

STACK 3 OVERSIZE

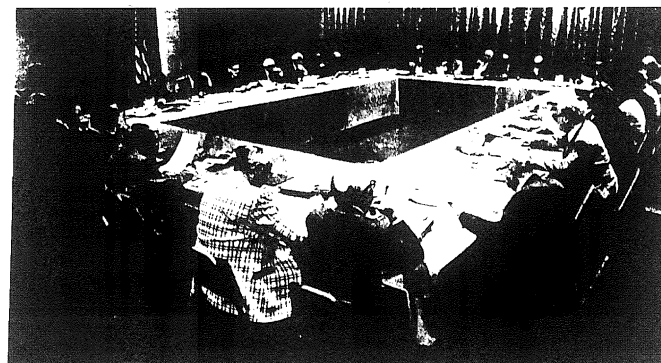
TORCH

Newspaper of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Bosses Plan Sharp Attacks

Ford Vetoes Common Situs Labor Offensive Must Be Launched



(Above) Meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. (Below) John T. Dunlop, Secretary of Labor. Ford's veto of the common situs bill, drafted by his own Labor Secretary, has caused a major rift between the administration and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats.

Gerald Ford's veto of the common situs construction bill has drawn the line between the Republicans and the labor bureaucracy. The AFL-CIO Executive Board, led by George Meany, is screaming bloody murder because Ford went back on his promise to sign the legislation. Unlike 1972, Meany and the Republicans will not be able to find common ground in the approaching presidential elections.

But workers should shed no tears over the bill's defeat. It was part of a cleverly packaged scheme to prop up the corporations by throttling the emerging wave of working class struggle.

With the economic recovery shallow and shaky and contracts covering 4.5 million workers expiring this year, the more far-sighted members of the ruling class know they must work through Meany and Co. to hold the ranks in check. The construction legislation, drafted by Ford's own Secretary of Labor, John T. Dunlop, was supposed to do just that.

Construction was picked as the initial target because of its central role in the economy. One of the country's largest industries, it employs 3.5 million workers. But unlike the other giant industries, construction is not controlled by a few huge monopolies. Instead, there are tens of thousands of small and medium-sized subcontractors. In the past, the unions have been able to force the employers to make major concessions in wages, working conditions and fringe benefits. The subcontractors were willing to accept this, since they just passed these costs along to the larger corporations whose facilities they were building.

But the ruling class no longer wants to tolerate this arrangement for three main reasons. First, construction has been severely depressed for the past five years. Any long-term economic

recovery involves bailing out construction, one of the backbones of the economy that (with auto) paced the post-war boom. Second, gains in construction could set a pattern for all workers. Third, if the giant non-construction corporations are to pull out of the slump, they must keep construction costs down and prevent the leap-frogging of costs passed along from the unions to the subcontractors to them.

Dunlop planned to overcome these problems by creating a strong centralized body to impose order on the anarchic construction industry. By bringing the bureaucrats, industry and government together, he hoped to

exert control over construction workers' demands, end leap-frogging and stabilize the sagging industry.

Basically, Dunlop planned to do this by broadening the powers of the Construction Bargaining Committee, established last April and made up of top bureaucrats, industry executives and government officials. The bill would have given the board authority to recommend wage freezes and productivity increases and to postpone construction strikes for 30 days. It would also have strengthened the international union bureaucracy's

Continued on page 11



Spain: Who Will Rule?

The eyes of the world are riveted on Spain. The mounting wave of workers' struggles brings to the forefront the class question: Who shall rule in Spain, the workers or the capitalists? The answer will be decisive not for Spain alone, but for the endangered Portuguese revolution and the working class throughout Europe.

The recent strike wave began in Madrid's subways. Nearly 4,000 workers won limited gains in a four-day walkout that ended January 9. Simultaneously, 13,000 workers struck at Standard Eléctrica and 8,000 walked out at the Chrysler plant in the Madrid suburb of Villaverde, despite preventive arrests. Within a week over 150,000 workers were on strike in Madrid alone; tens of thousands more were out in Barcelona.

The strike wave was sparked by the

illegal Workers' Commissions at Chrysler and Standard Eléctrica—both dominated by the Communist Party of Spain (PCE). Strikers called for the resignation of Finance Minister Juan Villar Mir and an end to the wage freeze he has imposed. The workers also demanded the right to strike, legalization of the PCE and other democratic rights.

The sharp rise in Spain's class struggle grows out of the strike movements launched against the Franco regime over the past two years. The present movement, fueled by deepening economic crisis, increased expectations of the Spanish working class following Franco's death and the weakness of the post-Franco regime, is far bigger and more explosive.

The Spanish bourgeoisie has tried to crush the upsurge. Minister of the

Interior Manuel Fraga Iribarne put 55,000 postal workers under military discipline on January 14. A few days later he used the same tactic to prevent 70,000 railway workers from striking. Riot police have regularly broken up demonstrations and assaulted peaceful crowds.

But the government has lost ground. It has had to sanction wage settlements for construction workers in Madrid and electrical and port workers in Barcelona. It has been forced to release many of those arrested. The government's position is too weak and the explosion of workers' militancy too powerful for a policy of pure repression to solve the monarchy's woes. The current movement is already sweeping across three regions of Spain: Madrid in the center, the Basque country (Euzkadi) in north-central Spain, and Barcelona

Continued on page 14

Lessons of the Capitol Strike. . .page 3
China's Foreign Policy.page 8

U.S. Puppets Retreat

MPLA Nears Victory



MPLA troops celebrate victory over puppets of U.S. imperialism. Defeat of U.S. imperialism will be a gain for the proletariat of Angola and all of southern Africa.

Since mid-January the forces of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) have scored a series of gains against the U.S. puppet and South African forces. Victory is near.

In the north, the forces of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) collapsed in the face of the MPLA advance and retreated in disorder to the borders of Zaire. On the southern and eastern fronts the MPLA met stronger resistance from the 3,000 to 5,000 South African regulars fighting for UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). But by the second week of February the MPLA had captured the main FNLA-UNITA strongholds along the Benguela Railway—the port cities of Benguela-Lobito, the puppets' capital, Huambo, and their military headquarters, Silva Porto.

The capture of these strategic points will be the breaking point of the war. Nothing between the railway and the southern border can check the MPLA troops. Recognizing this fact and the collapse of its Angolan adventure, South Africa in late January began withdrawing its troops from the front lines.

The South African strategy now will be to form a defense line along the southern border and offer to withdraw from Angola in exchange for an MPLA commitment to police the border. South Africa hopes to entice the MPLA into preventing the use of Angola as a refuge by the nationalists of SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) fighting South Africa in Namibia.

NO DEALS!

The working class and all anti-imperialist organizations must say no to such a deal. Fight for victory! South Africa out of Angola! Victory to the MPLA! Victory to SWAPO!

Although South Africa is not yet beaten, the battlefield victories mark the collapse of the attempts of U.S. imperialism and its South African junior partner to reverse the anti-imperialist victory by direct intervention. The vehicles for this attempt were the FNLA and UNITA. Con-

trary to the claims of the U.S. State Department (and its "left" apologists, including most U.S. Maoists), the FNLA and UNITA were not "nationalist rivals" of the MPLA, but anti-nationalist forces—direct instruments of imperialist domination. The course of the war, especially the exposure of South Africa's role, made this completely clear. This exposure, plus the virtual collapse of the FNLA and UNITA, means that now the imperialists must retreat and attempt to get what they can by less direct methods.

BLOW TO IMPERIALISM

The approaching MPLA victory is in essence a victory for the bourgeois national liberation movement over the forces that act as the main transmission belt of imperialist control. This is a gain for the proletariat of Angola and all of southern Africa. It is not only a defeat for the immediate imperialist enemy, but a blow to the stability of the South African apartheid system and to the intricate series of diplomatic maneuvers by which South Africa's Vorster has attempted to buy African support for his regime. Most immediately, an MPLA victory will open up the struggle in Namibia. Even if MPLA-head Neto tries to restrict SWAPO in a deal with Vorster, he will have less room in which to make such a deal than would an FNLA-UNITA regime peeping out of South Africa's pocket.

But these gains, important as they are, are limited by the class nature of the MPLA. The proletariat is the only class which can carry the anti-imperialist struggle through to the end. It can do so because of its pivotal role in economic life and because it has no interest in maintaining capitalism. Only by overthrowing capitalism and establishing workers' rule in a series of countries can the domination of the semi-colonial countries by imperialism be ended. All other roads lead to dead ends. This is particularly true of the road of limited economic development through Russian aid—which leads either to dependence on Russian imperialism or (as with Ghana, Egypt and other countries) to a turn back to the U.S.

The MPLA is a bourgeois movement. Because it is unwilling to fully mobilize the working class and is committed to capitalism, the very basis of imperialism, it cannot fight consistently against imperialism. Instead, it tries to balance Russian aid against continued dependence on U.S. and Western European markets and technology. The MPLA leaders are now making this clear.

MPLA SHOPS FOR U.S. DEAL

In an interview January 31, Lopo do Nascimento, Prime Minister of the Luanda regime, pointed out that "50 percent of our trade, mostly petroleum and coffee, has been with the U.S." Nascimento said Angola wanted to maintain economic ties with the U.S., "on terms of mutual respect and benefit," but that "if we can't buy Boeings, we will buy Ilyushins." Obviously, Nascimento would prefer to be able to "buy Boeings" and to strike an overall deal with the U.S. The MPLA is offering a deal to protect Western interests in return for recognition.

At the same time, the Luanda regime has cracked down on radical elements who previously had some strength in the "people's committees" that sprang up last year. The radicals, including supporters of the Portuguese Maoist UDP (Popular Democratic Union) and the majority wing of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" led by Ernest Mandel, tried to push the MPLA from the left without openly opposing it. MPLA authorities apparently arrested and deported several dozen radicals and banned the Mandelites' newspaper *Revolução Socialista* and the Portuguese paper *Poder Popular*.

In the spring of 1975 the MPLA broke the strike of dockworkers in Luanda; in January of this year, it called for the end of a strike wave in the central Angolan town of Quibala, which involved teachers, electricians, bakers, nurses, mechanics and civil servants.

These actions underline the bourgeois nature of the MPLA. The MPLA's program and rhetoric try to disguise this with Stalinist "new democracy" phraseology. A recent issue of the MPLA newspaper *Victoria e Certa* calls for a "government of a democracy of a new type in our country. This government represents an alliance of all the anti-imperialist classes, which must be led by the most consistently revolutionary class... This government will have to struggle for the nationalization of the big industrial, commercial and banking enterprises. But since this government represents an alliance of various classes, it will not... prohibit the development of capitalist production."

WORKERS MUST RULE ANGOLA!

Separating the rhetoric from the reality, the fact is that no government represents "an alliance of various classes." Either the proletariat rules or it is ruled by another class—the bourgeoisie. Despite the rhetoric about "the most consistently revolutionary class" (which refers to the

proletariat but in practice means the MPLA itself) the MPLA intends to develop a capitalist regime, in which the combination of significant state ownership and a populist-Stalinist rhetoric is used to mask the capitalist nature of the state.

Because the anti-imperialist struggle is directly in the interest of the proletariat, the proletariat fights alongside radical bourgeois forces against colonial or neo-colonial domination—even when those forces fight half-heartedly. But communists do not give political support to these forces. As Lenin wrote in 1920, communists must "struggle against attempts to give a communist coloring to bourgeois-democratic liberation trends...The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but should not merge with it, and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its most embryonic form." (Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions.)

The victory of the MPLA over the imperialists and their stooges will be a blow to imperialist stability in all of southern Africa and a victory for the African masses. This is so even though the victory is a contradictory one, bringing to power a bourgeois regime which cannot complete the struggle against imperialism and has made clear that its interests are opposed to those of the working class. A revolutionary party must be built to carry out the struggle for socialism in Angola as part of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism throughout southern Africa.

VICTORY TO THE MPLA!



MPLA-head Neto. Gains of MPLA victory are limited by class nature of MPLA.



South Africa's ruling racist, Vorster. An MPLA victory will strike an important blow at the stability of the apartheid regime.

The
Capitol
Illinois
ers. T
giant
The w
black a
at low
tions.
weak u
of the
Worker
leaders
case of
to be c
But,
Torch,
Culver
achieve
look at
underst
to fight
in simil
Ever
econom
sold ou
preside
ing to
tive's s
hour w
inflatio
worker
even if
Both th
OCAW
strikers
But
wanted
end all

Last
Rico's C
(CIC) a
verged
Cintrón.
FBI. T
press w
CIC in
Cintrón
This c
designed
Puerto
pendence
targeted
Secretary
ment (M
the Puen
and a
dominati
Because
jailed ju
trumped
He was c
of a Ba
Federal J
bail at
highest b
Rican his
charges,
and the r
message
Vicious r
who stru
The r
methods
movemen
strength
steadily d
economy.
U.S. has
economic
In respon
ment, the
has wage

Capitol Union Busting Defeated

Strike Tests Left

The 23-week strike by workers of Capitol Packaging in Melrose Park, Illinois, contains lessons for all workers. The Capitol strikers faced a giant corporation (Alberto-Culver). The workers, mainly women (many black and Spanish-speaking), worked at low wages under oppressive conditions. They were burdened with a weak union organization (Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) and betrayed by the union leaders. It appeared to be a typical case of workers in a small plant about to be crushed by the bosses.

But, as reported in last month's *Torch*, the strikers were able to defeat Culver's union-busting campaign and achieve a stalemate. It is important to look at the Capitol strike in detail to understand why the workers were able to fight back effectively where others, in similar situations, failed.

Even before the strike began, the economic needs of the workers were sold out. Bill Taylor, the union local's president, accomplished this by agreeing to the international representative's suggestion of a 25 cents per hour wage demand. In the context of inflation, this guaranteed that the workers would come out way behind even if Culver met all the demands. Both the international and the local OCAW bureaucrats thus deserted the strikers from the beginning.

But Culver was not satisfied. It wanted to break the union's back and end all organized resistance to its

efforts to impose more work for less pay. Culver's determination to smash the strikers became clear when it broke off all negotiations on September 20 (seven weeks after the strike began) on the grounds that the workers had rejected its "last offer."

Led by their stewards and rank and file leaders, the workers stood up to Culver and to the union hacks who wanted to accept the company's offer. They knew that going back on Culver's terms would mean increased speed-up, unsafe conditions and management harassment.

Court injunctions, police harassment, cutting off welfare payments, the attempt to deport a Spanish-speaking worker—all these were used by Culver and its friends in the government. Culver thought it could starve out the strikers and break their resistance. It banked on the isolation of the Capitol workers and knew that local president Taylor would do nothing to end it. But Culver did not foresee that knowledge of the strike would spread and support would be built to the point where the struggle at Capitol would become a symbol in the Chicago area.

MURDER ON PICKET LINE

The strike became a symbol after union vice-president Dave Watson was murdered, run over by a scab truck while walking the picket line. Watson's killing called attention to

the determined efforts of the strikers.

Support work, made possible by the workers' refusal to knuckle under, began to break the strike's isolation and turn the tables. Most important in this regard was the work of the Capitol Strike Support Committee, formed mainly on the initiative of friends and members of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The Support Committee publicized the strike throughout the Chicago area, gained support for the strike from several rank and file organizations and local union leaders, called support meetings and demonstrations and generally organized backing for the strike that undercut Culver's strategy of isolating the Capitol workers.

CULVER GETS NERVOUS

By early January, Culver was becoming nervous about the support the strike was receiving. At this point management called for new negotiations. This was when the full treachery of the 25 cents per hour wage demand was felt most sharply. With the direct threat to the union's existence now lifted, most strikers felt there was little to gain by maintaining the strike—after all, the economic demands were so meager they didn't seem worth staying out for. This sentiment led the workers to accept Culver's offer of 22.5 cents per hour.

Although Culver, with help from the bureaucrats, was able to push through this rotten wage settlement, its efforts to isolate and smash the strike were beaten. For this reason, we consider the outcome of the struggle to be a stalemate despite the sellout of the bureaucrats. This is especially

true since the strike began entirely on Culver's terms.

Besides showing the importance of determined struggle and well-organized support work, the strike demonstrated broad social lessons: the strategy of the capitalists, the role of the trade union bureaucrats, the way in which workers' consciousness develops in struggle and the contrast between the way in which genuine revolutionaries and centrist fakers who call themselves revolutionaries approach struggles.

Culver's actions showed the basic way in which the bosses treat the workers. As a leaflet supporting the strike issued by the Revolutionary Socialist League explained:

The capitalist system brings nothing but misery for the workers and all oppressed. As long as it is permitted to exist the capitalists will use every trick they can think of to divide and defeat the working class. They will start by attacking workers in small plants and weaker unions in order to set a pattern of defeats and union busting. By uniting for victory in the Capitol Strike we can strengthen the struggle against the capitalist system itself as well as stop the attack on Capitol workers. This will bring closer the day when workers are organized and united enough to smash capitalism and replace it with the direct rule of the working class.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Capitalism does its best to divide and conquer. For this reason the class war is made up of many separate battles, and revolutionaries fight for victory in each one. Every struggle has an influence on the balance of

Continued on page 10

Free Federico Cintrón!

Last August 13, agents of Puerto Rico's Criminal Investigation Force (CIC) armed with M-16 rifles converged on the home of Federico Cintrón. They were reinforced by the FBI. The Puerto Rican bourgeois press was also present in force; the CIC invited them to make sure Cintrón's arrest was well publicized.

This carefully staged operation was designed to teach a lesson to the Puerto Rican trade union and independence movements. Cintrón was targeted because he is Executive Secretary of the United Labor Movement (MOU), Secretary Treasurer of the Puerto Rican Guild of Workers and a strong opponent of U.S. domination.

Because Cintrón couldn't be legally jailed just for being a workers' leader, trumped-up charges were invented. He was charged with armed robbery of a Banco Popular branch office. Federal Justice Juan R. Torruellas set bail at \$500,000, reportedly the highest bail for such a case in Puerto Rican history. The transparently false charges, the well-orchestrated arrest and the record bail got the capitalists' message across to all militants: Vicious repression is planned for all who struggle.

The ruling class chose these methods to try to destroy the movements that have gathered strength as conditions on the island steadily deteriorate. The Puerto Rican economy, entirely dependent on the U.S., has been shattered by the economic crisis. Inflation is rampant. In response to 35 percent unemployment, the Puerto Rican working class has waged a militant strike wave,



Federico Cintron, framed union leader.

including a year-long strike of cement workers, to defend their unions and their living standards. The influence of the independence movement, both inside the labor movement and in society as a whole, has grown rapidly in response to imperialism's decay.

The Puerto Rican government has responded viciously. The arrest of Cintrón is only one example. The cement workers' strike led the government (with the help of the U.S. National Labor Relations Board) to adopt legislation that threatens the existence of all unions. A recent rally of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was bombed, killing two. A proposed austerity program would, among other things, clamp a three-year wage freeze on a large section of the work force, restrain wage increases in other sectors, reduce (if not destroy) federal

minimum wage standards for all workers, cut back government spending and provide for a "thorough review" of all fringe benefits previously won by workers. The aim is to dismantle existing militant unions and prevent the emergence of others.

At the same time, the U.S. Congress is moving to further undercut the independence and trade union movements through a bill called the Compact of Permanent Union. The bill would change the legal status of the island from "Commonwealth" to "Free Associated State," meaning that Puerto Rico would be considered part of the United States. (Under bourgeois law, Puerto Rico "belongs" to, but is not considered a part of, the U.S.)

"Free Associated Status," under the Compact, could only be changed by agreement of both sides. In other words, the U.S. would have to agree to change the status. It would eliminate all federal minimum wage protection, meaning still lower wages than at present. Through all of its 21 sections, the Compact would tighten U.S. colonial domination.

By this change in status, the U.S. hopes to relieve international support for Puerto Rican independence by claiming that the island, as part of the U.S., can't be considered a colony. The bill was originally drafted after hearings by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization in 1972 and 1973 on Puerto Rico's colonial status. The U.S. wants to push the bill through before further U.N. hearings, scheduled for this August, take place.

Cintrón's arrest is a warning to

every militant and independentista. The struggle to free him is essential to the workers' struggle to defend their interests and the fight against U.S. imperialism. Already, mass protest has forced Cintrón's bail down to \$25,000. At present, he is out on bail, and the date of his trial is not yet known. Militants must build the Cintrón Defense Committees that have been established in Puerto Rico and the U.S. The workers of Puerto Rico and the U.S. must unite to free Cintrón!

The Federico Cintrón Committee is holding a demonstration and rally to build mass support for the freedom of the framed Puerto Rican trade union and independence leader. On Friday, February 27, the Committee will picket the offices of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (322 West 45 Street, New York City) to demand that the government of Puerto Rico immediately drop charges against Cintrón. The demonstration will begin at 3:30 p.m. and last until 6:00.

Emphasizing the importance of the Cintrón case for the defense of the Puerto Rican working class and independence movements, the Committee will raise the following slogans at the demonstration:

Free Federico Cintrón! Free All Political Prisoners! Defend the Workers' Right To Organize! Stop the Compact! Independence and Socialism For Puerto Rico! Stop Repression Against Puerto Rican Workers! U.S. Imperialism Out of Puerto Rico!

The Cintrón Committee, initiated by El Comité, also includes the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, members of a revolutionary study group, the Congress of African People, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the October League and numerous individual supporters.

ut in practice means the
) the MPLA intends to
pitalist regime, in which
tion of significant state
and a populist-Stalinist
ed to mask the capitalist
e-state.

the anti-imperialist
irectly in the interest of
t, the proletariat fights
dical bourgeois forces
dial or neo-colonial domi-
when those forces fight
. But communists do
tical support to these
Lenin wrote in 1920,
must "struggle against
ive a communist color-
is-democratic liberation
ommunist International
to a temporary alliance
is democracy in the
ackward countries, but
erge with it, and should
umstances uphold the
of the proletarian move-
f it is in its most
m." (Draft Theses on
nd Colonial Questions.)

of the MPLA over the
d their stooges will be
alist stability in all of
a and a victory for the
es. This is so even
tory is a contradiction
to power a bourgeois
cannot complete the
st imperialism and has
that its interests are
se of the working class.
y party must be built to
uggle for socialism in
of the struggle against
d capitalism through-
Africa.

TO THE MPLA!



o. Gains of MPLA victory
class nature of MPLA.



ruling racist, Vorster. An
ill strike an important blow
of the apartheid regime.



March against racist attacks. Militants must demand trade unions organize defense guards to defend the black students. Forced busing must be exposed as a ruling class scheme to prevent a united working class response to capitalism's destruction of the schools.

Forced Busing Begins in Detroit

On January 26 court-ordered busing began in Detroit. As elsewhere, forced busing in Detroit aims at preventing a united working class response to the capitalist destruction of the schools and all public services.

Detroit is smoldering with racial tension. In this situation, the main task of revolutionaries and all militant workers is to build workers' defense guards to protect the black students from threatened racist attack.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has fought to prepare the working class for the implementation of forced busing for the past eight months. The RSL called on all workers, regardless of their views on busing, to join in building the necessary defense. As the busing deadline approached, the RSL called on all left and workers' organizations to join in building a City-Wide United Front against possible racist violence. Within the context of this struggle, the League has worked to expose the fraudulent and deceitful character of the forced busing schemes, counterposing a united class struggle for better schools and for the right of all students to go to the schools of their choice. Our tactic is to expose the machinations of the ruling class while refusing to give any quarter to the racist anti-busing forces.

Forced busing has almost no support in the Detroit black community. Joe Madison, head of the Detroit NAACP, concedes that the majority of blacks in Detroit oppose forced busing. (See the interview on page 5 of this issue for a black auto worker's views on the busing question in Detroit.)

DETROIT SCHOOLS ROT

A brief glance at Detroit's school system reveals the reason for this. Three out of every four Detroit schools were built before the Depression. A full 50 schools are over 60 years old. Cutbacks in teacher staff in recent years have meant that classes grow more overcrowded every year. Only a large-scale public works program to build new schools and train and hire new teachers can restore life to this decaying educational system. But the state, which is in deep financial trouble, is proposing to cut \$6 million from the city's education budget.

The forced busing strategy solves

none of these problems. Instead, supporters of busing return to the racist theory that black children will "learn better" if allowed to rub shoulders with whites in the classroom.

But, even on its own terms, this plan cannot pretend to provide better education. Detroit has 149 schools which are over 90 percent black. Only 15 of these will be integrated under the busing plan. The school system, which includes 247,500 students, is itself over 75 percent black. Less than 10 percent of these black students, some 13,000 in all, will board buses. The vast majority of black students in Detroit will remain untouched by the busing plan. Thirty-seven of the 55 predominantly white schools in the city will continue to have a majority of white students after the busing plan is implemented.

CAPITALISTS' DILEMMA

The busing plan makes a mockery of its own "integrationist" pretensions. It sneers at the desires of both black and white parents in the city. But it is neither an accident nor a mistake. The busing plan mirrors the dilemma facing the ruling class in Detroit.

The Detroit ruling class, organized into the New Detroit Coalition, wants to draw capital back into the decaying inner city. To do so, it must lure back whites with grandiose projects like the Renaissance Center in downtown Detroit. Massive busing threatened to ruin this strategy by turning whites away from the city.

The Detroit capitalists also took fright at the violence in Boston and Louisville over the busing issue. The Livernois-Fenkell confrontations last summer indicated that the bitterness of Detroit's unemployed black youth was looking for an outlet. Unlike Boston or Louisville this is a mostly black city where the response to racist violence could be directed against the ruling class itself.

The busing plan was admirably suited to the needs of the Detroit ruling class. Federal Judge Robert Demascio cut the number of children to be bused from 60,000 (proposed by the NAACP) to 21,000. His rejection of massive busing soothed the fears of Detroit's white suburbs and cut down the chance of large-scale racist and anti-busing protests such as

occurred in Boston and Louisville. But the plan included just enough shifts, just enough appearance of concessions to blacks, to bring some racists into the streets and divert attention of black and white workers away from their real needs.

"MAD" RACISTS ON THE LOOSE

The main anti-busing organization inside Detroit is Mothers Alert Detroit (MAD). This organization originated in Detroit's largely white and politically conservative Northeast Side and has close ties with Donald Lobsinger's right-wing gangsters, Breakthrough.

On Thursday, January 22, over 100 racist MAD men and women paraded outside the Federal Building in downtown Detroit. On Sunday, January 25, over 250 cars joined a MAD motorcade to protest busing.

MAD claims it will restrict its activities to peaceful protest, such as school boycotts. But the history of racist attacks in the city over the past year, and the close connection of the MAD leadership with Breakthrough, mean that militants must make the defense of black students and the black community their first priority in coming weeks.

The NAACP and the mayor's office urge blacks to rely on the police for the protection of their children and their neighborhoods. The police themselves boast of a 450-man emergency squad to deal with any outbreaks of violence.

Militant workers must have no illusions as to how that force will be used. During the Livernois-Fenkell street confrontations last July, the police protected only Obie Wynn's racist murderer. Their targets were the hundreds of black youth who poured into the streets in protest against this criminal killing. On Detroit's East Side, off-duty cops from the Fifteenth Precinct joined the racist mob that was screaming "Niggers get out" at black families in the neighborhood.

Members and supporters of the RSL set up a counter-picket to the January 22 MAD demonstration. A group called Mothers Against Racism, whose pro-busing program closely resembles that of the centrist International Socialists, also picketed the demonstration. This group con-

tented itself with raising pro-busing slogans and said not a word about defending black students against racist attack—although the racists were marching less than 50 feet from them.

Another group, the Committee to Fight the Attacks on Our Schools, whose program resembles that of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, announced it is joining the school boycott. This group as well said not a word about defending black students.

DEFEND BLACK STUDENTS!

Both of these groups are leading black workers, and all workers, right into the ruling class trap. MAR's attempt to tie blacks to the strategies—and the pacifism—of ruling class liberals can only lead to disaster. The Committee refuses to take up the question of defense because its anti-busing position is based on the RCP's overall catering to racist sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the white working class. Despite their differences on the busing question, these two groups are as one in their refusal to face the immediate and concrete need of the working class: unified working class defense.

In contrast, the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee, which is supported by the RSL, has begun a petition drive in several Detroit-area plants to form union defense committees in the UAW (see below). This campaign is creating the basis for a working class alternative to the bosses' busing strategy.

All militants must demand that the trade unions organize defense guards for the black students. In doing so, they will demonstrate that the proletariat can see through the cynical schemes of the ruling class and can rally to the defense of the most oppressed sections of the working class, while opposing strategies, like busing, aimed at dividing workers from each other.

RAC Builds Defense

The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) is taking the lead in organizing for workers' defense against the mounting racist attacks on Detroit's black community. Over 30 workers from seven UAW locals attended a RAC public meeting on January 25 that took up the campaign to build Union Defense Committees in every local (the meeting also discussed campaigns to fight firing and harassment of militants—see page 7).

Over the past several months, RAC supporters have played an important role in defense of Detroit's blacks: They have participated in the Livernois Five Defense Committee, defense of families on the East Side who have been terrorized by racists, and in preparation for workers' defense guards to protect black students as the busing plan goes into effect.

Now RAC is trying to pull the full weight of the unions into the defense efforts. RAC supporters and other militants are circulating petitions in several UAW locals to establish officially recognized Union Defense Committees.

There are already over 200 signatures on the petition circulating at Local 51, and petition campaigns have recently been started at Locals 3, 227 and 600. More locals will be petitioned soon.

RAC plans to take the fight for Union Defense Committees to upcoming UAW local meetings. All militants are urged to join this effort to build the only reliable defense—workers' defense.

TORCH Interviews Livernois 5 Mother

"Being a Revolutionary Means You Have Got To Be Ready."

ed itself with raising pro-busing
ans and said not a word about
ding black students against
t attack—although the racists
marching less than 50 feet from

another group, the Committee to
t the Attacks on Our Schools.
e program resembles that of the
st Revolutionary Communist
y, announced it is joining the
ol boycott. This group as well
not a word about defending black
ents.

DEFEND BLACK STUDENTS!

th of these groups are leading
workers, and all workers, right
the ruling class trap. MAR's
apt to tie blacks to the strat-
—and the pacifism—of ruling
liberals can only lead to disaster.
Committee refuses to take up the
ion of defense because its anti-
g position is based on the RCP's
ll catering to racist sentiments
petty bourgeoisie and a section
e white working class. Despite
ifferences on the busing ques-
these two groups are as one in
refusal to face the immediate and
ete need of the working class:
ed working class defense.

contrast, the Revolutionary
orkers Committee, which is
orted by the RSL, has begun a
on drive in several Detroit-area
s to form union defense commit-
in the UAW (see below). This
aign is creating the basis for a
ng class alternative to the
s' busing strategy.

militants must demand that the
unions organize defense guards
e black students. In doing so,
will demonstrate that the
ariat can see through the cynical
nes of the ruling class and can
to the defense of the most
ssed sections of the working
while opposing strategies, like
g, aimed at dividing workers
each other.

RAC Builds Defense

Revolutionary Autoworkers
nittee (RAC) is taking the lead
rganizing for workers' defense
st the mounting racist attacks
etroit's black community. Over
orkers from seven UAW locals
ded a RAC public meeting on
ary 25 that took up the campaign
ld Union Defense Committees in
local (the meeting also dis-
d campaigns to fight firing and
sment of militants—see page 7).
er the past several months, RAC
rters have played an important
n defense of Detroit's blacks:
have participated in the Liver-
ive Defense Committee, defense
nities on the East Side who have
terrorized by racists, and in
ration for workers' defense
is to protect black students as
using plan goes into effect.

w RAC is trying to pull the full
it of the unions into the defense
s. RAC supporters and other
ints are circulating petitions in
al UAW locals to establish
ally recognized Union Defense
nittees.

ere are already over 200 signa-
on the petition circulating at
151, and petition campaigns have
tly been started at Locals 3, 227
60. More locals will be petitioned
AC plans to take the fight for
nd Defense Committees to upcom-
AW local meetings. All militants
rged to join this effort to build
only reliable defense—workers'
use.

This is the first half of an interview
with a militant auto worker and veter-
an of many years in the UAW. She
is also the mother of one of the defend-
ants in the Livernois Five case. Her
name is withheld for security reasons.
The interview will be concluded in
next month's Torch.

Q: How did you feel about the Liv-
ernois-Fenkell events (see article, top
of opposite page, for details—Editor)
when they first happened?

A: I knew that the beating of this
man was wrong, but then I thought
about this guy who had been shot,
Obie Wynn, so I had really mixed
emotions about it.

Q: How do you feel about it now?

A: Well, since you came to ask me
about it, and after I talked with you, it
opened my eyes to see that this has
been going on for a long time. I guess
that it had reached a point where
somebody had to stand up and say
we're tired of this, we're not going to
stand by and let this happen. I took a
different view of it, after you had ex-
plained how blacks were being har-
assed, and I saw that this was true.
I've known for a long time that things
have been wrong, but whatever could
I do about it? Since this did happen, I
feel that maybe this was something
that was supposed to happen, because
it has opened up so many people's
eyes to really let them see what was
going on.

Q: What kind of impact do you
think the Livernois Five Defense
Committee has had, not only on your
family but in the community and with
people that you work with?

A: I think that the Livernois Five
Defense Committee and the Revolu-
tionary Socialist League have made a
great impression. It has brought more
of us together, it has let us see that we
cannot stand by and let these things
happen, that we will have to put forth
some action. Your help and your
encouragement really gave us
strength to know that you really can
do something, but you have to stand
together in order to do it.

Q: We understand that people have
said to you that these people are
communists, that these people are rev-
olutionaries. How do you respond to
that?

A: Well, if people say that this is
communist, then really I don't see
anything wrong with it. The way that
you have been helping people, helping
people who have been unjustly treat-
ed—now if people call this communist,
well then give it to me. I think this is
what we need, more unity, and it's
something we don't have. I think that
we are too divided, and if communists
are going to bring us together then
give me communists.

Q: The Livernois Five Defense
Committee has been sending out unity
proposals to all left organizations to
join the Defense Committee around

the slogans of Free the Livernois Five,
Stop the Racist Frame-Ups, and Free
All Political Prisoners. A couple of
organizations have joined despite
their political differences with the
RSL. There's one in particular that
hasn't, the Spartacist League. They
have just recently changed their
minds about the Livernois Five.
What experience have you had with
the Spartacist League and what do
you think of their organization?

A: Well, the first time that I met
some of them I felt that they were
more or less with the bosses, because
they said that the Livernois Five were
just a bunch of punks. They have the
same attitude that the white liberals
are taking, that if it's a black kid, do
away with him, he's no good, he did
this. It seems to me that they don't
give a thought to why did it happen?
They don't go into it. They just said
they're a bunch of punks. Well it just
happens that my son was one of the
Livernois Five. I know my son. I love
my son, not to say that I love him for
doing something wrong. I know my
son is not a punk because he was
working at Ford, he was only laid off
and he is a hard worker. He is a good
mechanic and I know that he has a lot
of potential. I could not sit by idly
while someone said he is a punk and
let it go at that.

Q: The Spartacist League claimed
that they never said the Livernois
Five were punks. What experience do
you have of them saying that to you?

A: I do know that in talking with
one of them they said that they are
guilty. If the prosecutor says they are
guilty then they are guilty. Then I
said that you're with the prosecutor.
This is his job, to send a person up.
You were here as I saw it to defend
these people, to help them, but if
you're going to say that if the
prosecutor says they're guilty, then
they are guilty, how are you helping
us? You're not helping us.

Q: You've been to events sponsored
by the Revolutionary Socialist League
where there have been other left
groups present. You've seen a lot of
heated in-fighting among the groups.
How do you feel about that? When
you go into a forum and see a large
number of people, all claiming to be
revolutionaries, and all fighting with
each other?

A: It's because they're not fully
communists, they are not ready, or
they are not willing to go all the way.
To me, being a revolutionary means
you've got to be ready to do whatever
it takes to get there, and I don't think
they are ready for this. I think that
they are going so far but they're not
really facing the real issues that exist.

Q: Can you give us an example of
this?

A: For instance, one meeting I went
to was about busing. From what I
could hear from one of the speakers
they say let them bus. They're going
right over there with the bosses, to

say let them be bused until they build
the schools. But why should they
do that, why let them? I feel that if
they let them go along with the busing
when they start it, I think they will
continue it. But if we fight against it,
and don't let them start it, then they
won't start it.

Q: How do you think the black com-
munity in Detroit, and especially
black auto workers, feel about that?

A: All the blacks that I have talked
to—I haven't talked to any whites but
I've talked with blacks—not one
that I have talked to goes for busing.
They do not want their child to be
bused out away from the city where
maybe they will be harassed by whites
or beat up or maybe even killed. And
they feel that they should really build
up the schools in the city and have the
right facilities, so that kids could stay
right in their own communities, go to
school and get a good education right
here in the city.



"All the blacks that I have talked to . . . not one goes for busing. Teach the children, and eliminate the busing. I think they can build the schools up right here."

Q: What kind of alternatives would
you put forward to busing?

A: I would say let the kids remain
here in their own communities and go
to school. Teach the children, and
eliminate the busing. I don't think
busing is really necessary. I think
they can build the schools, up right
here. They don't have to be bused out.
They can rebuild the schools.

Q: Where is the money going to
come from for rebuilding the schools?
Where do you think it should come
from?

A: They got enough money to buy
the buses. Why can't they take that
money and rebuild the schools?

Q: There's a huge deficit and the
tax money they claim is not enough to
rebuild the schools, to rebuild the
cities.

A: What they usually do, I don't
know about this case, they usually
raise your taxes. We shall be paying
for it.

Q: What would you fight for
instead of raising the workers' taxes?

Where would you say the money
should come from?

A: Other than raising the taxes?

Q: Yes.

A: Well, I really don't know where
it would come from.

Q: We say make the bosses pay.
Schools have to be built, hospitals
have to be built, recreational facilities,
mass transit, a decent life for the
working class. One of the ways to do
that is a massive public works
campaign to rebuild the cities. Now of
course the bosses will claim they
don't have the money. If they're not
willing to pay for it, let us do it. We'll
take it away from them, expropriate
them, rebuild the cities, keep the
factories running, keep everybody at
work. What do you think of that?

A: That's good. They have enough
money, I would think, to pay for it.

Why should we have to pay for every-
thing?

Q: What is it about the RSL that
makes you think that they have the
answers the working class needs?

A: Well, I'll tell you what—it was
very inspirational to me when we
marched down to the jail after the
beating of one of those prisoners. Just
to see—I could see the togetherness of
all of us there marching. This was
something that gave me strength, and
I think that it gave it to the other
people. It made me feel good to see
people together, working together,
concerned about people. This is what
we need, and you show this, concern
for people, concern for people that are
being harassed. You know that this is
wrong and you're not afraid to get out
and let the people see we don't take it,
we are against it, and then you fight
against it. So this is enough—maybe
not enough—but it lets the people
know that here is a group of people
that will fight. They feel that if some-
thing is wrong they are going to fight
against it, and they do not mind
putting themselves out in front to do
it, and to me this is what you have to
do.

Livernois 5 Win Victory

The Livernois Five have scored an important victory. The two juvenile defendants, George Young and Doug Lane, have been freed. The charges against Young were dropped before the case was even tried; those against Lane were dismissed after the state's frame-up was exposed in court. The prosecution's only witness testified that although Lane had been out in the streets during the Livernois-Fenkell disturbances, he had "headed the other way" when the trouble leading to the death of a passing motorist began.

The struggle to free the rest of the Livernois Five continues. Despite the failure of the prosecution to win a conviction in the initial trial of the adult defendants (the trial ended in a hung jury), the bourgeoisie has not yet abandoned its efforts to railroad the Livernois Five. Several postponements of the start of the new trial have been requested to give the prosecution time to reassemble its tattered case.

The initial Livernois Five trial revealed that the cops had made numerous attempts to terrorize and coerce black youths into giving false testimony against the three defendants. Several were told they would be the defendant if they didn't cooperate and point the finger at someone.

Because the prosecution's ability to win a conviction has been severely hampered by these revelations, the bourgeoisie is using new tactics to create a climate favorable to the prosecution before the selection of a new jury begins.

Immediately after the most recent postponement, the Detroit Free Press ran an article headlined "Residents Approve of Handling of Disturbances on Livernois." The article, based on a survey by New Detroit Inc., attempts to whitewash the racist role played by the cops during their three-day occupation of the Livernois-Fenkell community. The survey included 20 businessmen and 100 residents of the area. Seventy percent of the residents were not present at the scene of any of the disturbances. And New Detroit's spokesman Walter Douglas, quoted in the Free Press article, is New Detroit's "special executive assistant to the chief of police."

This is the "justice" facing the defendants on their day in court. Meanwhile, Andrew Chinarian, racist murderer of Obie Wynn (and a personal friend of the cops) has been convicted for reckless use of firearms—a minor charge promising a light sentence.

With the retrial coming up, the work of the Defense Committee needs extensive support. Legal fees have already far outstripped the ability of the defendants or their families to pay. Contributions are urgently needed if all of the Livernois Five are to be freed.

**FREE THE LIVERNOIS FIVE!
STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UP!
FREE ALL POLITICAL
PRISONERS!**

(The Defense Committee is urgently in need of funds to continue its work. Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221.)



Black youths took to the streets last July to protest racist attacks by Detroit cops. Spartacists denounce "lumpen rage" and call for swift punishment of the oppressed.

Spartacists Betray Defense of Oppressed

The struggle to free the Livernois Five requires active support from all trade unionists, militants and left organizations. Therefore, it was encouraging to read in the January 9 Workers Vanguard that the Spartacist League (SL) has decided to call for freeing the Livernois Five.

It certainly took the SL long enough to issue this appeal. For over three months, the Livernois Five Defense Committee has asked the SL to participate in the defense efforts. During this period, the Defense Committee has organized support in the Livernois-Fenkell community, fought for trade union support, organized rallies and pickets and helped assemble the legal defense. Although the Livernois Five were on trial for their lives, the SL categorically refused to help the defense effort in any way. In fact, as reported in previous issues of the Torch, SL leaders informed the Committee: "They're guilty. I read it in the newspaper" and gave other equally racist excuses for refusing to support the five young Detroit blacks victimized by a ruthless frame-up. Unfortunately, this sickening approach is not confined to the past.

Despite its new position, the SL still has not joined the Defense Committee. In fact, the Workers Vanguard article really was not concerned with the Livernois Five—it devoted most of its space to attacking the Revolutionary Socialist League, the group that organized and built the Defense Committee.

According to Workers Vanguard,

"the RSL's interest in the case was not primarily the defense of the victims," but "a chance to praise lumpen rage." This is shameless. If it were not for the RSL's work in the Defense Committee, the first trial of the Livernois Five would almost certainly have ended not in a hung jury but in conviction. The SL, which wouldn't even call for the Five's freedom, should be the last people in the world to slander the RSL's defense work.

The SL now calls for exposing the racist frame-up only because the RSL and the Livernois Five Defense Committee have already exposed it. Caught with its racist pants down, the SL tried to find a way to change its position—without admitting that it ever had a different position—and to somehow dump on the RSL to cover its own rotten abstentionism.

The claim that the RSL was mainly interested in defending "lumpen rage" tells volumes about the SL. Workers Vanguard sneers because the RSL blames capitalism for creating the conditions that led to the death of Marion Pyszko (the Livernois Five are charged with Pyszko's murder). Workers Vanguard says:

Certainly capitalism produces justifiable anger, but it also produces indiscriminate killing, and the defenders of the oppressed must never blur the distinction the way the LFDC [Livernois Five Defense Committee—Editor] does in its propaganda. Nearly everything can be reduced to its social causes, but what is meant by the argument that an innocent bystander was beaten to death by capitalism? Capitalism just as

surely produced Lt. Calley, but this in no way excuses his act.

To see the unadulterated racism of these lines, it is only necessary to give the briefest description of the Livernois-Fenkell events. In late July, Andrew Chinarian gunned down a black teenager, Obie Wynn, in cold blood. Chinarian was infamous in the area as a trigger-happy racist. When he was released without being charged black youths took to the streets in protest. Pyszko, driving by, was killed in circumstances that are still unknown. The cops rounded up every young black in the area in a typical racist dragnet, extorted "evidence" under threat of prosecution (see accompanying article) and charged five with murder—the Livernois Five.

The Livernois Five Defense Committee pointed to this obvious frame-up. It exposed the cops' racist brutality, while the SL refused to demand that the Five be freed.

Now the SL has changed its mind. But it still stinks with liberalism, pacifism and racism. The blacks in the Livernois-Fenkell area were absolutely justified in demanding that Chinarian get what he deserved. They knew they couldn't trust the cops and the courts to do this. Their actions also revealed their pent-up anger at the social system which enforces 60 percent unemployment on Detroit black youths—contrary to the SL, Livernois-Fenkell is not a lumpen but a working-class area, where most young blacks (like the Livernois Five) are workers on layoff because of the economic crisis.

We do not condone Pyszko's death. But innocent bystanders at times unfortunately get hurt when they are caught in the middle of struggle between the oppressed and their oppressors. In such circumstances, we do not demand that the oppressed be convicted—precisely because we understand the relationship between "justifiable anger and indiscriminate killing." We realize that the black youth of Livernois-Fenkell were acting against the capitalist system as best they knew how. But the SL still demands that "Pyszko's murderers be brought to justice" (by a workers' tribunal, of course). If they thought the Five were guilty, they'd want their heads. As it is, they "merely" want to execute other, as yet unnamed, blacks.

What does the SL say about the ghetto riots? Should the black population in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Watts and Detroit stand trial for the death of innocent whites in the 1960s? Wasn't this "indiscriminate killing" by the SL's standards?

Workers Vanguard spares few words to demand justice for Chinarian. They conserve space when it comes to attacking the cop riot in Livernois-Fenkell. But when it comes to sinking their teeth into the skin of oppressed blacks, paragraphs pour forth. Don't waste time on Chinarian or the cops, demand that blacks be executed for Pyszko's death—so goes the line of these liberal racists. And he who opposes this can only be tailing "lumpen rage."

And then, the savage acts of Lt. Calley, paid killer for U.S. imperialism, are compared to the acts of the blacks of Livernois-Fenkell. If, however unfortunately, an innocent bystander is injured in a struggle against police terror, poverty and capitalism's racist oppression, then those struggling become... Lt. Calleys!

The Spartacist League sides with the oppressor against the oppressed. For all its claims, the SL has nothing in common with revolutionary socialism. That is the difference between the SL and the Revolutionary Socialist League, which is not afraid to champion the cause of the oppressed.

R
On Ja
Carolina
Robert
activist
self-defe
the heig
Monroe,
was acc
couple h
for prof
Threat
and aba
civil rig
Monroe
In 196
and Tar
Detroit
efforts t
six-year
won. Bu
William
North C
promisin
expose
frame-up
reveal d
FBI in
implica
Cubans,
with the
to discr
leaders.
defendar
growing
County,
Carroll
Lower
that th
"kidnap
testify—
and the
accordin
Robert
illusions
ardent ac
at a time
"leaders"
and pas
vigorous
advocate
themselv
When
from the
the Mon
and built
into an
farmers,
and the
were ab
library. T
gate the
When city
was taker
for this c
local Ku
a campa
intimidat
burnings,
the black
other out
As the
blacks tu
federal go
Williams
Negroes W
who is no
was the G
that time.
He took si
not broken
disorderly
to then-Pr
didn't ever
Monroe
themselves
Black guar
racist inc
arrived. In
Klan decid
after the o
with the K
any more
fight." Wil
In the 1
Afford to B
forward his
that. Negro

Robert F. Williams Freed

On January 16, the State of North Carolina dropped all charges against Robert F. Williams, militant black activist and advocate of armed self-defense. Fifteen years ago, during the height of the Freedom Rides in Monroe, North Carolina, Williams was accused of kidnapping a white couple he had brought into his home for protection during disturbances. Threatened with lynch-mob "justice" and abandoned by the "respectable" civil rights leaders, Williams fled Monroe and then the country.

In 1969, after living in Cuba, China and Tanzania, Williams returned to Detroit only to face North Carolina's efforts to have him extradited. After a six-year court battle, North Carolina won. But rather than be extradited, Williams returned voluntarily to North Carolina in December 1975, promising to use his trial as a forum to expose the political nature of the frame-up. He further promised to reveal documents showing CIA and FBI involvement in attempts to implicate him with anti-Castro Cubans, to get him fired from his job with the University of Michigan and to discredit him with other black leaders. Faced with this kind of defendant and the prospect of a growing defense campaign, Union County, North Carolina, prosecutor Carroll Lowder dropped all charges. Lowder claimed to have discovered that the two "victims" of this "kidnapping" were no longer able to testify—one having died a year ago and the other being "too ill," according to her doctor.

Robert F. Williams, despite his illusions in the capitalist state, was an ardent advocate of armed self-defense at a time when the majority of black "leaders" were calling for non-violence and passive resistance, and were vigorously denouncing all those who advocated that blacks should defend themselves from racist attacks.

When Williams was discharged from the Marines in 1955, he joined the Monroe chapter of the NAACP and built it from a group of six people into an organization of veterans, farmers, laborers, domestic workers and the unemployed. In 1957, they were able to desegregate the public library. They then tried to desegregate the municipal swimming pool. When city officials refused, a test case was taken to the courts. The publicity for this case brought into action the local Ku Klux Klan. The Klan started a campaign of racist provocation and intimidation—open air rallies, cross-burnings, waving and firing pistols in the black communities and various other outrages.

As these racist attacks increased, blacks turned to the city, state and federal government for protection. As Williams stated in the 1962 book *Negroes With Guns*: "Luther Hodges, who is now Secretary of Commerce, was the Governor of North Carolina at that time. We first appealed to him. He took sides with the Klan; they had not broken any laws, they were not disorderly." Williams' group turned to then-President Eisenhower, but he didn't even answer their telegram.

Monroe blacks then began to arm themselves against Klan attacks. Black guardsmen were at the scene of racist incidents well before the police arrived. In the summer of 1957, the Klan decided to put a stop to this, but after the defense guard shot it out with the Klan, "the Klan didn't have any more stomach for this type of fight," Williams wrote.

In the 1959 article, "Can Negroes Afford to Be Pacifists?" Williams put forward his views forcibly: "I believe that Negroes must be willing to



Robert F. Williams: All charges dropped.

defend themselves, their women, their children and their homes. They must be willing to die and to kill in repelling their assailants. There is no Fourteenth Amendment, no equal protection under the law. Negroes must protect themselves, it is obvious that the federal government will not put an end to lynching; therefore it becomes necessary for us to stop lynching with violence. We must defend ourselves." Because of this and similar state-

ments, Williams was suspended for six months as president of his chapter of the NAACP.

Monroe blacks were in the forefront of the sit-in and stand-in movement in 1960. When the Freedom Riders came to Monroe in 1961, the racists again attempted to shoot up the black community and were again met with armed resistance by the blacks.

The "kidnapping" incident occurred during these racist attacks. On August 27, the police chief and his men were seen driving through the county urging racists to attack the black community and the Freedom Riders. Later that day, Freedom Riders were brutally beaten up and fired upon. When news of this reached the black community, blacks took up arms. That night, an out-of-town white couple driving through an all-black section of Monroe was surrounded by a crowd of outraged blacks. Fearing for their safety, Williams took them into his home. Calling this act "kidnapping," the ruling powers of North Carolina sought to get rid of Williams and armed self-defense.

Even though all charges against Williams have been dropped, charges still remain against four other co-defendants: Harold Reap, Richard Crowder, Mae Mallory and John Lowry. They must be freed and all charges dropped. Blacks and all class-conscious workers must learn the lessons of Monroe, North Carolina. They must arm themselves against racist and fascist attacks. Workers' defense guards, organized in the unions, and other workers' and black organizations must be established to defend the working class and all the oppressed from their enemies. Workers must rely on their own strength. As Williams' story shows, the police and the capitalist state at all levels—city, state and federal government—are there to maintain the rule of capitalism, a system that requires racist oppression in order to survive. The ruling class hounded Williams for 14 years because he fought for black armed self-defense. Today, when Klan and fascist violence is again increasing, black workers and other militants must again take the lead in organizing armed self-defense.

Chrysler, Ford Fire Militants

DETROIT—As conditions in the auto plants—speed-up, layoffs, firings and harassment—worsen by the day, two militant auto workers, Otis O'Neal of Local 600 and Phillip Lambert of Local 51, have been fired on trumped-up charges. The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) is building a campaign demanding they be rehired with full back pay.

Otis O'Neal was fired last May, falsely charged with hitting a foreman. The foreman threatened to dock the pay of Otis and his co-workers when they finished work early one day. When Otis protested, the foreman pushed him aside. The next day Otis was fired, but the local UAW bureaucrats assured him that they would get his job back with no problem. Recently, after seven months, the unit president called to inform Otis that the third-step grievance was completed and that he was officially fired. Then the same bureaucrat had the gall to wish him "good luck" in finding a new job!

Otis and other militants like him are refusing to take these attacks lying down. At a January 25 RAC meeting, Otis gave a fiery speech calling on workers to unite in the struggle to free the Livernois Five and to defend militants in the plants. He made it clear that auto workers have to take the union back into our own hands to prepare for the battles ahead. At the meeting it was decided to call a demonstration at the Ford River Rouge complex demanding that Otis be rehired.

DANGER ON THE LINE

Phillip Lambert was fired from Lynch Road Assembly in late January. Phil's job is to hook up the car bodies before they are lifted to proceed on down the line. Over 40 workers stand under the cars once they are lifted, and if a car falls these 40 men can be killed (in fact, workers have been killed in this very manner in the past).

Chrysler's attacks on the workforce are on the rise through vicious speed-up, layoffs and job-combinations. Another operation was added to

Phil's job, and he didn't have time to get the hooks fitted properly. Three cars fell off the line before they were lifted; Phil went to the steward and the foreman, protesting that the job was unsafe and that 40 workers were in serious danger. The steward responded by saying the job was under protest and that was all he could do. The foreman responded by writing-up Phil and giving him disciplinary time off for not doing his job. This proved to be too much and Phil exploded in anger and frustration, kicking a few cars. Security guards "escorted" him from the plant and the next day he was fired for damaging company property and disorderly conduct. This is just one more stinking example of Chrysler putting its profits and "production standards" far above the lives of the workers in the plants.

When Phil explained this incident at the January 25 meeting, every worker in the room knew exactly what he was talking about. He used a very

effective analogy with Vietnam, saying that what goes on in the plants is war and that we are the cannon fodder for the bosses' production schemes. He finished by calling on workers to dump the bosses, seize control of production and run society in their own interests. This is the final solution to the attacks that Phil, Otis and all auto workers face everyday in the hell-holes called factories.

The firings underline the importance of two of RAC's central contract demands: union control of hiring and firing and union control of working conditions. The immediate defense struggles are directly linked to the necessity of building a fight for a contract that will actually defend the auto workers.

In the next several weeks, RAC will organize demonstrations and will intervene at meetings of Locals 51 and 600 to demand that the unions take up the fight for Otis and Phil's jobs.

REHIRE OTIS O'NEAL
AND PHILLIP LAMBERT!

PAC Calls Meeting To Fight USPS Attacks

Building a nationwide campaign to beat back the USPS attacks will be the subject of the New York Postal Action Committee's next meeting. It will be at 6:30 p.m. on Sunday, February 29, at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 West 4th Street, Manhattan. PAC is urging all militant postal workers to attend this important meeting.

PAC has kicked off its campaign to mobilize the postal ranks against the wave of job cuts, productivity schemes and harassment of union militants by building for an area-wide conference of all postal workers—clerks, mailhandlers and carriers.

PAC is circulating a petition calling on local union officials to hold this conference. The petition has received a highly favorable response from postal workers who see the need for unity

and understand that their national "leaders" plan to roll over and play dead in the face of the current attacks. An area-wide conference will be an important step in organizing a fighting rank and file strategy: linking the New York-New Jersey struggle with that of other postal workers around the country and planning immediate actions in the area against the USPS schemes. PAC is stressing that such actions are part of the necessary strategy of preparing for a national strike to defend postal workers' jobs and working conditions from the planned onslaught of management and Congress.

All militant postal workers should attend the February 29 meeting. Build the struggle!

(New York PAC can be reached by writing to PAC, Box 439, New York, N.Y. 10036.)

—China's Foreign Policy: A R

Part Three

Mao Misleads Maoists

Prior to its current bloc with the U.S., China projected the image of the uncompromising foe of U.S. imperialism and the unwavering champion of anti-imperialist struggle. The U.S. Maoist movement was built on the image of China as the bastion of world revolution. Thousands of opponents of U.S. imperialism believed the Chinese rhetoric and considered Mao and revolutionary struggles to be synonymous.

As we saw in the first part of this series, this image is now crumbling. Mao's fawning support to the Shah of Iran, his withdrawal of support for the Omani rebels being hunted down by Iranian troops, Chou En-lai's overture to Spanish fascism (sending a delegation bearing a wreath to Franco's funeral), the Chinese arms shipments to Chile's Pinochet, the arming of the CIA puppet FNLA in Angola, the economic and military aid to the capitalists' violent suppression of mass struggle in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and the Sudan—and these are just a few



Jailed Indonesian Communists. Mao's betrayal led to death of a million.

of the grosser acts—make it increasingly clear that Mao lines up against the masses.

Before the deal with Nixon, China needed allies against U.S. imperialism. Having fully broken with Russia in 1963, and faced with deep antagonism from western imperialism, Mao searched for support in Asia, Africa and Latin America. China's ardent anti-imperialist messages and its left-wing coloring were based on this situation.

But Mao did not rally the proletariat to the banner of workers' revolution. He did not base his perspectives on the workers' independent class interests. Instead, in keeping with the bourgeois

needs of the Chinese ruling class, he tried to create a bloc consisting of every potential enemy of the U.S. in the Third World, including the worst reactionaries. Mao claimed to be "uniting the many against the few." Nobody was excluded:

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes, and aristocrats who are patriotic.

(Peking Review, June 21, 1963)

This was part and parcel of Mao's theory that the proletarian revolution was not on the agenda in the Third World countries. Instead, the workers were told that they were in the "bourgeois-democratic stage" and must restrain their independent struggle to maintain their bourgeois and "patriotic" semi-feudal allies.

This theory suited Mao's needs for allies against the U.S. very nicely—all opponents of the U.S. from workers to kings were lumped together in one mass. But it was directly counterposed to the workers' needs.

Kings and princes may chafe at imperialist domination, but to hold onto their thrones they must first of all keep the workers and peasants in line. So must the national bourgeoisie. They are too weak to throw off the imperialist yoke but, because of their position in production, need to exploit the workers and beat down proletarian resistance.

The proletariat must at times make temporary alliances with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism, but they must be warned that class antagonisms will lead the capitalists to turn viciously against the workers to try to preserve their interests. The workers must be organized independently; they must have their own defense organizations; they must be ready to break off the tactical alliance with the bourgeoisie when the purposes of the bloc have been served or as soon as the capitalists begin to turn against them.

In other words, the workers cannot enter a long-term alliance in which they subordinate their struggle and needs to those of the national bourgeoisie. They must know that all illusions that their interests and the capitalists' are compatible over an extended period, or that the capitalists will play a progressive role, will be paid for in blood.

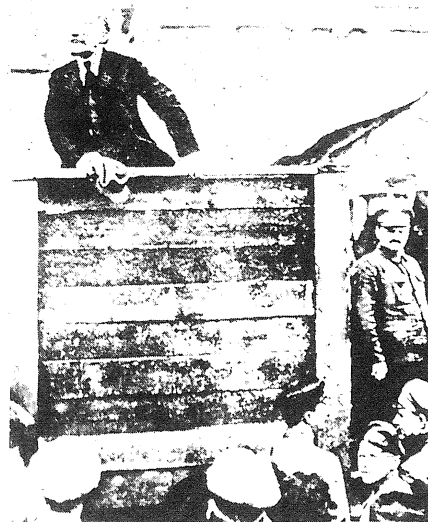
INDONESIAN BLOODBATH

Mao's insistence that the proletariat subordinate its struggle to his need for bourgeois allies had its most tragic consequences in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was one of the largest in the world—three million members and 16 million sympathizers. The pro-China PKI acted on Mao's orientation to Indonesia's "progressive national bourgeoisie" led by President Sukarno, and entered Sukarno's Front of National Unity together with the bourgeoisie. The PKI taught the workers to rely on Sukarno and the capitalists. For example, when at one point the workers seized factories, the PKI commanded them to return them to their "progressive" owners. The Chinese shipped hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to Sukarno, and even reprinted his writings.

The right wing of the Indonesian bourgeoisie and the large landowners grew increasingly alarmed at the size and strength of the workers' movement and at Sukarno's relationship to China. They favored a deal with the U.S. and harsh repression of the workers. Mobilizing key sectors of the armed forces, they dealt a crushing blow to the Indonesian workers. In October 1965, one million workers were killed and the PKI virtually destroyed by troops led by right-wing generals.

For two years thereafter, Peking failed to tell the workers that revolution was necessary in Indonesia—even though clear reactionaries were now in command. Mao was still looking for an alliance with Indonesian capitalism, and therefore not even willing to sharply oppose the reactionaries who were aligned with his main enemy of the time—the U.S.—and who had destroyed the workers' movement.

Mao's policy had disarmed the workers and made this disaster possible. Mao, by teaching the workers to rely on Sukarno and the "progressive" bourgeoisie, fostered the illusion that Sukarno would be able to protect the workers—rather than carefully educating the proletariat that its only real defense would be through relying on its own strength and organization. His policy ignored the



Lenin stressed that the working class must be organized independently.

fact that the overall interests of the Indonesian bourgeoisie would lead them, sooner or later, to attack the powerful workers' movement, and when that time came the most powerful sectors of the capitalists and the army would be on the side of the counter-revolution.

Nor did Mao change his policy following this disaster. When Pakistan's military dictator Ayub Khan was willing to bloc with China in the 1960s, Mao willingly ditched his revolutionary prose. Although Ayub Khan was faced with tremendous worker militancy, including a huge strike wave in 1969, Peking never once issued statements of support for the Pakistani workers' struggle. Instead, they continued to hail Ayub Khan as a "reliable friend" and argued: "No country is entitled to interfere in its (Pakistan's) internal affairs." This relationship, established in the 1960s, was the background to China's support for Pakistan's massacre of the Bengalis in 1971.

There is a clear pattern to these actions. In Indonesia and Pakistan, the Chinese muted their rhetoric—they made no appeals for revolution, supported the ruling classes and turned their backs on the masses' struggles. In Pakistan, the Chinese provided military assistance for the workers' butchers. This was Peking's real two-line struggle: revolutionary rhetoric where it had no influence and collaboration with the bourgeoisie against the masses where it could make a deal with the capitalists. Nor are the cases just described isolated "accidents": the same bourgeois policy was applied to the capitalist classes of Burma, Tanzania, Ghana



Mao ditched his revolutionary rhetoric in massacre of the Bengalis by Pakistan's A

and everywhere else that landowners, shahs and kings. Mao's way.

From here it was a short counter-revolutionary line imperialists and their junior (of Iran) were convinced revolutionary bluster were to ally with them against it was convinced that he needed to break out of economic China's right-wing shift in imperialism took shape.

Serious revolutionaries conclusions. China's line is was a bourgeois line before China had consistently oriented but to supposedly progressive Today's bloc with reaction what was China's real politics to be revolutionary. It is the previous parts of this series state-capitalist ruling bourgeoisie everywhere, bourgeois needs rather than international proletariat.

If the best of the Maoists making open capitulations they must break from China's reactionary alliance participation in the crushing of "two-stage" theory that fight for their class interests all of Maoism. Unfortunately have been badly miseducated to China's bourgeois leadership of the U.S. Mao continue to follow their lead to make China's reaction Marxism.

In the first two parts of that the basic rationalized line—that China's national other considerations—is to Leninist internationalism for justifying China's partition of mass struggles. In the more reactionary consequences carrying out the logic of the leading Maoist groups excuse China's bloc with U.S. actually themselves openly Kissinger and the CIA struggles.

In the November 15 Revolution Communist China line to Portugal, Portuguese capitalists' defeat revolt by left-wing soldiers of the working class: "To the very good thing that the S and the revisionists were dating their grip on power advance when the pro-U.S. the Spínola government toppled."

November 25 was a defeat workers. The Portuguese provoked the isolated rebel

Policy: A Reactionary Line



stressed that the working class must be organized independently.

overall interests of the Indonesian people would lead them, sooner or later, to the powerful workers' movement, and when the most powerful sectors of the army would be on the side of the revolution.

to change his policy following this in Pakistan's military dictator Ayub Khan's bloc with China in the 1960s, he ditched his revolutionary prose. Ayub Khan was faced with tremendous pressure, including a huge strike wave in which he never once issued statements of support for the Pakistani workers' struggle. He continued to hail Ayub Khan as a "friend" and argued: "No country is allowed to interfere in its (Pakistan's) internal affairs." The relationship, established in the 1950s, was based on China's support for the massacre of the Bengalis in 1971.

The clear pattern to these actions. In Pakistan, the Chinese muted their support for the revolution, made no appeals for revolution, and turned their backs on the struggles. In Pakistan, the Chinese refused assistance for the workers' struggle. Peking's real two-line struggle: to use revolutionary rhetoric where it had no influence and to ally with the bourgeoisie against the workers. It could make a deal with the bourgeoisie or are the cases just described isolated incidents. The same bourgeois policy was applied in the case of the classes of Burma, Tanzania, Ghana



ditched his revolutionary rhetoric to support the massacre of the Bengalis by Pakistan's Ayub Khan.

and everywhere else that "progressive" capitalists, landowners, shahs and kings were willing to glance Mao's way.

From here it was a short step to today's openly counter-revolutionary line. Once the western imperialists and their junior partners (like the Shah of Iran) were convinced that behind Peking's revolutionary bluster were "realistic men" willing to ally with them against the masses, and once Mao was convinced that he needed a deal with the U.S. to break out of economic and political isolation, China's right-wing shift into alliance with western imperialism took shape.

Serious revolutionaries must draw the correct conclusions. China's line is a bourgeois line—and it was a bourgeois line before the bloc with the U.S. China had consistently oriented not to the workers but to supposedly progressive bourgeois forces. Today's bloc with reaction is just another form of what was China's real policy even when it seemed to be revolutionary. It is the policy described in the previous parts of this series, the policy of China's state-capitalist ruling class which, like the bourgeoisie everywhere, begins from its own bourgeois needs rather than the needs of the international proletariat.

If the best of the Maoists are to be saved from making open capitulations to western imperialism, they must break from Chinese state-capitalism, China's reactionary alliance with the U.S., its participation in the crushing of mass struggles, and the "two-stage" theory that teaches the workers not to fight for their class interests. They must break with all of Maoism. Unfortunately, these individuals have been badly miseducated by years of adherence to China's bourgeois line and by the cynical leadership of the U.S. Maoist organizations. Most continue to follow their leaders' dishonest attempts to make China's reactionary line square with Marxism.

In the first two parts of this series, we showed that the basic rationalization of the Chinese line—that China's national interests come before all other considerations—is completely counterposed to Leninist internationalism and is just an excuse for justifying China's participation in the destruction of mass struggles. In the past few months, still more reactionary consequences have been drawn by carrying out the logic of the Peking line. Some of the leading Maoist groups are not simply trying to excuse China's bloc with U.S. imperialism, but are actually themselves openly lining up with Ford, Kissinger and the CIA against revolutionary struggles.

In the November 15 issue of *Revolution*, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) applies the China line to Portugal. They conclude that the Portuguese capitalists' defeat of the November 25 revolt by left-wing soldiers was a historic victory of the working class: "To the working class it was a very good thing that the Soviet social-imperialists and the revisionists were blocked from consolidating their grip on power, just as it was an advance when the pro-U.S. regimes of Caetano and the Spínola government that followed were toppled."

November 25 was a defeat for the Portuguese workers. The Portuguese capitalists cleverly provoked the isolated rebellion by left-wing troops

and used the defeat of the soldiers to purge the regime and the army of left-wing opposition, to raid the headquarters of radical organizations and to take back large wage increases and other gains the workers had made in two months of militant struggle preceding November 25. The workers' movement, which had been building to revolutionary proportions, was demoralized by this defeat and the tide turned in favor of the capitalists.

This is what the RCP hails as a victory (!) on the scale of the overthrow of Caetano and Spínola. Its hysterical attempts to follow Mao's line force the RCP to claim that the Portuguese workers' movement prior to November 25 was simply a tool of Russian imperialism, and that the real interest of the workers is to line up with the Portuguese capitalists against their own movement. It is no accident that this is precisely the line of the Portuguese capitalist class, Henry Kissinger and the CIA. It is clear that the RCP is following Mao into a global alliance against the proletariat.

The October League (OL) tries hard not to let the RCP outdo it in allying with the U.S. imperialists. The December 1975 and January 1976 issues of its newspaper, *The Call*, both vigorously denounce Soviet imperialism for "throwing its support behind one particular liberation organization, the MPLA" and call for a coalition government consisting of the MPLA and the two U.S. puppets, the FNLA and UNITA. In previous *Torch* articles, we have shown that the MPLA is the only genuine national liberation force in Angola. Although it is Russian-influenced, it is not Russian-controlled, whereas the FNLA and UNITA are completely subservient to U.S. imperialism. By calling for a coalition government, the OL actually supports the FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA.

Ford and Kissinger use the same rhetoric as the OL, because South African intervention on the side of the U.S. puppets has made outright support unpalatable. Likewise, China, which until a few months ago armed the FNLA, also calls for a coalition government while reserving its harshest criticisms for the Russian presence in Angola. *The Call*, following this line, barely mentions South African intervention while detailing Russian and Cuban aid to the MPLA.

Just as with the RCP's line on Portugal, the OL's line on Angola is indistinguishable from that of U.S. imperialism. The longer China's alliance with the U.S. continues, the more disgusting will become the role of these two groups as the mouthpieces for Kissinger's line inside the workers' movement.

The December 1975 issue of *Harper's* magazine featured an article by right-winger Robert Moss entitled "A Ticket to Lisbon: The Civil War in Portugal." Moss recently returned from Portugal, where he spent considerable time with the leaders of counter-revolutionary para-military groups.

Moss was most impressed by the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP). The MDLP is run by former top Portuguese officers close to ex-President General Antonio de Spínola—Commander Alpoim Calvao, Colonel Dias de Lima and Colonel Santos e Castro.

The MDLP leaders are fierce anti-communists; Santos e Castro organized a mercenary band to fight in Angola and Alpoim Calvao was the most brutal Portuguese officer in the war against FRELIMO in Mozambique. Spínola is the would-be Bonaparte forced to flee to Brazil after his coup was crushed last March 11 by the workers and soldiers.

The MDLP is fanning anti-communist sentiment in conservative northern Portugal. It has 1,000 troops on the Spanish border, hopes to recruit several times that number and plans to seize northern Portugal to initiate a civil war against the Lisbon workers.

Guess who is egging on these would-be butchers? "Leaders of the movement tell me that their most enthusiastic foreign backers are the Spaniards and—surprise—the Chinese," writes Moss.

In Portugal, the class line has been drawn. The workers are contending with the threat of armed counter-revolution. Mao throws in his chips with the counter-revolution.

This should be the nail in the coffin for any revolutionary-minded worker who sees anything progressive in China. This is not a "shrewd diplomatic maneuver." It is out-and-out counter-revolution. The Chinese butchers have shown in practice that they are owed one thing by the working class—the same treatment as Ford, Franco, Spínola and the rest of the capitalist class.

The *Guardian*, "independent radical news-weekly," has been unwilling to follow this path. As the self-styled spokesman of the "broad left," the *Guardian* is particularly sensitive to shifting breezes in the radical milieu. It realizes that the Chinese line on Angola is so reactionary that it will isolate its supporters from the rest of the left—in other words, the *Guardian* would alienate its readership. Therefore the *Guardian* has come out strongly in support of the MPLA. It has unleashed blistering polemics against the OL for capitulation to U.S. imperialism on the Angolan question (and also for opposing national struggles in Puerto Rico and Oman).

The *Guardian* has carefully avoided criticizing China, which it still calls "the foremost progressive historical force in the world today." This proves that it has no interest in making a frank Marxist analysis—if it did, it would take China to task just as it does the OL. The *Guardian* still wants to keep a finger in every pie that's popular—and China still retains influence in *Guardian* circles.

At the same time, the *Guardian* seems to be casting straws in the wind to test out a possible future return to the orbit of Russian imperialism. As opposed to the RCP and the OL, they support the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party.



Right wing mobilizes in Portugal for November workers' defeat. Maoists applauded action.

They increasingly refer to the "progressive nature" of Russia and the Eastern European satellites. If the China line becomes too alienating to the radical milieu, the *Guardian* could break completely with Maoism—but if it does, it will not be to revolutionary Marxism but only to tail the Russians.

As long as China's alliance with western imperialism continues, groups like the OL and the RCP will become more and more openly antagonistic to the struggle of the international working class. Other groups—perhaps the *Guardian*—may return to support for Russian imperialism and be engulfed by the Communist Party. Revolutionary-minded individuals in the Maoist milieu must realize that both of these roads—support for U.S. or Russian imperialism—are equally reactionary.

Genuine revolutionaries must break with Maoism. They must draw the lessons of historical experience. China, like the Soviet Union, is a state-capitalist country allied with other sectors of the world bourgeoisie against the international proletariat. China's alliance with western imperialism is an alliance of two capitalist powers. The theory of the "two-stage" revolution, which says the proletariat should not fight for socialist revolution, flows directly from China's bourgeois character.

Opposition to both imperialist superpowers must be maintained, but this will only be possible by starting with the needs of the international working class, by standing firmly on the truly internationalist perspectives of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Consistent support for revolutionary struggles is mandatory, but this too is only possible through the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky—by starting today with the need for the proletariat to lead the socialist revolution in the metropoliten and the Third World countries, and with the need to struggle for a world revolutionary party to lead the international proletariat in this task.

Capitol...

Continued from page 3

forces between the workers and capitalists and on the level of organization and self-confidence of the working class. In these separate battles revolutionaries fight for unified class action on the basis of a revolutionary program. Strike support in the labor movement, national rather than local strikes, international strike dates against multinational corporations and general strikes are among the tactics used to mobilize the entire working class in struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The Capitol strike was a small battle in this war and, since the murder of Watson, was a symbol of workers' struggle in the Chicago area. As the RSL leaflet said:

The Capitol workers are on the front line in defense of the whole working class... A defeat for the Capitol workers can only mean that the labor movement failed to unite behind them and this will only encourage the capitalist attacks on all workers... Unity built in defense of the Capitol strike can be used to fight all attacks.

The Capitol strike is part of the process by which workers organize, unite and learn politically through struggle to the point where they can overthrow the bourgeoisie. The organization of the working class and the development of revolutionary consciousness does not take place overnight or simply because revolutionaries call for it. It is in partial struggles that the first steps to class unity, political consciousness and exposure of the trade union bureaucracy can be taken. This is doubly important in periods like today when the class struggle is extremely fragmented and at low ebb. It is essential that revolutionaries join these partial

struggles, both to fight the sellouts of the bureaucrats and to raise the organizational and political level of the struggle. In this context revolutionaries will be able to win workers to a revolutionary program.

The Capitol workers faced sellout bureaucrats, a determined company and government intervention (police harassment, a court injunction limiting pickets, immigration hassles, etc.). Struggle against these forces exposes the government as the arm of the capitalists and makes clearer the need for a genuine party of the working class, a workers' government and revolutionary leadership in the unions.

In the Capitol strike, many groups claiming to be revolutionary showed in practice that they will not lead the workers in consistent defense of their needs against the capitalists and the bureaucrats.

For the first part of the strike, the October League (OL) was the main centrist group in evidence. At a strike support dinner in November the OL and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) had the most imposing presence. But the political role of both these groups was awful. They put forward no concrete strategy for winning the strike or smashing the injunction that was soon to be imposed. All they did was compete for honors as the most empty cheerleaders.

While the RSL has much smaller forces than these groups, we were the only organization at the dinner to face the situation squarely and put forward a serious strategy for victory. The RSL said in its speech that "unfortunately, victory is not at hand," that labor support must be mobilized to smash the injunction, that a strike support committee must be built and that the union bureaucrats must be fought and exposed. Without these steps we thought the strike would be in danger of being crushed.

The OL and the RCP responded with boos and hisses, particularly at



Capitol strike support rally. Labor support was key to preventing strike's isolation.

the stark truth that victory was not at hand. They would rather blindly cheer the strikers on for fear that they might isolate themselves if they told the truth. But workers on strike don't need apolitical cheerleading, they need concrete support and strategies. These were provided most of all by the RSL.

The OL and the RCP like to attack the RSL for being "sectarian" because we refuse to be tailists and instead fight for the revolutionary program. But we never turn our back on a struggle or undermine efforts to build it. This is exactly what the OL and the RCP did. They actively fought against building the strike support committee, resisted repeated efforts to get them to set up informational picketing at Culver's Atlanta plant and opposed the strike leaders talking to union officials around the city. They thought that if the strike remained isolated their own importance would be enhanced.

But the Maoists' treachery did not end there. OL members went so far as to say that the victory or defeat of the strike was not important, but that what counted to them was the development of a "secondary leadership"—that is, a stratum in the lower levels of the bureaucracy friendly to the OL.

Meanwhile, the RCP took its opposition to the strategy of building labor support to the length of outright

sabotage. Four times the strikers indicated they wanted a march in downtown Chicago on January 10 and four times the RCP tried to prevent it. In the end only the RCP actively opposed the march. Even Taylor, who had been bitterly against it, quit fighting it and spoke at the march while the RCP boycotted it.

The Maoists have been completely demoralized by the low level of the class struggle and believe that nothing can be done. And because their practice is so opportunistic, they are afraid of revolutionaries and actively oppose their work. Meanwhile, the RSL, which refuses to refrain from fighting for its program in concrete struggles, is the most consistent fighter for united fronts.

Without the work of the RSL and its friends, the ongoing support and relatively widespread knowledge of the strike would have been enormously reduced. During the last week of the strike, motions were introduced for support at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL). Taylor spoke at this meeting and was well received—typically he put forward no concrete proposal for organizing support. CFL President Lee, nervous about the strike's support and the involvement of the left, reportedly pressured Culver to negotiate.

Our work in building support in the labor movement gives the lie to the Maoists' charge of "sectarianism." It also gives the lie to the charge of "substitutionalism" raised by the Spartacist League (by "substitutionalism" the SL means that the RSL doesn't restrict its methods to struggling within official trade union channels). Anyone at all familiar with the RSL knows we hardly ignore the unions or the struggle for leadership in the trade union movement. In fact, just as in the case of the defense of black worker C.B. Dennis from racist vigilantes when the SL also accused the RSL of substitutionalism, the SL was forced to cite the work of the RSL and its friends in the labor movement to show the spread of support for the Capitol strikers—without, of course, giving the RSL any credit.

All this proves that, as the class struggle intensifies, different groups claiming to be revolutionary will be tested in practice and exposed. Just as the trade union bureaucracy is an obstacle to workers' struggles and must be swept aside, so must centrist organizations. Political struggle amongst different organizations is essential to the working class sorting out its program and leadership. The hollowness of charges of "sectarianism" and "substitutionalism" which groups fling at the RSL is proven in practice. These charges only expose the groups making them.

These groups know they cannot survive serious political struggle with the RSL and seek to create various smokescreens. We welcome serious criticisms of our work from Maoists, the SL or anyone else. Unfortunately, these groups are incapable of it and resort instead to sniping and slanders to cover their own failure to lead the workers' struggles. The Capitol strike has helped to show the true mettle of both the RSL and our opponents on the left.

Judge Removed From Reserve Case

Profit Comes First

On January 6, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in Minneapolis removed Judge Miles Lord from the Reserve Mining Case. The Court's highly unusual action—this was the first time it removed a judge on its own motion in over 20 years—underscored the capitalists' line on the environment question. Lord's decisions on the case had provided the people of Minnesota with some minimal protection against deadly industrial pollution. But even this slight infringement on capitalism's license to kill for profit was too much for the Appeals Court. Lord had gotten in the way of the region's big capitalists. He had to go.

Reserve Mining processes iron ore in Silver Bay, Minnesota. Everyday tons of waste are dumped into the otherwise pure waters of Lake Superior. This waste contains asbestos. It is so deadly that half of all asbestos workers die from asbestos-induced cancer; some die 30 years later from a single exposure to asbestos. The currents of Lake Superior take this killer directly toward Duluth, a town of 100,000. In 1974, 44 million asbestos fibers were found in each liter of Duluth's water-supply, while the government's standard for asbestos workers is 5,000 fibers per liter of air.

In April 1974, Judge Lord ordered the Silver Bay plant shut down until a final decision on controlling the asbestos was made. This decision was

no decisive victory for the working class. For example, Lord did nothing for the 3,100 workers who were laid off. But it was a stiff blow to Reserve Mining. Within three days, Reserve got the order overturned and was once again dumping asbestos into the lake. As a stopgap measure, the Army Corps of Engineers was ordered to

provide filtration for Duluth's water-supply, although nothing was done to provide clean water for the other communities dependent on Lake Superior. Lord was left on the case to provide a permanent solution, assess fines and consider new scientific evidence.

Lord's removal last month occurred as the economic crisis worsens. The profits of the steel companies who own Reserve Mining fell drastically. Republic, which owns half of Reserve, suffered an 80 percent drop in profits in the fourth quarter of 1975. To the bourgeoisie, this means they are even more unwilling to make even minimal payments to control pollution, let alone pay fines. At the same time, the government is slashing social service expenditures, including spending on environmental protection. The Army has announced that it will no longer filter Duluth's water-supply. The full impact of the asbestos danger is once again on Duluth's doorstep.

An odd judge, for accidental reasons, got in the way of the bosses. He had to be removed. The capitalists don't want anybody interfering with their plans to sacrifice the people of Duluth on the altar of Reserve's profits. As the bourgeoisie gives up its pretense of environmental protection under the impact of the economic crisis, what has been done to Duluth will be repeated everywhere—unless the workers intervene.



Judge Lord—taken off Reserve Mining Case for getting in way of bosses' profits.

Boss

Continued from
powers against
rank and file.

To solidify bureaucrats, a Dunlop's plan to measure to let construction sit subcontractors where the ter comes from). The received most of the real guts downplayed.

In itself, picketing right gain for construction would have allowed shut down an error. This had been labor movement Court decision picketing. However, watered down requiring local union from their Inter could picket.

All in all, the bill was far outw of the rest of bureaucrats would much more level deals with man them on the ra have helped th pline the work the leaderships construction union government agencies bureaucrats would because their politicians would administration construction corporations gotten stable b pattern for esta to deal with ev workers. The on been the worker

Dunlop had together this app under Dunlop's capitalists set Users Anti-Infla exert centralize construction uni consists of the corporations and the Business R

Five years ago Roundtable with bureaucrats to fo Industry Stability This group impo on wages and construction star 1971. Its success implement wage 90-day ban on 1971. Through t construction mod crats climbing a panels for the en and the capita 1965-71 strike wa the 1969-71 recess

Dunlop's const attempt to pull Meany and Co. willing to partic these new control five years ago, counting on the forward the cons first step to impo where. As Busine "Dunlop believes other incomes pe without the active

The only thin counted on was F had worked for y understanding w Executive Board elaborate structure Why did Ford sat Ford did not v interests of the wo

Bosses Plan Attacks

Continued from page 1

powers against local unions and the rank and file.

To solidify the deal with the bureaucrats, a sop was thrown in. Dunlop's plan was combined with a measure to legalize picketing at construction sites where any of the subcontractors are non-union (this is where the term "common situs" comes from). The picketing provision received most of the attention while the real guts of the bill were downplayed.

In itself, the common situs picketing right would have been a gain for construction workers. It would have allowed a local union to shut down an entire construction site. This had been a major goal of the labor movement since a 1951 Supreme Court decision outlawed such picketing. However, the proposed bill watered down the benefits by requiring local unions to get approval from their Internationals before they could picket.

All in all, the picketing part of the bill was far outweighed by the dangers of the rest of the package. The bureaucrats would have been given much more leverage to make sellout deals with management and impose them on the ranks. The plan would have helped the corporations discipline the work force by bringing the leaderships of the major construction unions together with the government against the workers. The bureaucrats would have benefited because their powers against oppositionists would have increased. The administration and large non-construction corporations would have gotten stable building costs and a pattern for establishing ground-rules to deal with every industry and all workers. The only losers would have been the workers.

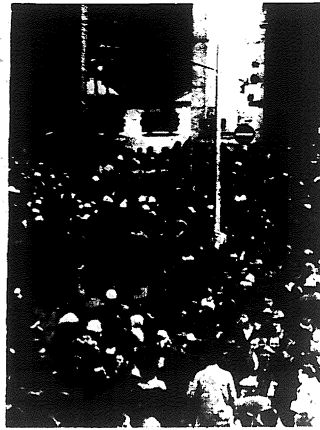
Dunlop had spent years piecing together this approach. Six years ago, under Dunlop's guidance, leading capitalists set up the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable to exert centralized pressure on the construction unions. This body today consists of the heads of 158 major corporations and goes by the name of the Business Roundtable.

Five years ago, Dunlop coupled the Roundtable with government and the bureaucrats to form the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. This group imposed strict guidelines on wages and restricted strikes in construction starting in the spring of 1971. Its success encouraged Nixon to implement wage controls and the 90-day ban on strikes in August 1971. Through the extension of the construction model, with the bureaucrats climbing aboard wage control panels for the entire economy, Nixon and the capitalists strangled the 1965-71 strike wave and pulled out of the 1969-71 recession.

Dunlop's construction bill was an attempt to pull off this coup again. Meany and Co. were as ready and willing to participate in imposing these new controls as they had been five years ago, and Dunlop was counting on them as he pushed forward the construction bill as the first step to imposing controls everywhere. As Business Week observed: "Dunlop believes that no controls or other incomes policies can succeed without the active support of labor."

The only thing Dunlop hadn't counted on was Ford's veto. Dunlop had worked for years to create an understanding with the AFL-CIO Executive Board to set up this elaborate structure against the ranks. Why did Ford sabotage it?

Ford did not veto the bill in the interests of the working class. Under



the gun from Ronald Reagan's right-wing challenge and heavily pressured by right-to-work lobbyists and other conservative forces who opposed the common situs provision, Ford capitulated. The conservative base of the Republican Party is wary of making any concessions to labor, even when it involves a package deal like the construction bill. Many agree with Reagan and the Wall Street Journal that Collective Bargaining Committees, such as the one proposed by Dunlop, are uncalled-for government interference with "free competition." These reactionaries are too short-sighted to see that these measures would benefit them and hurt the workers.

But Ford, benefiting from Dun-



(Left) Massive demonstration of construction workers in New York City. Demonstrators demanded jobs. (Top) Construction workers tie up traffic in Boston protesting the hiring of non-union labor. The fight for jobs, a shorter work week and the rebuilding of the decaying cities must be taken up by the entire labor movement.

lop's advice, did understand this. The veto shows his lack of guts. Had he stuck to his guns and signed the bill, the most important members of the ruling class would have seen its benefits in practice and come over to his side. As it is, he succeeded in completely alienating the bureaucrats and convincing the right-wingers that he is too weak to be their man.

RULING CLASS DIVIDED

The events around the construction bill reveal the divisions over strategy in the ruling class. The liberal capitalists, speaking largely through the Democratic Party and supported by the labor bureaucrats, want to impose controls on the working class through the state apparatus. To the capitalists and their mouthpieces in the Democratic Party, the economy can only be stabilized by enlisting the

bureaucrats' support for government controls against the workers. To the bureaucrats, government regulation helps them increase their power; at the same time, they believe that the capitalist system must be maintained at any cost, and the labor-management-government boards give them a way to advise the ruling class about how to best go about this.

On the other side, the right wing of the capitalist class pushes a hard anti-union line and opposes an increased government role. In an election year, they carry increased weight in the Republican Party and can heavily influence the policy of a Republican administration, especially one headed by a president as weak as Ford. That's why Dunlop's program went by the boards in 1976, and why this year Ford and the bureaucrats have no common ground. Dunlop was caught between his understanding of capitalism's needs and the internal workings of the Republicans—this contradiction led to his late January resignation, when Ford's veto undercut his ability to bridge the gap between the administration and the bureaucrats.

Workers must be on their guard for the next set of betrayals by the bureaucrats. Following Ford's veto, the hacks have turned up the volume of their support for the Democrats. They look to the Democrats to carry through the program that Ford couldn't—Dunlop's program complete with controls. If a Democrat is elected president this year he will push this approach. The aim will be the same as Dunlop's—to set up mechanisms that undercut the workers' militancy, hold down wages and eliminate strikes in the same way that Nixon smashed the strike wave in 1971.

Either side—liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican—is no alternative for the workers. Instead, it is necessary to reject both approaches and to build the momentum of workers' struggle this year. The urgent needs of workers—jobs for all, full protection against inflation, reconstructing the decaying cities, a shorter work week—cannot and will not be met by either of these parties or on a capitalist basis. This year, instead of looking to the capitalist parties, the workers must build the rising wave of struggle and lay the basis for establishing their own party to fight for workers' rule.

The workers can take advantage of the divisions in the ruling class to fight for their needs. Ford's veto means that the elaborate controls mechanism has been at least temporarily derailed, which will make it more difficult for the bureaucrats and the government to sabotage the class struggle. The bureaucrats are in a compromised position to oppose these demands, although they certainly will try to do so. If the workers are successful, they can destroy the "hold-the-line" plans for this contract year and spark a huge upsurge that will provide great opportunities for revolutionaries.



Oregon carpenters piled empty lunch buckets to protest lack of jobs. Nearly 20 percent of construction workers are jobless.

Bricklayers Hit With Massive Cuts

In early December, seven New York area Bricklayer locals took major cuts in wages, working conditions and fringe benefits. The "agreement" calls for a 25 percent pay cut on all remodeling, renovation and residential work plus a 48 percent cut in fringe benefits. The bricklayers' work day was extended from seven to eight hours and the overtime rate was reduced from double time to time and a half. The locals represent 4,000 workers in New York City and Long Island.

These savage cuts were not the result of a losing strike. The union bureaucrats voluntarily gave all of this away to the contractors by renegotiating a contract signed only six months ago.

The bureaucrats used massive unemployment among construction workers to push through their sellout. Construction has been one of the hardest hit industries in the recession. Nationally, only half as many apartments were built in 1975 as were constructed in 1974—one-quarter the number built in the peak year of 1972! In the New York area, the drop is even sharper. This has led to the loss of 800,000 construction jobs in the past three years. Today, 80 percent of New York bricklayers are unemployed!

The Bricklayer bureaucrats claim that sacrifices by the workers will spur new construction. This is identical to the bosses' line that the "high wages" of the workers are responsible for the collapse of construction and the entire recession.

The bureaucrats' line is a cynical lie. Labor costs don't begin to explain skyrocketing construction costs. Labor costs actually fell from 33 percent of the cost of a home in 1949

to only 18 percent in 1969, according to the National Association of Home Builders. George Christie, chief economist for McGraw-Hill, pointed to a shrinking supply of credit and subsidies as the two most important causes of the construction crisis. These factors, together with the increasing price of land (bloomed from real estate speculation) and the inability of workers hit by unemployment and falling real wages to buy new homes, are the real causes for the breakdown of construction.

The bricklayers' sacrifices will not stimulate construction and bring more jobs. And the bureaucrats are well aware of this. Why then did the Bricklayer officials throw away the results of years of struggle in agreeing to this reactionary scheme?

The Bricklayers' bureaucracy, like the bureaucracy of the construction trades generally, is among the most reactionary labor leaderships in the country. Representing the cream of the labor aristocracy, they pride themselves on their active support for capitalism, their "labor statesmanship." In saddling the membership with "voluntary" pay cuts, the bureaucrats believe they are setting an example for the rest of the labor bureaucracy. "This is the way to save capitalism," they are telling their bureaucratic cohorts. Or in the words of Anthony J. Zotolillo, President of the Associated Brick Mason Contractors, and one of the parties to the agreement: "We're showing leadership that's going to have to be taken by all unions to get people back to work." (Emphasis added.)

This kind of leadership led the German workers to fascism.

EDITORIALS

Stop CIA-Backed Jamaican Coup

Last month's Torch warned of CIA plans for a coup in Jamaica, to be carried out in collaboration with the opposition Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). These plans have moved closer to realization in the wake of last month's riots in Kingston.

The January 12 Wall Street Journal tacitly gave its approval to the CIA by running a feature article headlined "Dismantling an Island Paradise." The article, by Journal Assistant Editor Jude Wanniski, was a torrent of lies and innuendos designed to show that reformist Prime Minister Michael Manley is "running the country into the ground." (Example: Wanniski reports a "withering" tax of 60 percent on incomes over \$12,500, but neglects to mention that in a country where the minimum wage is \$20 a week, a \$12,500 income represents enormous wealth.) Wanniski's conclusion, "Jamaica is not going

communist. It is merely going bananas," sums up this hidden appeal to the CIA and JLP to intervene to put an end to "chaos."

The riots were the work of the JLP. The first outbreak, during mass protests over a visit to Jamaica by Henry Kissinger, was touched off when police shot a member of the youth wing of Manley's People's National Party (PNP). For two days the ghetto population battled the police and military, despite PNP pleas to trust the authorities. In January, during mass protests against a visiting delegation of the International Monetary Fund (Wanniski was part of this group), JLP gangs launched violent attacks on PNP neighborhoods and burned large sections of the Kingston slums.

Manley, a liberal capitalist politician, has turned left in an effort to

stop the deterioration of Jamaica's imperialist-dominated economy. While passing no-strike and anti-gun laws to hold the masses in check he has made certain reforms (such as the minimum wage law), made overtures to Cuba and turned to Mexico to bypass the imperialist control of Jamaica's bauxite riches. These moves aroused the fury of the imperialists and the local capitalists.

Manley, a capitalist leader, has been unable to mobilize the masses to defend against the impending coup. His momentary call for unarmed PNP defense guards touched off screams of protest from the Jamaica Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce. Manley immediately backed off. Instead of rousing the masses, he is stressing law and order and presenting a bill to outlaw seditious "acts and utterances." These measures will not be used against the

perpetrators of the right-wing violence but against workers and socialists who are agitating to defend against the coup plans by arming the masses. Already Manley has banned all marches and demonstrations. This will not stop the thugs and police who back the JLP, but it may cripple those who want to defend Manley.

The Jamaican masses must defend Manley against a right-wing coup that would crush their own rights, but they must defend him by revolutionary means. There must be no political support to his capitalist program. In Jamaica, the Revolutionary Marxist League, through its leaflets and its publication Socialist Weekly, is agitating for the arming of the workers to defend against the coup. In the United States, the CIA coup plans must be exposed and protested before they are put into action, while there is still time.

Paul Robeson, 1898-1976

On January 27, Paul Robeson died at the age of 77. Internationally famed as an actor, singer, athlete, scholar and political activist, this son of an ex-slave was one of the outstanding black leaders of our time.

Robeson could have had a successful bourgeois career in almost any area. At Rutgers University, he won 13 varsity letters in four sports and was twice named to the All-America football team at end. He was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers and went on to receive a law degree from Columbia University.

But Robeson gave up a law career for the performing arts. He acted on stage and in films, and as a singer specialized in folk music (especially the songs of American blacks).

Throughout his life, Robeson was victimized by racism. The official listing of the 1918 All-America football team omitted his name. When he landed a part in a Hollywood movie, "Tales of Manhattan," he

found out after production was well under way that he had been roped into a racist film. Robeson apologized to the black community, saying that he had gone too far in his contract to quit when he realized the nature of the film, and offered to picket the movie.

Unfortunately, Robeson looked to the USSR as the liberator of the oppressed. Like many of his generation, he considered Russia to be socialist and was blind to the way Stalinism oppressed nations within its own empire. His illusions in Russia and his relationship to the Communist Party in this country prevented him from playing the kind of revolutionary leadership role in the black struggle that someone with his talent and prestige could have. Instead, he helped the CP in its effort to hold blacks within capitalist bounds, and helped foster illusions in Russia.

To take just one example, Robeson openly supported U.S. capitalism during World War II, following the line of Moscow and the CP. World

War II was an imperialist war and completely racist on both sides. Blacks in the U.S. were jim-crowded in the armed forces and throughout the domestic society. Racist hysteria was whipped up against the Japanese: Thousands of Japanese-Americans lost all their possessions when they were interned in concentration camps. The U.S. did its best to keep Jews from escaping Nazi Germany. Through it all, Robeson gave full support to the racist imperialist war.

However, for all this, Robeson did not sacrifice his beliefs for personal gain. When the Cold War began, he lost his respectability in the eyes of white capitalist America by speaking out against U.S. imperialism. One speech in particular, given at the 1949 World Peace Congress in Paris, aroused the fury of the American ruling class. At the Congress, Robeson declared: "It is unthinkable that American Negroes will go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations against a country (Russia) which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind."

Despite his illusions in Russia, this was a courageous statement made at a time of severe anti-communism in the U.S. It resulted in the House Un-American Activities Committee marching in a series of black "leaders," like Jackie Robinson, to

denounce Robeson. President Truman actually ordered Robeson not to leave the U.S. under penalty of fines and imprisonment. In 1950, the State Department revoked Robeson's passport, arguing that his international travel was a hazard because "he has been for years active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

The passport was not returned until 1958. Meanwhile, Robeson's income dropped from \$100,000 to \$6,000 a year as he was denied bookings because of his political views and because promoters feared right-wing attacks (one concert he planned to give at Peekskill, N.Y., in 1949 was cancelled when thugs supported by the cops attacked it).

Had Robeson disowned his statements and his views, he could have quickly regained his income and career. Even if he made a few token gestures to get his passport back, he could have found work in Europe. But unlike many others in the reactionary McCarthy period (and since) he did not. He refused to become a professional witness for Congressional committees or the FBI. As a result, the bourgeoisie tried to keep a whole generation ignorant of the great artistic achievements of Paul Robeson.

Despite their efforts, Paul Robeson will not be forgotten.

Just Out!

\$25

China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line

by Jack Gregory

TORCH
PAMPHLET
NO. 3

CONTENTS

MAO CRUSHES MASSES

MAO BETRAYS LENINISM

MAO MISLEADS MAOISTS

What is the nature of China's foreign policy? Is it revolutionary or is it reactionary? What is Leninist internationalism? How does Mao's policy differ? What are the roots of China's line on Angola today?

25 cents

Haymarket Books, Box 8062, Chicago 60680

RSL Directory NATIONAL OFFICE

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

CHICAGO

P.O. Box 8062
Chicago, Ill. 60680

DETROIT

P.O. Box 639
Detroit, Michigan 48221

NEW YORK

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

©1976, Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Susan Edmunds

Correspondence and subscriptions to:
Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036

Subscriptions (U.S., Canada, Mexico):
6 issue introductory \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
supporting (one year) \$5.00

Subscriptions (foreign):
12 issues (seamail) \$4.50
12 issues (airmail; unsealed) \$10.00

Checks should be made out to the Torch

LETTERS

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

USWA International Deserts Strikers

Dear Editor,

About 315 strikers at the Border Steel Rolling Mills in El Paso, out on strike for better than a year, have been deserted by the USWA International. The Local received word from Pittsburgh, without advance warning, that strike funds were cut off and that they had to go back to work.

The full scope of this treachery can be seen in that the strikers went out when the contract expired and the company refused to negotiate a new one. Now, a year later, the company still refuses to sign a contract, and has also long since hired scabs to work every job in the mill! So, after a year of sacrifice from the members, the USWA "leaders" let the union be smashed—and then cut the workers off without a dime, without a union, without a job!

The strikers have demanded that the International answer for itself and explain why it deliberately abandoned a strike that had almost total unity. After a year on the bricks, only 10 out

of the original 325 strikers had gone back to work. So far, the International has been a bit shy about answering.

We suggest that Abel write them the following: "We are not in the business of actually fighting the attacks on you, and if you are so rash as to try and fight for yourselves, then this leadership will be of no use to you. If you want to wage a strike that can win, you had better find yourselves another leadership for this union."

The El Paso betrayal is a bitter lesson that any strike, large or small, can be smashed by the capitalists if the union leadership is not prepared to fight to win. That is why the fight to tear up the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement—Editor) and take back the right to strike has to be, at the same time, a fight to throw out the traitors and class-collaborationists who will give us nothing but more El Pasos.

Fraternally,
Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus

Rich People Receive More Than Justice

Dear Sir,

I received a copy of your wonderful paper concerning people like ourselves who have been sentenced to die. And other people that are struggling for their freedom. And most of all, justice for the poor, because rich people receive more than justice. I admire you and thank you for printing that article concerning myself and the other 16 men that have been sentenced to death here. It's hard like hell knowing we been sentenced to die. But when you sentence children to die, it's a shame. We have here two 17 year olds, one 18 year old that have been sentenced to die in the gas chamber. And one of them was sixteen when he was first sent here. I must say, some of us have made some heavy mistakes. But there are people out there in that free world that made mistakes more serious than the ones that we are charged for. Sometimes I lay up in my bed, and keep asking myself how do the D.A., judge and jury feel knowing they have recommended for our life to be taken and most of all children as well. They call us killer, but what are they when they refuse to give a child a little break in this world. I will never know for sure. But I really believe God will judge them as well.

At this time all we ask is to be treated like humans. I know there are people out there who believe we shouldn't. But we feel different. We are not allowed to have any meat to eat with a bone in it. All our meat is ground up. We are not allowed to have fried chicken, ribs or pork chops to eat, and all the rest of the camps are allowed to have them. We haven't

seen a real doctor in about six or seven months, and from Friday on 3:30 to Monday morning we can't get medicine. We have to stay sick till Monday.

We are sentenced here to go to the gas chamber. We have officers here that walk around saying they'd love to save the state some money, and kill us like some hogs. Sure we are afraid for our lives. And some of these things we let our family know, and there are some we don't. Because we hate to worry our family half crazy. So we have to hope and pray that God will look out for us. We have a judge who has made a court ruling on this place, for changes to be made. But he won't enforce them here. So these people know they can do what they please. What is this world coming to, when our judges refuse to uphold the law. I am very sorry for taking up so much of your time. But it hurts me to keep it in. It should touch most people's hearts to know that the Atmore-Holman Brothers had that happen to them. And their families are really strong to hang in there, and I love them for that.

I don't know if it is against the paper's rules or not, but if not, I don't mind if you leave my address in your paper. Because maybe I'll be able to help some mother and father's son. I will be looking for your next paper.

Thank you,
Frank Jackson
M.S.U.C.
Parchman, Mississippi
38738

Reader Attacks Sexual Oppression

To the Torch:

I just read about a woman in Dallas (Ms. Risher) whose nine-year-old son Richard has been taken from her because of her sexual preference—she is a lesbian. Her ex-husband feels that his adopted child is being used as "a guinea pig of somebody's social experiment."

All the evidence was in her favor—yet the jury (10 men and two women) decided against her. Three psychologists testified that a child brought up in a homosexual environment was not more likely to become a homosexual than one raised in a heterosexual environment. (Granted, it should be irrelevant whether the child becomes hetero- or homosexual.) Also, Ms. Risher's psychiatrist testified the child didn't even know his mother was homosexual, and that changing custody would be harmful. Harmful, yes, especially since the child, himself, previously stated to a clinical psychologist (Dr. D. Dyers) that he wanted to stay with his mother.

So what happens? A child is taken from his mother—against both their

wills. Why? Because someone decides the child is a "guinea pig" and that he should be raised in a "fine Christian family atmosphere."

Once again, capitalist "democracy" triumphs. The child is denied his wish to remain with his mother. The mother is denied her wish to remain with her child. But the man's "right" to use the courts to step on the wishes of two people is upheld. This man was able to go to court and win a case that has absolutely no credibility with any decent person. He was able to win a case with only the fact that Ms. Risher's sexual preference is different than the capitalist "norm."

With each and every case like this it only makes it clearer that only when we have socialism will people be treated with dignity, their preferences accepted, and their wishes respected. And only through each and every fight for this dignity and respect will socialism be won.

For world revolution,
M.E.
Chicago

LEAGUE FORUMS

DETROIT

Angola: The Struggle
Against U.S. Imperialism

Chris Hudson, Central Committee
Sunday, February 22 7:00 P.M.

Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward Avenue (at Buena
Vista), Highland Park

CHICAGO

China's Foreign Policy

Sunday, February 29
3:00 P.M.
160 North Halsted

Books from Haymarket Writings of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and more

Bernstein, <i>The Lean Years</i>	\$2.95
<i>The Bolsheviks and the October Revolution: CC Minutes of the RSDLP [Bolsheviks] August 1917-February 1918</i>	\$7.00
Brody, <i>Steelworkers in America</i>	\$2.25
Cliff, <i>State Capitalism in Russia</i>	\$2.50
Dobbs, <i>Teamster Politics</i>	\$2.95
Dubois, <i>Black Reconstruction in America</i>	\$4.95
Isaacs, <i>Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution</i>	\$3.75
James, <i>Black Jacobins</i>	\$1.95
Lauritsen, Thorstad, <i>Early Homosexual Rights Movement</i>	\$2.75
Malcolm X, <i>Autobiography</i>	\$1.95
Malcolm X, <i>By Any Means Necessary</i>	\$1.95
<i>Platform of the Joint Opposition</i>	\$2.75
Preis, <i>Labor's Giant Step</i>	\$3.95
Record, <i>The Negro and the Communist Party</i>	\$3.45
Spero, Harris, <i>The Black Worker</i>	\$4.45
Trotsky, <i>Challenge of the Left Opposition, 1923-25</i> includes: <i>New Course, Lessons of October, Whither Russia</i>	\$3.95
Trotsky, <i>The Revolution Betrayed</i>	\$2.95
Trotsky, <i>Problems of the Chinese Revolution</i>	\$3.25

Haymarket Books, Box 8062, Chicago, 60680

Title	Quantity	Price
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
		Total _____

Name: _____
Address: _____

Please send me a free complete Haymarket Catalogue

right-wing violence
workers and socialists
g to defend against
arming the masses.
has banned all
emonstrations. This
hugs and police who
it may cripple those
and Manley.

masses must defend
right-wing coup that
own rights, but they
a by revolutionary
ust be no political
pitalist program. In
volutionary Marxist
its leaflets and its
ist Weekly, is agita-
g of the workers to
oup. In the United
oup plans must be
sted before they are
while there is still

President Truman
Robeson not to leave
enalty of fines and
1950, the State
ed Robeson's pass-
his international
rd because "he has
ative politically in
ence of the colonial

s not returned until
Robeson's income
0,000 to \$6,000 a
denied bookings
olitical views and
feared right-wing
ert he planned to
N.Y., in 1949 was
ugs supported by
it).

disowned his state-
ws, he could have
his income and
made a few token
passport back, he
ork in Europe. But
in the reactionary
(and since) he did
to become a
s for Congressional
FBI. As a result,
ed to keep a whole
nt of the great
ments of Paul

orts, Paul Robeson
ten.

ry Socialist League
Company

y
Susan Edmunds

subscriptions to:
Torch

Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036

Canada, Mexico):
\$1.00
\$3.00
\$5.00

(\$4.50
sealed) \$10.00

Send out to the Torch

Spain...

Continued from page 1

and all of Catalonia in the northeast. The question is not—will the present regime last—but when and how it will fall and what will replace it.

There are two fundamental roads ahead for the Spanish proletariat: liberty through taking the reigns of state power in its own hands, or further subjugation under a new dictatorship. No stable and democratic parliamentary form of capitalist rule is possible in Spain short of the full-scale recovery and prolonged expansion of capitalism throughout all of Europe. The class battles of the months ahead will be schools of revolutionary politics for the Spanish working class. The fundamental question—which class will hold power—will be decided in the crucible of struggle.

The working class knows what it wants: an end to dictatorship; political rights; a secure standard of living and a solution to unemployment and inflation. But most do not yet know that to secure these basic gains the Spanish bourgeoisie and the rule of capital must be overthrown. Today, this is recognized by only a thin layer of advanced workers. The broad masses are just beginning to go through the concrete experiences that can show the road they must travel. And no party exists that can point out to the masses the detours and traps that lie ahead. But the stage is set in Spain for the building of a revolutionary party which can lead the Spanish working class to a victorious socialist revolution.

The central task today is to smash the regime's campaign of repression. The new dictators seek to combine repression with stabilization in order to move from naked dictatorship to an authoritarianism cloaked by semi-parliamentary trappings. But the explosive mass struggle threatens to destroy this strategy. The bourgeoisie wants "liberalization," but its fear of the working class holds it back.

Spanish workers must seize the momentum they have already gained. The strike movement must be unified. Armed defense guards must be formed to prepare for the inevitable attacks of the fascist police. Broad democratic demands must be brought to the fore to unite the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. The call for the immediate convocation of a democratically elected constituent assembly, based on freedom for all anti-fascist parties is crucial. These steps can defeat the repression; they can also be turned into an offensive campaign to crush the fascists.

CP PREPARES POP FRONT

As pressure mounts, the bourgeoisie will look for an alternative to the fascists as a prop for its rule. The most likely alternative is one or another variety of popular front government—a coalition of bourgeois



(Above, top) Basque militiamen in Spanish Civil War. (Above) Basque nationalists hold press conference. Spanish revolutionaries must champion democratic demands including call for a revolutionary constituent assembly and right of self-determination.



Spanish Communist Party leader Carrillo with Jack Woddie of British Communist Party. Stalinists betrayed Spanish working class in 1930s and are preparing to do so again.

and working class parties designed to mask the class character of capitalist rule.

The main forces advocating popular front betrayal are represented by the Spanish Communist Party-controlled "Democratic Junta." The CIA-funded, social-democratic Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) has a rival front but is forced to collaborate

with the PCE for the moment because of the intensive repression.

While the PCE has built the recent strike wave, it has systematically avoided calling for a coordinated general strike to bring down the regime. The PCE fears that such a movement would go beyond its control, sweeping aside those who have prevented the working class from raising anything but limited reform demands. Instead, the PCE is following a strategy designed to make the popular front unavoidable for the bourgeoisie, thereby ensuring an influential role in the government for itself. Thus the PCE uses the enormous power of the masses in carefully measured doses with the sole aim of winning influence within the bourgeois state.

The dangers of the popular front are great. In a popular front government, although the bourgeoisie continues to rule, all the problems of declining capitalism are blamed on the working class. In this way the bourgeoisie tries to demoralize the workers, turn the

other classes against them and bide its time for a counter-attack.

The popular front policy of the Communist Party paved the way for the working class defeats in Spain in the 1930s and in Chile under Allende. It is the line that has created the dangerous situation in Portugal today—though the Portuguese proletariat may yet triumph.

This class-collaborationist strategy must be exposed. The masses must be won to a policy of class against class. For this, a revolutionary party must be built, a party that calls for arming the workers and peasants and for forming soviets—workers' councils—as the basis for seizing power and as future organs of the workers' dictatorship.

ORGANIZE WORKERS' COUNCILS!

The possibility of creating soviets already exists in the Workers' Commissions. These must be organized and expanded in every factory, shop, bank and commercial enterprise. Alongside them, peasants' and soldiers' committees must be formed. At the same time the revolutionary workers must win the Workers' Commissions and the proletariat as a whole from the leadership of the PCE and PSOE. They must demand that the PCE and PSOE break their ties with bourgeois and monarchist parties, forming instead a workers' united front.

Revolutionary workers must take leadership of the Workers' Commissions and show the road out of the crisis of Spanish capitalism. The Workers' Commissions must call for and begin to implement measures to defend the country against the economic sabotage the bourgeoisie will attempt as its power slips, and measures designed to reorganize the economy and society in the interest of the workers and oppressed masses.

At the same time, revolutionaries must learn from the mistakes of the left-centrist forces in Portugal. To win the confidence of the broad mass of the workers and the popular masses, a revolutionary party must not bypass the democratic goals which today are foremost in the consciousness of the masses. It must advance and fight for a series of radical democratic demands: for a revolutionary constituent assembly, for agrarian reform, for the right of the Basques (Euzkadi) to immediately choose between separation or continued union with Spain and for autonomy for Catalonia.

Finally, the revolutionary workers must show the masses a revolutionary strategy to fight for these democratic gains and go beyond them. The most immediate weapon is that of the general strike. However, the Spanish bourgeoisie has already lost the hesitations of the first post-Franco days. It is now prepared to use troops to attack strikes and demonstrations. The centrist tendencies in Spain, which call for the general strike without calling for workers' defense guards, are to this degree betraying the proletariat. Immediate formation of workers' defense guards for all strikes and demonstrations! Agitate in the ranks of the armed forces to win the troops over! Smash the Guardia Civil (security police)! Form a workers' militia!

Only by winning the advanced workers away from the PCE through united front tactics, only by leading the proletariat and the masses of the people in the fight for democratic aims on a program of class against class, can a revolutionary party be built in Spain. The present period of expanding struggle and mobilization of the masses will offer the opportunity to build such a party. It must be utilized in order to lead the Spanish workers to victory.

— READ THE TORCH —

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

- 6 issues (introductory), \$1.00
- 12 issues (1 year), \$3.00
- Supporting, \$5.00

Send to: RSL, P.O. Box 562, New York, N.Y. 10036

Name: _____

Address: _____



Apoyo la Postal y

Cap

Continua de el movimiento podido unirse sólo animaría sobre todos unidad lograda huelga de Ca para combati

La prueba cuando se llama para la huelga ir en huelga que del comité y sección sindical fueran, pasos hacia unir a contra la burguesía mente import año mayor resumen en e. (Antorcha) y preparando s sindicatos más los más débil

LOS OBREROS EN I

La huelga procedimiento se organizan. políticamente punto que p. burguesía. La obrera y el revolucionaria. noche a la m. porque llamar cionarios. Es que se puede pasos hacia la conciencia política miento de la b. es doblemente como hoy día es muy fragm. Es esencial juntan en esas para luchar con burócratas y organizacional. En este com podrán atraer revolucionario.

Los obreros taron con bur compañía resu del gobierno. (h mandato del t. piquetes, ame etc.). Luchas ponen al descubi el brazo de los claro la neces genuino de la obrero, y de lide los sindicatos.

A medida huelga y el tra huelga, se ponía