are at least five or six major currents inside the Shi'a church.

What next?

Now that Khomeini is in power, the coalition he leads will become increasingly unstable. Khomeini's attempts to protect property and preserve the shah's state machine have probably already begun to open the eyes of many people.

Moreover, the immediate situation contains the seeds for a split in the Khomeini forces. The streets are full of armed workers, soldiers, students and youth. Khomeini is trying hard to disarm them in order to rebuild the old repressive apparatus. The masses may not take kindly to this, and the issue may well be fought out in the streets.

Even if Khomeini consolidates his hold, he will have problems implementing his program for an Islamic, church-dominated state. It will be hard to turn the clock back. For example, women now make up one-third of

(Continued on page 17)



Palestinians fight Zionist rulers

Palestinians living in Israel and in the occupied West Bank are resuming their struggle against the Zionist rulers. On February 4, Arab students in Halhul fought Israeli troops and police in demonstrations against new Zionist settlements in the West Bank.

A few days earlier, Palestinian students at Hebrew University in Jerusalem had issued a leaflet condemning Zionism as a colonialist, racist movement with no right to exist. Their statement supported the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Leaders of 28 Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel passed a similar motion.

The Zionists reacted by expelling the students from school and ordering them to return to their homes. The students are required to remain home after sundown and report twice daily to local police. On January 26 Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan warned Arab citizens of Israel that they risked expulsion from the country if they sided with the PLO. He said: "If they will not be satisfied and don't want to live together with us, they will pay for it very dearly."

Israel claims to give full citizenship rights to the half-million Palestinians living in Israel (not including the West Bank). These Zionist actions give the lie to this claim.

Kampuchean forces strike back

Troops loyal to the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (Cambodia) have put the invading Vietnamese army in a bind. Vietnam invaded Kampuchea in the beginning of January. By January 23, Kampuchean troops had already recaptured the coastal towns of Kampot and Riem in southern Kampuchea. At the same time they retook Takeo, a provincial capital, and held it for several days. They were finally forced to evacuate Takeo because of heavy air attacks, but are continuing the battle in the surrounding countryside. Kampuchean forces also engaged Vietnamese troops in the provincial capitals of Kampong Chhang, Pursat and Battambang.

It appears that most of the 60,000 troops in the Kampuchean army survived the invasion and were able to regroup in the countryside. They have re-formed into brigades of about 1,000 soldiers each and are continuing the struggle.

Zimbabwe: Victory is near

White-minority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is close to collapse. White settlers are leaving the country in droves. A government report released on January 25 admits that 48,000 whites fled the country last year. Thousands of others have taken "vacations" with no thought of returning.

Prime Minister Ian Smith is trying to preserve white rule through a deal with some Black politicians. His scheme would allow the white ruling class to hide behind these politicians while continuing to run the country. Although whites approved the Smith plan in a referendum on January 30, no one believes it has a chance.

However, as the liberation forces led by the Patriotic Front near victory, the split between its two nationalist leaders is growing wider. On February 6 Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), said his organization alone was entitled to "the reins of power." Mugabe dismissed the claims of Joshua Nkomo, head of the rival Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), to a share of the power. He said: "Those who have not fought cannot reap the rewards of a victory to which they have contributed nothing."

Nkomo has built up a well-equipped army in neighboring Zambia. But he has kept his troops out of the fighting and forced ZANU to bear the main brunt of the armed struggle against white rule. As late as last summer Nkomo was still trying to sell out the liberation war altogether by making his own deal with the white ruling class. Once the white regime is defeated, Nkomo may try to use his army to smash ZANU, take power for himself, and cut a deal with the imperialists. As the Black liberation forces led by ZANU step up their attacks on the Smith regime, they will have to increase their vigilance against Nkomo.

Students in the Central African Empire led a three-day rebellion against the dictatorship of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa. On January 20 students in Bangui, the national capital, demonstrated against having to wear new uniforms bearing Bokassa's name. They were quickly joined by residents of the city. The protestors demanded an end to Bokassa's rule, chanting: "The court is in Berengo (Bokassa's place of residence) but the republic is in Bangui."

Bokassa was forced to call on President Mobutu Sese Seko in neighboring Zaire for troops to suppress the demonstrators. The Association of Central African Students reports that over 1,000 people were killed in the crackdown.

—PB

JAMAICA: FIGHT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS LEADERS

JANUARY UPRISING SHUTS DOWN CITIES

The account below is based on an eyewitness report prepared for the Torch/La Antorcha by Comrade Cella St. Clair of the RML of Jamaica.

The morning of Monday, January 8, saw the beginning of a three-day rebellion in Jamaica against a steep rise in gasoline prices. Angry protesters completely stopped all traffic on the main

deflated or slashed tires on cars and buses, and covered the roads with broken bottles. More than 500 points were blockaded in Kingston alone.

All day long the JLP organizers tried to keep things from getting out of control. For example, they would want to let their "big friends"—the JLP politicians—go through the roadblocks, while the workers and youth would be saying: "No, these are the ones we

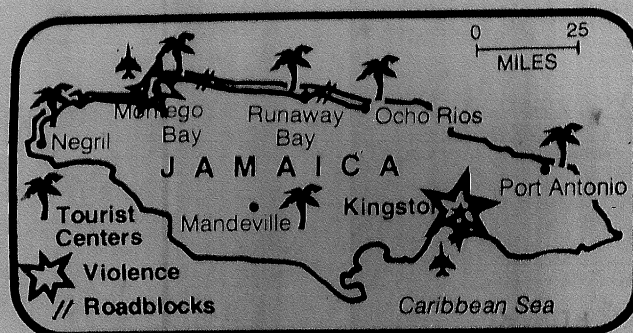
near the plants. Strikes in the bauxite plants hit the heart of the economy and send shivers up the spines of the ruling class. (Bauxite is used to make aluminum and it's Jamaica's main export.)

Most schools, businesses and banks stayed closed all day Tuesday. A curfew was clamped on Western Kingston effective from Tuesday morning, January 9, to 8 a.m. Wednesday morning, and the Suppression of Crimes Act was placed on the whole island. This law gives the Security Forces the powers of free search, and detention up to 30 days without charges.

On the third day, Wednesday, January 10, the Security Forces used tear gas and gunshots to disperse people at roadblocks throughout Jamaica. At key intersections in the cities, heavily armed PNP brigades could be seen violently dispersing crowds under cover of the Security Forces. But businesses and schools remained closed, and some that had opened had to close early. The buses started running in the morning, but by afternoon they were down again.

The next day some businesses and schools were still closed, although things remained quiet. By now, public meetings and demonstrations were banned. But it wasn't the threats and tuggery of the PNP government that ended the protests. Mainly it was the treachery of the JLP, which first sparked the rebellion and then spent the next few days trying to put it out.

The Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (RML)—the sister organization of the Revolutionary Socialist League—supported and took part in the rebellion from the very beginning, all the while warning the workers about the treachery of the JLP. The accompanying article by the Executive Committee of the RML offers an in-depth analysis of the nature of the protests, as well as the role of the JLP and of most left organizations. It also summarizes our point of view on why this working-class rebellion had to be supported and extended.



roads and on many side streets in Kingston, Jamaica's capital. They also paralyzed Kingston's surroundings, St. Andrew and Spanish Town, and blocked the railway.

The demonstrators carried placards like: "Shah Manlie," "Gas up; Manlie down," "No jobs for youth," "People unite now," "Slavery come back, oh Lord." ("Manlie" refers to Michael Manley, Jamaica's prime minister and head of the liberal-capitalist People's National Party—PNP.)

These price increases by the PNP government were the last straw. In recent years prices in Jamaica have skyrocketed. The food situation is desperate. Protein foods and vegetables are priced beyond the reach of tens of thousands of families. And starchy foods, like bread and rice, are disappearing from the shelves. Meanwhile, more and more workers are being laid off. The standard of living of the Jamaican working class is being pushed below the level of survival. It was the people's anger over these conditions that sparked these actions.

The protests were initially organized by the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), a right-wing capitalist party, which is the main rival of the ruling PNP. The JLP wanted to use these actions to hurt and embarrass the PNP government. But it was not interested in anything more than a series of tightly controlled demonstrations. Anything more than that would go beyond JLP control and would threaten the ruling class as a whole, including the JLP. Over the next few days the JLP was to get quite a surprise.

On the first day, Monday, the protesters were joined by motorists and bus drivers, who locked up their vehicles and left them in the middle of the roads. As the day went on, other workers, unemployed youth and school children joined in the protests. They made use of whatever was at hand to block traffic: boulders, tree trunks, old car bodies and other debris. They

should stop, the big man dem... This thing can't work with partiality."

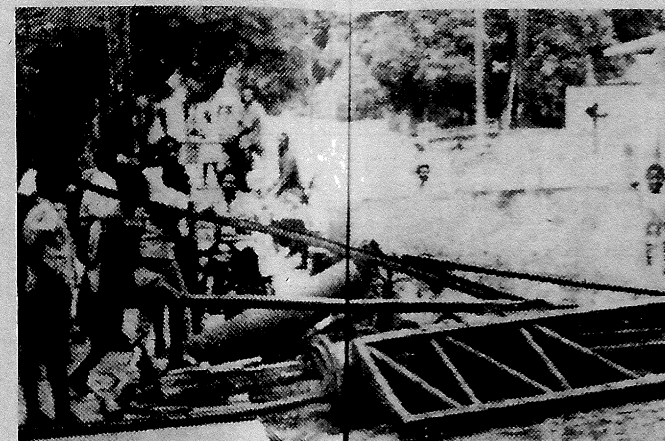
Workers who had initially been stopped from going to work, and who had been merely looking on at first, joined in and even started leading little sections of people to spread the blockades further up the roads and into side streets. They were the ones who would try to stop everyone "without partiality."

Monday evening, Minister of Finance Eric Bell announced the expected gas price increase, effective January 10. Premium gas was to go from \$3 to \$3.20 a gallon in Jamaican currency; regular, from \$2.85 to \$3.10; kerosene, the main fuel used by workers and other poor people, from 64 cents to 83 cents. Diesel would go from 88 cents to \$1.20 a gallon. (A Jamaican dollar is equal to 60 U.S. cents; the imperial gallon used in Jamaica equals 1.2 U.S. gallons.) This compares with prices of 60 cents a gallon for regular gas in 1973. In five years the price has increased five-fold. Bell also announced increases of around 10 percent in the price of washing detergent. And he promised further price increases for April, July and October!

By the next day, January 9, the protests had spread to the countryside and to Jamaica's second largest city and tourist center, Montego Bay. Montego Bay was paralyzed. Traffic was completely at a standstill along the North Coast resort area. Tourists were stranded to, from, and at the airports.

Country roads and highways in many parts of the island were blocked. The town of Mandeville was completely closed down. In Kingston, demonstrators set tires and other things on fire to stiffen up the roadblocks. Bus service was out all day.

Most important, workers at all four of the country's bauxite plants—Alpart, Alcan, Reynolds and Kaiser—went out on wildcat strikes. They stopped all work and blocked the roads



Youth set up barricades in Kingston.

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE OF JAMAICA

For three days beginning Monday, January 8, 1979, a wave of demonstrations swept the island. Thousands of working and oppressed people threw up roadblocks and staged strikes, paralyzing the capitalist economy. The action was called by the reactionary Jamaica Labour Party to protest the government's increase in gas prices. The working people who took part, however, turned it into much more than this. They made it a mass struggle against all price increases, high unemployment and the other effects of the crisis of Jamaican capitalism.

The Revolutionary Marxist League supported the action of the working and oppressed people in these events. While our forces were small, we participated in the struggle in several parts of the Corporate Area. Our position was to defend the demonstrations from the PNP regime's repression and to strengthen the side of the movement which represented the struggle of the working class. We worked to expose the anti-working-class motives of the JLP in initiating the protests and to free the action from JLP control. In particular, we appealed to workers to

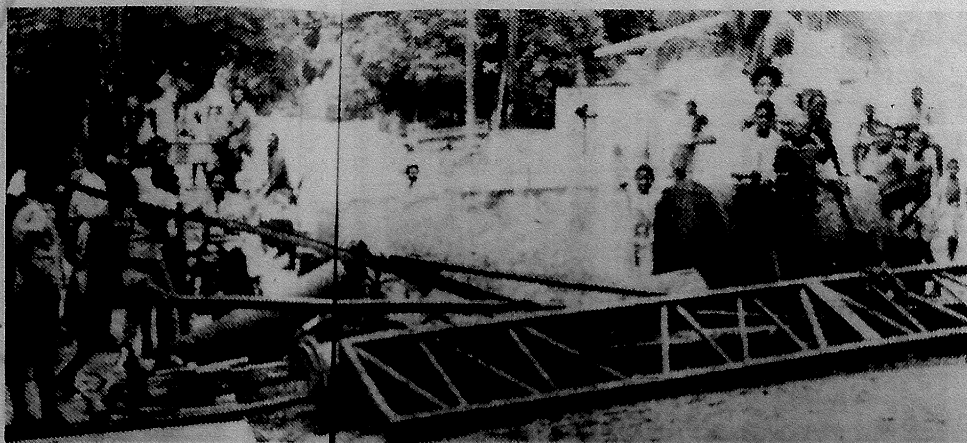
follow the example of the bauxite miners by striking for political demands which unite the working and oppressed people against the entire capitalist class.

The JLP is the party of the most openly reactionary and pro-imperialist wing of the local ruling class. It has no interest in lower prices or any other measures which would hurt the profits of the foreign and local capitalists. The protest was a tactic in the JLP's bid to replace the PNP as the ruling capitalist party. To build its own popularity at the expense of the PNP, the JLP is trying to exploit the hostility which the



Demonstrators use tires to block streets in Montego Bay.

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masses of working people have against the PNP regime.

Outbreak of class struggle

In spite of the JLP's role in initiating it, the action was a partial victory for the working-class movement. The PNP government was forced to back down. The announced gas price increases were undoubtedly less than what the regime would have ordered without the demonstrations. Far more important is the way in which the demonstrations developed past the JLP's control into a militant outbreak of the working-class struggle—the same struggle which has been building since early 1978 through a wave of strikes, protests against shortages and land capturing.

The majority of people who took part were not there to show their support for the JLP. They were seizing an opportunity to fight against the offensive of the capitalist class. Many PNP supporters and sections of the PNPO [the youth organization of the PNP—Ed.] rank-and-file participated. Many who joined were ex-supporters of the PNP who now oppose both capitalist parties. Even at Half Way Tree, where the JLP had concentrated many hard-line forces, the demonstration went past their control. Shouting "No Partiality," the crowd defeated the effort of JLP organizers to let their politicians through the road blocks.

The strike of the bauxite workers at the Reynolds, Kaiser and Alpart mines was the clearest demonstration of how the working class was taking over the action from the JLP and turning it to their own advantage. The strike broke out independently of the JLP. The bauxite workers belong to the PNP-led National Workers' Union (NWXU), not the JLP-affiliated Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU). They entered the struggle with their own demands

for an end to all price increases and demanded that the burden of taxation be lifted from the working class. These demands expressed the class interests of all working people. The NWU Bauxite Council was forced to support the strike of the rank and file, bringing it into conflict with the PNP leadership. The Council also issued a statement questioning the union's further support for the reactionary wage guidelines. The bauxite workers took an important step in uniting the entire working-class struggle by using their strike as a political weapon to reinforce the mass action in the communities.

The JLP called off the action precisely because it had developed into a threat against the capitalist class. When the JLP folded up the protest on Wednesday night, they did this against their own working-class followers who wanted the demonstrations escalated. Seaga [leader of the JLP—Ed.] and Co., however, wanted a quick protest that would make them look militant, and not a serious strengthening of the working-class struggle.

The action had many weaknesses. In some areas, middle-class and lumpen elements had the upper hand over the working-class forces, allowing police and politicians through the roadblocks. Many demonstrators had illusions that a JLP government would be better than the present one. However, the working-class trend which emerged from the January demonstrations pushed this pro-JLP side into a secondary position. The biggest weakness of the action was that the JLP retained enough overall control to call it off when they chose. This reflected the underdeveloped state of working-class organization more than it did JLP popularity.

PNP attacks working people

The PNP regime, of course, bears the main responsibility for breaking up the demonstrations. On Wednesday, January 10, Manley ordered a large-scale mobilization of the police and army to crush the working people's struggle with violence. At Cross Roads, Manley's police opened fire on the crowds, wounding several people. PNP gunmen were brought out to help terrorize the demonstrators. The PNP, however, was not alone in using tribalism to weaken the working-class side of the demonstrations. The JLP sent their own gunmen to stiffen the protest on Wednesday, hindering the working people from finding their own ways to defend the action from PNP repression.

On Wednesday night, Manley carried his counter-attack against the demonstration a step further. In a radio broadcast, he slandered the entire action as a "fascist plot" by the JLP and seized upon certain terrorist acts against the police as "proof" that the JLP planned to grab power by force. There is no indication that this "plot" is anything more than a justification Manley manufactured for increasing repression against the working class. Manley has said little about this "plot" since that time, suggesting that he is backing off for the moment. However, it remains a warning of the kind of tactics his regime is preparing.

The "fascist plot" accusation is the latest twist in Manley's propaganda campaign against the working class. For the past year and a half, he has been calling on the working class to make greater "sacrifices in the national interest"—which means sacrifices to increase the profits of the foreign and local capitalists. He has attacked workers who strike as "unpatriotic," in order to justify using the police and army against them. In his New Year's message, Manley tried to divide the working class by blaming workers organized into unions for the hard-

ships facing the poor.

While the PNP regime may use the "fascist plot" to lock up JLP leaders in the period ahead, the main threat is directed against the working class and revolutionaries. In claiming there is a danger of an illegal take-over, he is preparing for a return to the State of Emergency and other moves which could establish a PNP dictatorship. He is mislabelling the JLP as "fascist" and trying to link all opposition to the regime with the JLP. In this way, Manley is constructing the pretexts which his regime needs to justify using the harshest methods of repression against the working class. With its ties to the JLP, the BITU is an obvious target for repression. But the Manley regime will not stop there. Any workers who fight the capitalists through strikes, demonstrations and other militant action can be smashed as part of the "fascist plot." Organizations like the RML which seek to lead the working class in struggle against both capitalist parties can be suppressed as "fascist" or "objectively aiding the fascists."

The JLP is not fascist. It is not the kind of mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie which Hitler and Mussolini used to destroy the organizations of the working class in Germany and Italy. Like the PNP, the JLP is a capitalist party primarily equipped for parliamentary action. It has a large base among the workers, including a trade union organization which is a pillar of its mass support. Fascists do not



Prime Minister Michael Manley.

organize trade unions, they smash them. The JLP has a certain base among the lumpen proletariat, including gunmen, who are potentially fascist. The JLP also has forces within it who are capable of pushing aside capitalist democracy and seizing power by force. But these characteristics do not make it any different from the PNP. The main difference between these two parties is that the JLP is openly anti-communist and pro-imperialist. The PNP, on the other hand, believes that the capitalist state must pretend it is anti-imperialist and socialist to strengthen its position over the masses. With the PNP's turn to the right, however, even these differences are becoming less significant to the working class. In any event, the PNP and JLP have never disagreed on the need to preserve capitalist rule.

Left abandons struggle

Apart from the RML, most other organizations of the Jamaican left failed the test of revolutionary leadership raised by the January demonstrations. The Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ),

(Continued on next page)



to block streets in Montego Bay.

STATEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE OF JAMAICA

(Continued from previous page)

the Communist Party of Jamaica (CPJ), and the PNP Youth Organization condemned the demonstrations. All of these so-called "revolutionary" organizations sided with the capitalist state against the working people. The WPJ engaged in naked strike-breaking by encouraging their supporters in bauxite to return to work. Both the WPJ and PNPYO shamefully mobilized their supporters to assist the capitalist police and PNP gunmen in clearing the streets. The YO's performance was particularly disappointing. It is a retreat from earlier positions where it has sided with the working class against the PNP regime, especially in condemning police repression.

All of these groups have lined up behind Manley's attempt to portray the demonstrations as a "fascist plot." The leaders of these groups are eager to believe anything the regime offers as evidence, regardless of how flimsy. Behind this position is the fundamental contradiction in which all these groups are caught. The WPJ, CPJ and PNPYO give political support to Manley. They reject the Leninist strategy of organizing the working class to fight under its own independent leadership for socialist revolution. In fact, the WPJ and CPJ deny that socialist revolution is possible in this period in Jamaica. They claim that the working class is too small and "backward" to carry this out. Instead, these groups back the liberal wing of the capitalist class represented by Manley, against the more reactionary wing led by the JLP. They encourage the workers to limit themselves to fighting for reforms under Manley's leadership.

As the capitalist economic crisis deepens, the Manley regime is intensifying its attacks on the working people under the guidelines laid down by the IMF. The working class is hitting back with a militant struggle which is becoming increasingly politically conscious. In turn, the regime is resorting to open repression by the police and army to crush the workers' resistance.

These developments are driving the pro-Manley section of the Jamaican left into a corner. The WPJ, CPJ and PNPYO insist that they support the struggle of the working people against the International Monetary Fund (IMF). However, they are banging their heads on the fact that it is impossible to fight against the IMF without breaking with the liberal capitalist PNP regime. The Manley government is in the very vanguard of the IMF assault on the Jamaican working people.

The rising level of class struggle is quickly forcing these groups to decide where they stand: with the workers against the IMF, PNP, and JLP; or with the PNP against the working class. As the WPJ's Dr. Munroe has often said: "One cannot serve two masters." Up to the time of the January demonstrations, the pro-Manley leftists had been able to sidestep this question. They maintained a stony silence on the key issues of the developing class struggle. The demonstrations, however, have forced things out into the open. In refusing to support the demonstrations, the WPJ, CPJ and PNPYO are deserting the working-class struggle against the imperialists and local capitalists.

Far from weakening the JLP, the position of these groups is strengthening Seaga's reactionaries. The pro-Manley left is abandoning working people who want militant action against the capitalists to the political leadership of the JLP. The JLP was able to push militant tactics in the protests as far as they did because they had a relatively open field in which to maneuver. Had the rest of the left joined with the RML in organizing and strengthening the independent forces within the demonstrations, the

JLP would have backed off and exposed itself much earlier than it did.

Furthermore, the response of these groups to the demonstrations was a shift on their part to openly counter-revolutionary positions. In denouncing the demonstrations as a "fascist" action, the leaders of these groups hope they have found a cover to support Manley against the working people

sions which the capitalist crisis is creating within the ruling class. The PNP and JLP agree fully on the need to crush the working people. However, they are at each other's throats over how best to accomplish this. This split within the ruling class is providing openings for the working class to build its own independent and revolutionary movement. As Lenin put it: "The more

"We must unite not as PNP or JLP, but as working people"

The following letter by Jon Thomas, organizational secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist League, was published on January 10, 1979, in the Jamaica Daily News.

Sir:

The demonstrations against the threatened gas price rise is yet another occasion where the reactionary JLP has managed to use the just grievances and dissatisfactions of the working people to advance its campaign against the government of its liberal capitalist PNP rival. The Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) fully recognizes and condemns the self-seeking and opportunistic motives of the JLP and its affiliates in organizing these demonstrations. We strongly advise the working people against being taken in by the JLP.

At the same time we solidarize fully with the urge to revolt that is ripening among the working and oppressed people. As the capitalists like these at present keep on jacking up prices and shopping jobs in areas like JBC and the sugar industry, working people are being forced to directly confront the capitalist system that keeps them down. What is needed now is a radical Communist Workers Party to educate and organize the working people for a successful struggle to beat back the IMF and smash capitalism in Jamaica. Such a party would be built beginning now.

We call on working and oppressed people throughout Jamaica to unite against the imperialists, the IMF and the local capitalists represented by both the PNP and JLP. We must unite not as PNP or JLP, but as working people to struggle—in the streets, in the factories, in the communities and elsewhere—for demands including the following:

- 1) Cancellation of the IMF agreement.
- 2) Revolution of the dollar.
- 3) Roll-back of prices of all essential goods including gas to the 1975 levels.

—JON THOMAS
Organizational Secretary
Revolutionary Marxist League
Kingston

while keeping their reputations as "communists" intact. Trying to pose as hardline revolutionaries in the face of "fascism," the WPJ leaders have been especially aggressive in urging the harshest measures against the demonstrators.

The danger now is that these groups may extend their counter-revolutionary stand to other areas of the class struggle. This is the logic of their support for Manley. To prevent the "fascist" JLP from coming to power, they oppose anything which weakens Manley. Yet it is the very growth of a militant and class-conscious working-class movement which is weakening Manley more than anything else. The present course of these groups is leading them to police the working class from within as agents of the liberal wing of the capitalist class.

Socialist revolution — only solution

We reject the policy of support for the Manley regime. It is completely wrong to pose the choice facing the working class as "either Manley or the JLP." Neither capitalist party can offer the working class a way out of the present crisis. The working class must resolve this crisis through carrying out the socialist revolution. The workers and small farmers must conquer political power and establish their own control over the economy and the rest of society. Revolution is the only way to smash the forces of local capitalism and imperialism.

To advance the struggle for socialist revolution, the working class must take advantage of the political divi-

powerful enemy [i.e., the capitalists—Ed.] can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skilful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies... among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within individual countries..." (Left-Wing Communism, p. 54, Progress Publishers, 1970 edition).

The protests started by the JLP over gas prices were exactly such an opportunity to build the working class movement at the expense of the capitalists.

We do not dismiss the possibility of the JLP again turning toward a coup strategy as they did during the 1975-76 election period. We will be on the front lines against any attempt by the JLP to seize power through a military-type takeover. But we are not going to be duped by Manley's efforts to manufacture phony plots to strengthen his own rule over the working people. We will not refrain from organizing a revolutionary working-class struggle merely because this may, under some circumstances, shift some votes to the JLP. The fundamental question for us is how to strengthen the independent forces of the working class, regardless of how this affects the balance of power between the capitalist parties.

Build the revolutionary workers' party

The main task of the working class today is to build a revolutionary party of the type Lenin led in the Russian Revolution of 1917. It is necessary to

unite the most advanced and dedicated workers into a disciplined political party capable of leading the workers and small farmers to revolutionary victory and the construction of a socialist society. Such a party is the only way to lead the working people out of the blind alley of supporting one capitalist party against the other. Neither the WPJ nor the CPJ can fulfill this goal. They are nothing more than left-wing support groups for the PNP.

The Revolutionary Marxist League is building the core of such a party. By taking part in the struggles developing in the towns and countryside, we are recruiting, training and hardening the cadres who will form the foundation of this party. We are building the RML as the Jamaican section of an international revolutionary party which can unite the workers of all countries in the struggle for world socialist revolution.

To move forward from the January demonstrations, it is necessary to link up the different parts of the on-going struggle. The strike wave, the protests against shortages, and the struggle of the rural poor for the land must be unified into a conscious movement against the capitalist offensive. The trade unions are the biggest and most powerful organizations which the working class has at present. The unions have a central role to play in organizing this movement. For this reason, the RML and its Trade Union Committee have initiated a campaign for an All Trade Union Conference against the IMF and capitalist offensive. Such a conference would bring together the most active rank-and-file representatives of all the unions and other workers' organizations to decide how best to organize the fight against the capitalists. It would provide an immediate alternative to those working and oppressed people who are being misled by the JLP.

As an immediate step in strengthening the workers' struggles, the RML's Trade Union Committee is working to build permanent strike support committees. These committees should include workers from as many unions and factories as possible, as well as community forces. To support the many strikes taking place, these committees are needed to mobilize mass picketing, publicity, financial support, and defense against capitalist violence. In turn, these strike support committees will form a base of support for organizing the All Trade Union Conference.

Building the strike support committees and the Conference are important ways for revolutionaries to increase their influence within the working-class struggle and to construct a revolutionary wing inside the trade unions. This work is a key part of forging the core of the revolutionary party. □

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FORWARD

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Sixty years ago, March 2 through 6, 1919, revolutionaries from 33 countries met in Moscow to found the Communist International, also known as Comintern or Third International. The Comintern was an international revolutionary party, made up of communist parties in countries around the world. The purpose of these organizations was to lead the working class in a worldwide socialist revolution.

In forming the Comintern, the Russian Bolsheviks were led by V.I. Lenin, and other delegates to the congress were from the internationalist tradition of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was founded under the leadership of Marx. It was an organization of trade unionists, anarchists, socialists and other working-class militants. It only lasted until 1876.

The Second International, also known as the Socialist International, was formed in 1889 and lasted until 1914. It consisted of mass social parties that called themselves social-democratic. In 1914, the International divided into its parties in Europe and elsewhere. Millions of workers were members of the unions, cultural and athletic clubs, and other organizations led by the social-democratic parties.

Although the Second International called itself Marxist, it was not a revolutionary organization. Party leaders gave revolutionary speeches on the Day and wrote books on Marxist theory, but in practice they were reformists who worked to reform capitalism rather than overthrow it.

For many years before 1914, the social-democratic leaders said that a world war was coming. They argued that this war would be an imperialist war, in which workers had no stake in supporting any side. The social leaders said they would oppose the war, organize workers to oppose it, and refuse to support any capitalist when it did break out.

But when World War broke out in 1914, these false socialists rushed to the support of the ruling class in their "own" countries. They voted for war credits to the governments in the parliaments. They also used the publications and organizations to build support for the imperialist armies of "their" ruling classes. As a result, the Second International collapsed.

The revolutionary wing of the Russian Social Demo-

unite the most advanced and dedicated workers into a disciplined political party capable of leading the workers and small farmers to revolutionary victory and the construction of a socialist society. Such a party is the only way to lead the working people out of the blind alley of supporting one capitalist party against the other. Neither the WPJ nor the CPJ can fulfill this role. They are nothing more than left-wing support groups for the PNP.

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Third International Founded 60 Years Ago:

WE NEED AN INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' PARTY

Sixty years ago, from March 2 through 6, 1919, revolutionaries from 33 countries met in Moscow to found the Communist International, also known as the Comintern or Third International. The Comintern was an international revolutionary party, made up of Communist parties in countries around the world. The goal of these organizations was to lead the working class in a worldwide socialist revolution.

In forming the Comintern, the Russian Bolshevik Party, led by V.I. Lenin, and the other delegates to the founding congress were following the internationalist tradition of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was founded under the leadership of Marx. It was a broad organization of trade unionists, anarchists, socialists and other working-class militants. It only lasted until 1876.

The Second International, also known as the Socialist International, was formed in 1889 and lasted until 1914. It consisted of mass socialist parties that called themselves social-democratic. In the years between 1890 and 1914, the International organized millions of workers into its parties in Europe and elsewhere. Millions more were members of the trade unions, cultural and athletic clubs, and other organizations led by the social-democratic parties.

Although the Second International called itself Marxist, it was not a truly revolutionary organization. Party leaders gave revolutionary speeches on May Day and wrote books on Marxist theory, but in practice they were reformists—they worked to reform capitalism rather than overthrow it.

For many years before 1914, the social-democratic leaders said that a world war was coming. They argued that this war would be an imperialist war, in which the workers had no stake in supporting any side. The socialist leaders said they would oppose the war, organize the workers to oppose it, and refuse to support any camp when it did break out.

But when World War I broke out in 1914, these fake socialists rushed to the support of the ruling class in their "own" countries. They voted for war credits to the governments in the parliaments. They also used their publications and organizations to build support for the imperialist armies of "their" ruling classes. As a result, the Second International collapsed.

The revolutionary wing of the Russian Social Demo-

cratic Party—the Bolsheviks—remained true to its revolutionary principles. Lenin argued that the workers in every imperialist country should oppose the war and work for the defeat of their ruling class. He said the only way to end war once and for all was by turning the impe-

Stalin came to power in Russia. He built a bureaucracy and squeezed the workers out of power. By 1938, the Russian workers' state was destroyed, and with it the Comintern.

In 1938, a new, Fourth International was founded, led by Leon Trotsky. Trotsky



Lenin at founding conference of Third International, 1919.

rialist war into a civil war; he said the workers should use their guns to make a socialist revolution. And he began to organize a new—truly revolutionary—international party.

Lenin applied this international strategy to Russia. In February 1917, Russian society was groaning under the weight of the war. The Russian workers and peasants—who were hungry, cold and sick of the senseless slaughter—overthrew the Tsar, the Russian monarch. But despite this revolution, the Russian capitalists remained in power and continued to fight the war.

Lenin returned to Russia from exile in April. He said that the only way out of the mess Russia was in was for the workers to seize state power. But Lenin knew that in Russia, a poor and semi-developed country, the workers could not maintain themselves in power without the support of workers' revolutions elsewhere, particularly in Europe. For this reason, he repeated his call for a new international revolutionary organization.

In October 1917, the Russian workers, leading the peasants behind them, overthrew the capitalists and established their own state. Almost immediately, the new Russian workers' state had to fight for its life in a brutal civil war. The armies of 21 countries, as well as the overthrown capitalists and landlords, waged war on the young workers' state. It was in the middle of this civil war that the new international party, the Communist International, was founded.

After Lenin's death Joseph

had led the fight against Stalin's counter-revolution. Despite a heroic struggle on the part of Trotsky and his followers, the Fourth International never became a mass organization. After the Second World War, it too succumbed and ceased to exist as a revolutionary organization.

Why an international party?

Today, there is no international revolutionary party. But now, more than ever, we really need it. The years of prosperity after World War II are over. World capitalism is in a crisis. Every day, we move closer and closer to an international depression. Every day, the danger of war looms greater and greater on the horizon. Capitalism is bringing us to the brink of disaster.

There's only one way out. The workers and oppressed people have to destroy this rotten and decrepit system. We need a socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist class and set up a socialist society, a society run by and for the working class.

This revolution must be international. Capitalism is a world system. It established a world market and a worldwide division of labor. The capitalist class itself is international. Capitalist corporations invest, produce, and trade all over the world. For example, workers in South Africa are exploited by corporations based in the U.S.

Above all, the working class is an international class. Despite the fact that

workers speak different languages, are members of different races, and live in different places, the workers all over the world share the same basic position in society. They own nothing but their ability to work—their labor power. And they must sell it to the capitalists for wages. The result: The capitalists make the profits, while the workers barely eke out a living. Whatever their differences, the workers have the same basic interests wherever they live.

To overthrow the capitalist class will take unity and organization. To build them, the workers will need leadership—revolutionary parties. This is one of the key lessons of the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

But another lesson is that these parties must be part of an international revolutionary organization, which can coordinate the struggles of workers around the world.

Such an international party would organize support for working-class struggles wherever they break out. If the workers in South Africa went on strike, for example, the section of the international party in the U.S. could organize demonstrations, pickets, and sympathy strikes.

The International would also utilize the collective experience of all the different parties. Younger parties would learn from the more experienced parties. Parties in the imperialist countries would give financial help to parties in poorer countries. Where a party is illegal and has to fight underground, the international would print its literature, help it smuggle it in, and give aid and support to its militants forced to flee.

If a revolution breaks out in one country, the capitalists will all unite to try to crush it. The International would use all its resources to sabotage the counter-revolutionary plots of the capitalists. For example, if there was a revolution in Jamaica, the U.S. ruling class would try to send troops to crush it. The section of the international party in the U.S. would organize workers here to see that it doesn't.

We would call strikes and demonstrations to put pressure on the government. We would organize on the docks to prevent war materiel from being sent. Other sections would build sympathy actions in other countries to mobilize international support for the revolution.

In these and other ways, an international revolutionary party would work to unite workers and oppressed people around the world for an international struggle against capitalism.

Such a party can't be built overnight. It takes time, energy, money, dedication and sacrifice. It is a difficult road, but we must travel it. More and more the time is ripe for it. Capitalism is crumbling. The capitalists are on the offensive. We have to begin now to stop them. □

left- overs

The Chicago Sun Times reported on February 2 that one Chicago FBI agent, W. Wesley Swearingen, committed around 300 burglaries from 1952-1963 to gather information on left-wing and civil-rights groups. Previously the FBI had only admitted to a total of 239 such break-ins nationally. Now, they claim, such things don't happen anymore. Just who are they kidding?

FROM THE SHAME-FACED SOCIAL PATRIOTISM DEPARTMENT: To celebrate Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the U.S., the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (which has official relations with the Chinese Communist Party) ran a front-page story in their newspaper.

The Call Alongside the article is a cartoon drawn by a Call staffer—complete with American flags! Even they must have been a bit embarrassed, 'cos they tried to partially cover the American flags with Chinese flags. Margaret and Jillian Miller of Ann Arbor, Michigan, have won a victory. On January 17, the Michigan Supreme Court reversed lower court decisions and ruled that Jillian, aged 12, can remain in the custody of her mother Margaret, who is a lesbian. The lower courts had refused Margaret custody purely because of anti-gay bigotry...

Does everyone remember the story of Humpty-Dumpty? Well, the Guardian (which calls itself an "independent radical newsweekly") also likes to sit on the fence, not wanting to wind up on either side. Recently they wrote that "time would tell" what was really going on with the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. Their attempt to offend no one backfired and they've gotten angry letters from their pro-Kampuchean and pro-Vietnam readers, cancelling subscriptions and dropping out of the Guardian sustainer program. The February 14 Guardian wails that this reader reaction is pushing them closer to "the very brink of financial disaster." Remember what happened to Humpty-Dumpty? Last month, we promised to report on The Body Politic trial and verdict. But as we go to press, the verdict isn't yet in, in the trial of Canada's leading gay newspaper on obscenity charges. So next month, we'll have the report. Till then...

—SE

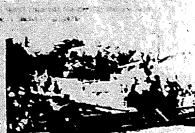
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Defend SWP From Right-Wing Attacks

SWP Per Murdered

In recent months, the capitalist state and right-wing forces have launched an attack on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In August 1978, Leo Harris, a member of the SWP in Miami and a Black man, was charged with disorderly conduct and criminal mischief. His crime? He participated in a demonstration organized by the local Haitian community. Charges against Harris were dropped in a court hearing on November 17.

In October, two members of the "Vietnam Veterans Against Communism" firebombed an SWP office in Chicago. In November, a gas-grenade was thrown into an SWP election rally in Louisville, Kentucky.

The worst attack, however, came on November 3. Tony Adams, a Black member of the SWP, was found murdered in his apartment in Salt Lake City, Utah. Adams, who was active in the local gay rights movement, had been arrested earlier in the year on a frame-up "illegal sexual solicitation" charge.

On October 31, the case against him was dismissed. Three days later Adams was killed. Evidence suggests that the police were either actively involved in the murder, or are covering for the real killers.

That the police are involved in these attacks on the SWP



Tony Adams.

is not just a "good guess." After the right-wing Legion of Justice attacked the SWP in Chicago in 1970, a Cook County grand jury had to admit: "There is no question that some members of the security sections [of the Chicago police department] maintain a close working re-

lationship with the Legion of Justice."

The SWP is being singled out for harassment at this time because it is one of the larger left-wing groups in the U.S., and is involved in many liberal and radical struggles. Moreover, the SWP is involved in a lawsuit against the FBI and the Justice Department which is exposing some of the sordid activities of these institutions.

The entire left and workers' movement should defend the SWP from attacks. An attack on any left, radical or workers' organization is an attack on all of us. Unless we defend each other from right-wing and state provocation, they'll be able to pick us off one by one.

Revolutionaries should also utilize these incidents to explain some crucial points of revolutionary policy.

First, we should expose the role of the cops, the courts and other institutions of the capitalist state in these and other attacks on left-wing groups and militants. The capitalist state is not neutral. It is the capitalists' key weapon to beat back the struggles of workers and other oppressed people, that is, to defend capitalist-class rule.

Second, we should emphasize the need for the left and workers' movement to organize to defend itself. Since the cops and courts are the agents of the class that is attacking us, it is suicide to rely on them for



Chicago SWP office after fire-bombing.

protection. Workers in the trade unions and radical and community organizations should organize defense guards to defend our movement from the attacks which will only escalate in the months to come.

Despite the fact that the SWP and its supporters have fallen victims of these attacks, the SWP has not followed such a revolutionary policy. Instead, the SWP has called on the police, the courts and the capitalist state in general to defend it. For example, it has asked the Department of Justice to investigate the murder of Tony Adams and the gas-grenade attack in Louisville. After the Chicago firebombing the SWP called on Mayor Michael Bilandic and the police department "to take whatever steps are necessary to apprehend those responsible for these acts against our party."

This policy is wrong on two counts. First, it won't protect anybody. In fact, it will increase the danger of police harassment. For ex-

ample, as part of their "investigation" of the Adams murder case in Salt Lake City, the cops demanded SWP membership lists, and wanted SWP members to submit to fingerprinting and lie-detector tests!!!

In the second place, the SWP's policy spreads illusions in the police and state. It makes people believe that the police, the courts, the Department of Justice really are neutral.

The SWP contends that calling on the cops and courts for protection actually exposes the role of the state. But its own actions contradict this. Does an organization that refuses to defend itself, and instead calls on the cops for protection, really believe that the cops are the enemy? The answer should be obvious.

Despite our differences with the SWP on this and other crucial questions, we repeat an offer (made many times in the past) to defend the SWP from attacks by the cops and right-wing forces whenever this is needed. □

FIGHT RAPE

(Continued from page 3)

brothers, and the fear that it has bred, is a ball and chain on the workers' movement.

Because of this, our goal must be to...

4) Organize the whole working class against sexist terror. Right now, many workers see rape as a man's sport and a woman's private shame. Working-class men have to see that rape is an attack on all workers, just as much as a bomb on a Black family's porch or a busload of scabs rolling through the plant gate.

Who would be most active in a working-class movement against rape to start with? Probably Black, Latin, Asian and Native American women. They are the most frequent victims of sexist terror. Women who have been raped or attacked or beaten and tried to fight back individually. Women who have already stepped out of a "woman's place" to some extent—working women, single mothers, gay women, prostitutes, women who are already fighting another face of bourgeois oppression. Men who have been raped, gay men, men whose experience in fighting another form of oppression has shown them that you can't free yourselves without freeing your sisters. It wouldn't attract the "brass balls" types who want women to walk two steps behind them.

What would this movement do? It would organize demonstrations in defense of women who fought back against sexist attacks, and who the state wants to punish as an example to other women. It would organize street patrols. Or jump

into the fight when they see a woman getting pushed around. Just the existence of this movement in our class would make rape no longer such a cool thing to do or joke about.

The fight against sexist terror is another battle in our class's war with the bosses. If we don't take it up, we'll lose the war for sure. When the class that provides the wealth of society rises up and takes over all of society, then elected workers' committees will deal with rapists, "sissy-beaters," Klansmen, and other hangers-on from capitalism. Working-class women and men will have real power. There will be no reason for us to try to get over at each other's expense. Rape serves no one but the international capitalist class. When we've smashed that, we'll be well on our way to making sexist terror ancient history. □

Foundry Closing

(Continued from page 8)

steel companies to cut us off a few at a time.

Second is the fight for safe and healthy workplaces. U.S. Steel claims that to clean up the foundry will cost \$15 million. OSHA says it will only cost \$2 million. Whatever the amount, it's clear that U.S. Steel is unwilling to put out the money, but is more than willing to let the workers get silicosis.

Revolutionaries at South

Works have two main tasks. The first is to build rank-and-file actions to keep the foundry open. By organizing now we should at least be able to cut our losses; make sure that no workers lose their jobs or pay rates regardless of whether the foundry closes.

The second task is to raise the consciousness of our fellow workers and win them to the recognition that only socialist revolution can win

and keep safe, healthy workplaces. The company's argument that they "can't afford" to stop killing foundry workers makes sense in capitalist terms. In the long run, the capitalists cannot run a truly safe, healthy workplace and make a profit at the same time. Although we can and will organize to improve safety conditions under capitalism, we also have to explain that only socialism—workers' rule—will guarantee real job safety.

In particular, we have to show steelworkers that relying on the government will not advance the workers' cause. The government serves only the capitalists. Government agencies like OSHA that claim to serve workers' needs are, at best, ineffective. So far U.S. Steel has not had to pay one penny of their fine. Foundry workers continue to breathe the silica dust. And local union officials admit that there's not a goddamned thing that OSHA or the courts can do about it. Only workers' action at the point of production can force the company to clean up the foundry and keep it open.

In the coming months, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus will be organizing around these two tasks. We will be trying as best we can to mobilize the ranks for a fight to clean up the foundry and keep it open. The struggle is just beginning. □

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Iranian D Pupp

(Continued from page 1)

the labor force and percent of university students. An attempt to drive back into the home could split the movement and cause a tremendous explosion.

Likewise, Khomeini expect to have a hard time denying the workers' middle classes their demands and trade-union rights. Decades of repression masses aren't likely to respond well if Khomeini to outlaw their political ties.

An indication of this: It took Bazargan days to convince workers to produce oil for domestic consumption. Bazargan was under the pressure of the military and the military needed time to deal, but the oil weren't having any 60 delegates to the strike steering committee, 55 are members of groups. Only one to Khomeini's order and he resigned.



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Iranian Masses Destroy Puppet Regime

(Continued from page 11)

the labor force and 37 percent of university students. An attempt to drive women back into the household could split the movement and cause a tremendous explosion.

Likewise, Khomeini can expect to have a hard time denying the workers and the middle classes their political and trade-union rights. After decades of repression, the masses aren't likely to respond well if Khomeini tries to outlaw their political parties.

An indication of the situation: it took Bazargan 16 days to convince the oil workers to produce enough oil for domestic consumption. Bazargan wanted to ease the pressure on Bakhtiari and the military. He needed time to work out a deal, but the oil workers weren't having any of it. Of 60 delegates to the oil workers' strike steering committee, 55 are members of leftist groups. Only one belonged to Khomeini's organization, and he resigned in protest

against the workers' "obstructionism."

Revolution must continue

The fight against Bakhtiari has been won, but now the masses have to make sure that the victory isn't stolen from them. We warn them about Khomeini's proven record of treachery. Under his mountains of rhetoric about an Islamic republic, he wants to make sure that Iranian capitalism remains intact and that the masses give up the power that they have won through their struggle.

No one should give up their arms. On the contrary, committees to safeguard the revolution should be formed. A workers' and soldiers' militia should be organized. The armed revolutionaries must continue the fight against the army and police of the old regime and demand that they be dismantled. They should continue to call on the soldiers to desert.

The workers seized many of their plants during the rev-

olution. This is one of the forward positions that must not be surrendered. The factories and mills and oil wells must be taken over and run by committees of the workers themselves. The policy of the oil workers must be continued and generalized throughout the economy: No one but the

workers must decide what is produced and how much.

The struggle is not over. The old regime is in a shambles, but the question now is, which class shall rule? The workers have shown their power. They now have to organize themselves to prevent the Khomeini forces from consolidating their

hold. In alliance with the revolutionary soldiers, peasants, students and youth, the workers have to prepare themselves for a second revolution which places all the power in their hands. Anything else will perpetuate the old oppression and exploitation under a new label.

Why the Contract Struggle Is Important

(Continued from page 9)

The next three years. The class struggle goes on in every plant, every day. The contract can be a weapon for the company to use against us—like the clause that says management has the right to run its plants however they see fit. Or, it can be a weapon for us to use against the company—like if we won the local right to strike over any issue.

The contract is important because we want to make it our weapon as much as possible, and want to restrict the corporations' ability to use it against us. But it's important to remember that, like any weapon, it's only effective if we are strong enough to use it. That's why we must use the time between now and September to build our strength and organization.

This is a particularly good time to build up our organization and develop our understanding (consciousness) because workers tend to become more aware and involved around contract

time. Workers know that their elected leaders are not going to organize the kind of fight we need to win real gains. They are questioning the whole set-up—the "rules" the union leaders and company tell us we must follow. It is easier for many workers to see that the rank and file will be sold out if we don't intervene. And the fact that the contract is national gives autoworkers more sense of the potential power we have.

The auto contract is important because of the effect it will have on autoworkers' lives in the plants and the opportunities for building greater organization among autoworkers. It is also important because what happens in auto will have an important impact on the whole working class.

In the U.S., one out of every six jobs is related to the auto industry (rubber for tires, glass for windows, gas stations, etc.). If they speed up the auto lines, they will for sure try to speed up the rubber workers to keep pace.

On the other hand, if auto workers win an end to forced overtime, it will be 100 times easier for workers in small industries to win it as well.

If the UAW breaks Carter's wage guidelines, steelworkers and others whose contracts follow will be able to use this and whatever other standards ("precedents") are set to better their contract settlements. Any gains autoworkers win to shorten the workweek or lessen the pace of work will win more jobs for the unemployed. And every victory for the trade union movement will make it easier for workers in unorganized workplaces to unionize. This is how a working-class upsurge develops—each section of the working class building on the victories of other sections and developing a more and more unified struggle.

The centrality of the auto industry and the auto contract means that autoworkers are in good strategic position to help spark and lead the working-class upsurge this year.

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