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South African Masses Rise Against Racist Rulers

By Chris Hudson

The greatest wave of mass revolt in South Africa's bloody history began on June 16 in Soweto, largest of South Africa's segregated Black townships. The rebellion quickly spread beyond Soweto as thousands of South African Blacks rose up against apartheid—the system of white supremacy that denies Black Africans all rights.

Armed with bricks, bottles, knives and torches, Soweto's Blacks battled well-armed white police for three days. Before murderous gunfire finally suppressed the uprising, it had spread to 10 other Black townships. Two government officials had been killed, trains and buses had been overturned and dozens of government buildings had been burned, including the headquarters of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, the hated government agency which rules Soweto.

On June 21 revolts flared up in the segregated townships around Pretoria, the South African capital. By the time this second wave of Black revolt ended, the total death count stood at 176, with over 1,000 injured. (This is the official count—the true figures are undoubtedly much higher.) All but two of the dead were Black.

During and after the rebellion thousands were arrested—the official figures list 1,298. Those arrested were not only rioters, but many of the leaders of South Africa's few remaining legal Black opposition groups, such as the Black People's Convention. Torture and death face them unless an inter-

national campaign is built in their defense.

The uprising grew out of a month-long series of student protests which began at the Phefeni Junior Secondary School in Soweto and eventually spread to seven schools. The students were protesting the compulsory use of Afrikaans (the language of the white rulers, which is derived from Dutch) in their schools.

Most South African Blacks speak English, as well as one or more African languages. Afrikaans is the native language of only 10 percent of South Africa's people. The 10 percent are the Afrikaner rulers.

The student demands were dismissed by the Deputy Minister for "Bantu" (African) Education, Andries Treurnicht, who claimed: "The government builds the schools, gives subsidies and pays the teachers. It is certainly our right to determine the language of instruction."

Treurnicht might as well have gone on to state that it is his government's "right" to determine everything, since this is the real viewpoint of the racist white minority government. Under the system of apartheid, South Africa's ruling white racists deny nearly 20 million Blacks all political rights. While Blacks suffer daily the countless brutalities and indignities of the apartheid system, the white rulers are now slaughtering them in the streets to enforce a decree which states that Black Africans must use the language of the oppressor in their segregated schools! The racist arrogance of the Vorster regime was well-answered

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Militancy Grows in URW Strike

By Sandy Young

On June 19, 250 striking rubber workers set up a picket line at the Akron General Tire plant. Thirteen hundred General Tire workers refused to cross the line, shutting down the plant. Days later, Akron General Tire militants fought in their union local for a motion to immediately join the three-month-old national rubber strike against Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and Uniroyal (the "Big Four"). The motion failed but, according to left-wing newspaper The Worker, Akron militants are continuing an active campaign for a General Tire walkout over the opposition of union officials.

These strike developments show that the United Rubber Workers (URW) membership has a growing awareness that they must fight not only the companies, but also the conservatism of their own union officials in order to win this strike.

The situation at General Tire is a graphic example of the need for rank and file organization and control. General Tire, like a number of other rubber firms (including some Big Four plants), is not covered by the master contract which expired April 20 and led to the walkout of 70,000 rubber workers. The contract at General Tire, a company which normally provides 12 percent of the auto industry's tires, expired on May 15. Ninety-seven percent of General's URW member-

ship had voted to join the strike. But as the strike deadline neared, union officials announced that an interim agreement had been signed and that the walkout was cancelled.

The General Tire agreement seriously undercut the national strike. Deals like this with the smaller tire makers, plus production at non-unionized plants and some scab production at struck plants, have meant that 40 percent of the nation's tire production is being maintained, cutting the strike's effectiveness almost in half.

Shutting down General Tire would turn this situation around. Current tire production would be greatly reduced. Strike organization at other non-struck rubber firms would get a boost. And the rank and file would gain a big victory over the union officials.

The battle against the URW leadership has in many ways become the most significant aspect of the rubber strike. From the beginning, URW President Peter Bommarito has tried

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Part of demonstration by 2,000 militant rubber workers in Akron, Ohio.

The Livernois Five Are Free!—see p.8

Mass Protests Rock Poland; Government Price Hikes Halted

Workers in Poland have stopped a government attempt to impose sharp increases in food prices. On June 25, workers in the city of Radom seized factories, emptied government food stores, tore up railway tracks and stopped the Paris-Warsaw express. Demonstrators burned down Radom's Communist Party (CP) headquarters. A series of strikes crippled much of Polish industry. This outbreak of protest forced Communist Party Secretary Edward Gierek to withdraw the price hikes that his government had just announced the previous day.

Gierek reversed his decision so quickly because he remembers the past. Food prices have been frozen in Poland for over five years; the last attempt to raise them was in Decem-

ber 1970. The 1970 decision sparked a huge wave of strikes and demonstrations led by the workers of Gdansk and Szczecin and ended in the toppling of then-Party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka. The Party was forced to abandon the food price hikes, and the fear of further working class explosions has kept prices stable ever since.

Deepening economic problems forced the Polish government to risk a new attempt at price hikes. Poland's economic difficulties stem from two key sources. First, the latest Russian harvest, the lowest in several decades, forced Russia to import large quantities of grain from the West (nearly 20 million tons this year to date). To pay for grain imports—the USSR is running a \$5 billion trade deficit—Moscow

is putting the squeeze on its Eastern European allies. Russia has sought to use its oil to accomplish this. Taking advantage of the worldwide rise in oil prices, Russia has steeply increased the price of oil exports to its neighbors over the past few years. The Eastern European states must find a way to come up with the extra amount of money needed to purchase oil.

The second source of Poland's economic difficulties is its need to import technology from the West. Russia and all the Eastern European countries are dependent upon Western technology to modernize their plant and equipment. Inflation in the West has boosted the price of all commodities and has not spared machinery and technology in general. The higher costs of such imports means additional strains on the Russian, Polish and Eastern European economies to pay for them.

Throughout the Soviet bloc, workers are being asked to shoulder the brunt of these burdens. In Russia, loaves of bread have been cut in size but sold at the same price. Thursdays have been officially declared "meatless days" and food rationing is reported in some areas. In Poland the regime resorted to increasing food prices—doubling the price of sugar, increasing the price of meat by 69 percent and cheese by 30 percent. Hungary still plans to increase meat prices 35 percent in early July, while Czechoslovakia plans to increase prices next year.

The events in Poland contain a central lesson. The so-called workers' states like Poland, Russia and China are nothing of the kind. The Polish workers do not run Poland. The main



Brezhnev, Gierek at Polish CP Congress.

difference between Poland and the Western capitalist states is that the Polish ruling class owns all property collectively through its control of the state whereas, in the West, property is held apart from the state (mainly by a handful of large corporations).

But the key question is not whether the state owns all property, but whose state is it? In Eastern Europe and Russia, as in China and Cuba, the attacks on the workers show that the state, and therefore property and factories, is not controlled by the workers in any way. The state and the nationalized property are controlled by the class of government leaders, Party officials, plant managers and other top bureaucrats who monopolize political life. Poland, like Russia and China, is a state capitalist society.

The motive force of state capitalism, like monopoly capitalism, is the production of surplus value. The workers are paid what is necessary to maintain themselves, while the rest is appropriated by the capitalists. This gives rise to a class struggle between the capi-

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Looters ransacking store in Gdansk during 1970 Polish riots over price rises.

Jamaican Capitalists Plot Right-Wing Coup; CIA Involved

For the last eight months the island of Jamaica has been rocked by a Chile-style "destabilization" campaign. Jamaican rightists are attempting to create an atmosphere of chaos and instability to set the stage for a reactionary coup. The campaign—most likely directed by the CIA—is aimed at toppling the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley. Manley, in the view of the U.S. government, has been "unfriendly" to U.S. imperialist interests and, in the view of Jamaica's big capitalists, he has been incapable of keeping the Jamaican working class in check.

The rightists have engaged in increasingly violent attacks on left-wing and working class youth. The poverty-stricken districts of Kingston (Jamaica's capital), such as Denham Town, Jones Town, Trench Town and Central Village, are virtual war zones. The most recent wave of attacks reached a climax in May when eight children and two adults died in an arson attack on a low-income housing row in Kingston's Orange Street.

In response to the right-wing attacks, Manley last month declared a state of emergency. As of June 29, 66 persons had been detained—including Senator Parnell Charles, Deputy Leader of the right-wing Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). Despite its name, the JLP is the party of the biggest Jamaican capitalists and landlords, those most tied to British and U.S. imperialism.

The Jamaican economy is domi-

nated by a few huge imperialist firms. Absentee landlords keep vast croplands uncultivated. Unemployment is over 22 percent even by the deceptive official figures and over 50 percent in the working class districts of Kingston. Inflation has sparked a giant wave of strikes in every industry. The government's anti-strike law and its \$10 a week limit on wage increases

have been all but smashed by militant workers who have ignored the decisions of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal and held out for special settlements. Youth, inside and outside Manley's People's National Party (PNP), are becoming increasingly radicalized as Jamaican capitalism continues to rot.

To keep his mass support and to get

some control over the economy, Manley has had to enact reforms. He raised the royalty Jamaica charges for the bauxite it produces for Reynolds, Kaiser and other foreign-owned aluminum firms. He passed a meager \$20 a week minimum wage, launched welfare schemes and increased taxes on businesses and higher incomes. It is

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Street scene in Kingston, Jamaica, 1976.

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Fitzsimmons Tells IBT Ranks: "Go to Hell"

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) held its first national convention in five years on June 14-18 in Las Vegas. The convention was a victory rally for Frank Fitzsimmons. His nearly unanimous re-election to the IBT presidency for the next five years consolidated his power over the two million member union following last year's disappearance of former IBT head Jimmy Hoffa.

At the convention, Fitzsimmons went on the attack. However, his fire was directed not at the trucking companies or the U.S. government, but at dissidents within the IBT ranks. He opened the convention threatening: "To those who say it is time to reform this organization and it's time the officers stopped selling out the members of this organization, I say to them 'Go to Hell.'" This was Fitzsimmons' central message to the Teamster rank and file. He was specifically addressing himself to two reform groups within the IBT: PROD (Professional Drivers Council) and TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union, formerly Teamsters for a Decent Contract—TDC). Fitzsimmons characterized PROD as a Communist group that he would "never let infiltrate this union."

Red-baiting attacks of this sort were combined with strong-arm tactics on and off the convention floor. IBT leaders permitted absolutely no discussion of any of the crucial concerns of Teamsters—unemployment, inflation, lack of job security and part-time work. Fitzsimmons' iron control over the convention was demonstrated when Pete Camarata, TDU member and delegate from Detroit Local 299, couldn't even get a second for his motion to distribute the convention rules for delegates to read before they were voted on. Later, the message to Camarata was made clearer when he was beaten up outside a cocktail party. Fitzsimmons is determined to crush all opposition in the union before it gets a chance to grow.

Unfortunately, PROD and TDU are not the revolutionary oppositions that



Teamster opposition caucus pickets outside IBT convention.

Fitzsimmons tries to paint them. The larger of the two groups, PROD, claims 2,000 members. It is a Washington-based offshoot of Ralph Nader's "Raiders." These legal-oriented reformers want to replace the corrupt and reactionary Fitzsimmons with a more liberal-minded, pro-Democratic Party type like Leonard Woodcock of the UAW. Formed in 1972, PROD recently issued a 177-page report documenting abuses of power and lack of democracy in the IBT. The PROD report pointed to abuses like the 17 IBT officials who made over \$100,000 in salaries in 1974 and the union's \$13 million private air force which is bigger than any except General Motors'.

PROD's strategy of relying on the courts and the Justice Department to reform the Teamsters Union is worse than a dead end. When the capitalist government comes into a union, it is not to "clean it up" but to tear it apart, as the Teamster ranks learned in the McClellan Committee investigations in the late 1950s. Teamster leaders were thrown in jail, the union was weakened—but corruption and bureaucratic control remained.

The TDU-TDC had more potential as a vehicle of rank and file struggle when it was formed last year. It won support from hundreds of militants by promising to organize a fight around

this year's Master Freight Agreement, which expired last April. But TDC-TDU didn't lead a serious contract fight and lost much of its active support. It is now concentrating its activities in Detroit Local 299, controlled by Hoffa forces and the center of what remains of the old Hoffa machine. TDU tails behind the Hoffa-ites, trying to establish itself in the role of left-advisers. This strategy can only lead to one of two outcomes. The TDU forces may be swallowed up by the bureaucrats altogether, as has happened with countless would-be reformers in the past. Or, the TDU forces may be cast aside as nothing but a liability when the Hoffa-ites consolidate their position or decide to make a new deal with Fitzsimmons. Either way, the TDU's decision to seek short-term "influence" instead of patiently building a class conscious rank and file movement spells its

death as a vehicle for serious rank and file struggle.

Camarata's one fight at the convention illustrates how meaningless the current TDU strategy is. Taking the floor on the issue of a proposed 25 percent raise in the union officers' salaries (Fitzsimmons was making \$125,000 per year), Camarata proposed an amendment that would limit Fitzsimmons' salary to \$100,000 a year. Big deal!

While the rank and file was shut out of any participation in the convention, the union heads invited a lengthy list of its friends to pay their respects. Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, who just a day earlier had been busting Blacks in Chicago for resisting Nazi attacks, was introduced as "a great friend of the Teamsters' Union." But Daley was upstaged by the appearance of Labor Secretary W. J. Usery—the government's chief strikebreaker. Fitzsimmons extended Usery a warm welcome. Usery returned this good cheer, stating: "The Teamsters are doing an outstanding job in representing their members... I belong to this club because I believe in it."

Fitzsimmons used the IBT convention to identify his friends and his enemies. Fitzsimmons' main enemy is the IBT rank and file. But Usery and Daley are welcome members of the Fitzsimmons club, and Fitz is every bit as much a member in good standing of theirs. In fact, it is one big club formed by the government, the bosses and the bureaucrats and it has but one membership clause: Keep the working class down. □

Racism Hit at J.P. Stevens Co.



On June 29, a Federal judge cited the giant J. P. Stevens Co. for its racial discrimination at the Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, plant. Stevens was ordered to halt its practice of systematically denying employment opportunity, job upgrading and equal recall rights to Black workers. The workers who filed the suit proved that Black workers with 10 years' seniority make less than white workers with two years' seniority. Blacks make up a large section of the workforce at the large Roanoke complex.

As last month's Torch explained, Stevens is one of the most anti-union, anti-Black employers in the country. It is now the target of a major organizing drive by the newly-formed Amal-

gamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Stevens has repeatedly been cited for unfair labor practices but has always blatantly ignored the decisions. The company's only comment on this latest ruling was that it "has already set up affirmative action programs."

While the court ruling is a victory for workers who have waged an 11-year struggle to unionize the Stevens Co., it will mean little unless it is backed by militant mass action. With a newly-merged union and the recent publicity the Stevens workers' cause has received in the labor movement, the ranks are in a better position than ever to build a union at Stevens and force an end to the company's racial discrimination. □

Carhauleders Reject National Pact

While Frank Fitzsimmons was flexing his muscles at the IBT national convention, 20,000 members of the carhauleders' division prepared to explode Fitz's claim that only a handful of Teamsters oppose his reactionary leadership. A week after the Las Vegas convention, the carhauleders voted to reject their proposed national contract.

The carhauleders, who deliver cars from the factories to the retailers, have the only national contract in the IBT other than the Master Freight Agreement. The contract rejection is an example and inspiration to the rest of the Teamster ranks who are struggling against the combined stranglehold of the freight companies and the Fitzsimmons leadership.

Leading up to the contract rejection, militant carhauleders attempted to organize wildcat strikes after contract terms were announced that worsened working conditions. On June 1, 400 drivers from Cincinnati's Local 100 struck. A two-week walkout of 600 drivers from Flint, Michigan, Local 332 followed. To break the wildcat movement, the International officers placed the Flint local in trusteeship, while the courts issued a back-to-work order which finally broke the strike. These actions undercut a wildcat effort in Detroit's Local 299. A walkout planned at the five major transport companies was derailed when Local 299 President Dave Johnson threatened that the walkout would destroy the local. Only the workers at Auto Transport Inc. went out for two days.

But the contract rejection gives new life to the carhauleders' struggle. Negotiations have been resumed. Carhauleders still face an uphill battle since their union leadership lines up with the companies. Isolated wildcats will not be enough. A network of militant strike committees which can plan nationally-coordinated actions and organize support from the IBT ranks is needed. A victory for the carhauleders could be a start in building the opposition movement in the IBT needed to dump Fitzsimmons and his gang once and for all. □

Polish CP Congress.

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Auto Plant Conditions Worsen

Ranks Angry As Contract Nears

By Tom Brewer

DETROIT—The UAW and the corporations are checking their statistics and polishing their verbal swords in preparation for the July 19 opening of the auto contract talks. Seven-hundred thousand auto workers in the U.S. and Canada are keeping a watchful eye on the negotiations that will affect their working and living conditions for the next three years.

From the GM building downtown, the Dearborn Ford Glass House and Highland Park Chrysler headquarters, the view is rosy. Sales are up 150 percent from last year and profits are soaring. GM cleared \$800 million in the first quarter of 1976 alone. The corporations shifted the major costs of the recent auto depression onto the backs of the workforce. The September contract is their big question mark—will they be able to keep productivity increases ahead of wage and benefit concessions?

From the UAW's Solidarity House, the view is complacent. President Woodcock is looking ahead to a possible cabinet post with Jimmy Carter. The last thing he wants is a serious and militant strike. The union leadership believes that the memory of the long 1974-75 layoffs will make auto workers hesitant to strike. It hopes that big paychecks (due to summer overtime and recent cost-of-living increases) will defuse militancy.

Thus, the UAW leadership doesn't believe it will be forced to wage much of a fight this year. Union officials have said they will make the fight for a shorter work week a major issue, but so far the only concrete proposal is the "bonus hours plan." This plan ties time off to perfect attendance. It is aimed at combatting absenteeism far more than shortening the work week.

Woodcock justifies his failure to fight by saying he wants to "plant some small seeds" in order to "get a foot in the door." But the auto

companies are out to prevent another recession by increasing the exploitation of the workforce. Woodcock's "small seeds" will never sprout. Concessions will be won through militant struggle today, not through pie-in-the-sky hopes that the door will be opened wider in the future.

The view from inside the plants gives the lie to the whole Solidarity House approach. Questions of wages and benefits are being pushed into second place by rapidly deteriorating working conditions. The key word is speedup, with increasing harassment to enforce the brutal work pace. Plant after plant reports increases in line speed of five, 10 or 15 cars per hour.

GM production is up 63 percent over last year, but the workforce has grown by only 16 percent. A job that was once exhausting has now become intolerable. The corporations are going into model changeover this month—traditionally a time to add a few operations to each job. The speedup will be worse in the fall.

Increased line speed is bad enough for 40 hours, but most Detroit plants are working a 45- to 54-hour week—only months after recall from layoff. Unemployment one month, overtime the next—this will increasingly become the pattern for auto workers. Yet while those auto workers with jobs



Over 2,000 job seekers lined up at GM in Pontiac, Michigan, when new hiring was rumored.

face backbreaking overtime, more than 50,000 auto workers throughout the country are still unemployed. In Detroit, many auto workers have been recalled. Some new hiring has taken place through unemployment offices. A crowd of young Blacks was drawn to the Woodward Avenue unemployment office in May by the rumor of hiring at Chrysler. The clerk had to explain that there were jobs, but only for college students wanting 89-day employment.

With newspapers headlining the "recovery," a rumor of jobs in Pontiac GM brought 2,400 out at dawn. While those with seniority are back in the plants, their sons and daughters are becoming hard-core unemployed. In this "boom" period for auto, half the Black youth in the city of Detroit are out of work.

The ranks are angry over conditions in the plants, but they don't believe the union leadership will fight for any serious improvements. The union officials' passivity has made the ranks cynical about relating to the union at all. Only 1 or 2 percent of the workforce attends union meetings. Many locals cancelled summer meetings without objection. When Local 735, GM Hydramatic plant, called a special meeting to discuss the contract, fewer than 50 workers attended.

Much of the workers' anger is coming out in individual and isolated actions. Absenteeism is skyrocketing. Recently in a Chevy plant, a worker being harassed by a particularly unpopular foreman for being "in the hole" (behind on his job) responded with a well-aimed throw of a hammer, which some workers on the line were going to have bronzed.

Organizing has begun on a department or plant-wide basis against the attacks. When Chrysler recently sped up tank workers by one-third and launched a campaign of harassment and disciplinary actions, militants responded by taking steps to launch a plant-wide newspaper to publicize the attacks. At the same time, workers in several job classifications began fighting for job upgrading and women in the plant began filing discrimination grievances.

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Rubber Strike . . .

(Continued from page 1)

to limit the strike and appease the bosses. At every step, Bommarito has fought the companies only when forced to by an angry rank and file. Only mass pressure from the membership forced him to strike the Big Four tire makers in the first place. But he took no action to prevent stockpiling prior to the strike. He spread illusions about the effectiveness of the consumer boycott of Firestone, which by itself will never win the strike.

It was rank and file militancy which forced the union leadership to call the union's first Special Convention in Chicago on May 25. That convention was supposed to take up the question of how to build the depleted strike fund. It could have been a major strategy meeting for building the strike. But Bommarito turned the convention into a pep rally and prevented any positive steps from being taken. He even turned down a loan offer from the UAW. Needless to say, Bommarito has done nothing to build active support for the strike in the labor movement.

The determination of the strikers, and the threat of the strike spreading,

has forced the companies to retreat for the first time since the walkout began. On July 6, management announced it had increased its wage offer from a \$1.15 per hour increase to \$1.30 and had replaced a refusal to provide a cost of living allowance (COLA) with an offer of COLA in the second and third years of the contract. This new offer still falls far short of what rubber workers lost over the last three years. But it does show that management's position is weakening.

There are factors in addition to rank and file militancy behind the companies' concessions. The government wants the strike settled because it interferes with ruling class plans for economic recovery and labor peace in this election year. The auto companies want the strike settled soon before it threatens tire supplies needed for the new model changes which begin in September. These pressures have put added heat on the rubber companies to reach a compromise settlement.

Bommarito would be quite happy to accept this offer. He never had any intention of leading a full-scale fight for rubber workers' needs in the first place. But he is trapped. Right now, he doesn't think he can get the ranks

to buy this meager settlement. Bommarito rejected this offer, but in all likelihood only to maneuver to get a slightly better settlement approved by the membership at a later date. He hopes a few more weeks without strike benefits will demoralize and pacify an angry rank and file.

Rubber workers have shown militancy throughout the strike. On June 18, 1,500 strikers and supporters marched through Akron to show their strength and publicize their demands. Despite court injunctions and the opposition of union officials, strikers have set up mass pickets at a number of locations. They have faced arrests and firings in their determination to prevent scabbing. If this militancy can be organized and spread, Bommarito's sellout can be stopped.

The strike is growing. Five Armstrong Rubber Co. plants were struck after contracts expired on July 1. General Tire in Wabash, Indiana, has been struck, as well as an Ohio Mansfield Tire plant. These actions add 7,000 workers to the strikers' ranks. And in an important display of international solidarity, rubber workers in Peru called a 48-hour strike in sympathy with their brothers and sisters in the U.S.

But militancy by itself will not be enough to win the strike. The strength of the rank and file must be organized, both locally and nationally. URW

militants can begin by organizing rank and file strike committees and working to build them into a national network capable of coordinating a militant strike. The strike committees could organize many more large-scale actions like the Akron march. Mass picketing, parades, rallies and demonstrations could be organized to publicize the strikers' cause and help create unity and strength.

Strike committees could take on the crucial task of building labor movement support. With auto company supplies large enough to last until September, the URW's strategy must be to organize sympathy walkouts and refusals by UAW locals to handle struck tires. The best elements in the UAW are already sympathetic to this strategy. They know a defeat for the URW will greatly weaken their own position in the upcoming auto contract. There is widespread support for the rubber workers throughout labor's ranks. Strong appeals for funds, mass demonstrations and sympathy walkouts must be issued to the entire labor movement.

If rubber workers can turn back the bosses' wage-cutting and speedup plans, they will have won a victory which can spread throughout the labor movement. Auto workers in particular, with contracts expiring in September, have much at stake in the rubber strike. □

District 1199 Strikes New York Hospitals

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NEW YORK CITY, July 11—The largest hospital strike in the country's history is underway in this city. On July 7, 30,000 members of District 1199 struck 34 non-profit, private hospitals. On July 10, the walkout was extended to 14 nursing homes and 10 municipal (city-owned) hospitals. This strike is the first serious fight by a New York City union against the capitalists' drive to "solve" the city's financial crisis through 18 months of service cutbacks, layoffs, speedup and a wage freeze on all city workers.

Management is working hard to break the strike. The League of Voluntary Hospitals is refusing to negotiate with 1199. Thousands of scabs are being brought into the hospitals. Hospital administrators announce the imminence of patient deaths daily in order to whip up public sentiment against the strikers.

The decision to extend the strike to 10 municipal hospitals creates an opening for building a citywide hospital strike through joint strike action between 1199 and District 37 (AFSCME). The overwhelming majority of workers at the 10 municipal hospitals are members of DC 37, as are workers at all other city-owned hospitals. DC 37 leaders negotiated a new contract on July 1 which accepted a wage freeze, productivity drive (speedup) and further layoffs. Now

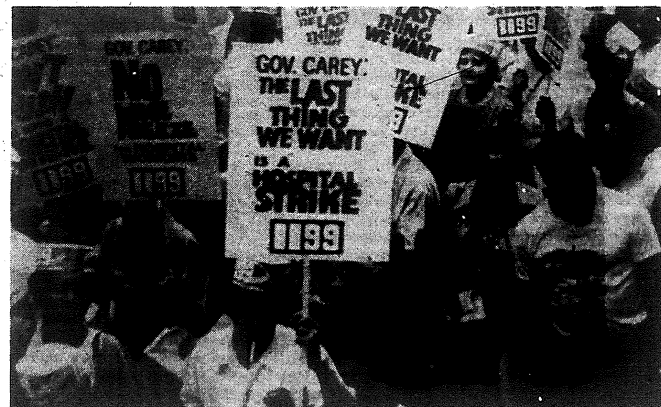
there is an opportunity to reverse this defeat. If DC 37 honors the 1199 picket lines at the 10 struck city hospitals the first step will have been taken.

However, latest reports indicate that DC 37's leadership plans to order its members to cross the 1199 picket lines. Militants in both unions must fight this latest DC 37 betrayal by demanding a complete shut-down of all New York City hospitals and an honoring of picket lines by all of New York City labor.

New York City workers must build a fighting solidarity. Militants must use the 1199 strike as an opportunity to press with renewed vigor the demand for a citywide general strike to stop the attacks.

Below, we reprint a leaflet issued on the third day of the strike by the Revolutionary Hospital Workers Committee, a militant group active in 1199.

The hospital bosses are out for blood—our blood. The League of Voluntary Hospitals has refused to bargain with our union. Their offer: no wage increase, no COLA (cost of living allowance), and a "productivity board" which will mean large-scale layoffs and the gradual eating away of benefits for those who still have jobs. The League is trying to break the



Hospital workers demonstrate. Union leaders' pleas to Governor weaken strike's power.

strike to make our union powerless.

Instead of throwing all our forces into this fight for survival, our union leadership is throwing in the towel. Leon Davis told us we were on strike to "hold the line." His original acceptance of the fact-finding committee's proposal wouldn't even have done that—it accepted massive layoffs of our union members in advance. But now, he's backed down even further, saying he's willing to send everything into binding arbitration.

That would be a disaster. Binding arbitration would mean COLA only through layoffs, the piecemeal destruction of every gain in working conditions and benefits we ever won—the DC 37 settlement, or worse! We must say NO—we are on strike to hold the line on jobs, wages and inflation!

STOP THE SCABS!

THE SCABS MUST BE STOPPED! We are not going to move the League one inch unless we can shut down the hospitals. At Roosevelt Hospital, 600 "volunteer" scabs were brought in the first day of the strike. Not only "volunteers," but doctors and nurses must be kept out. No one should be allowed inside the hospital without permission from the union committee handling emergency cases.

Management has the upper hand on the picket line right now. Large numbers of police have been called in for strike-breaking duty. At all hospitals they have escorted scabs into the buildings. Several militants have been beaten by the police and 17 were arrested as of Thursday morning.

How do we prevent the police from bringing the scabs in? Numbers and militant picket lines are our chief weapons. We must mass hundreds of strikers in front of each entrance and form a human wall to stop the scabs. We must form roving bands of pickets to catch the police off balance. These bands can switch their position to different points around each hospital and keep the police guessing as to where our next big effort to stop the scabs is going to be. These bands can also quickly reinforce any part of our picket line that is being threatened and needs help. And we must go to the rest of the organized labor movement in this city and appeal for solidarity.

WE ARE THE UNION WE MUST BUILD THE STRIKE!

How is this to be done? The first thing to recognize is that militant rank-and-filers and delegates must take the organization of the picket lines into their own hands. The way in which the official union leadership has organized this strike has been a disaster. Nothing has worked out right since we walked out. Union officials have been telling people that Davis wants them to "cool it," and to place their faith in the negotiating committee instead of stopping the scabs.

But the negotiating committee does not have anyone to negotiate with. The League and the union are not even meeting anymore because the League won't bargain. This isn't the time to "cool it," it's the time to heat things up! □

Chicago Postal Workers Build Fight

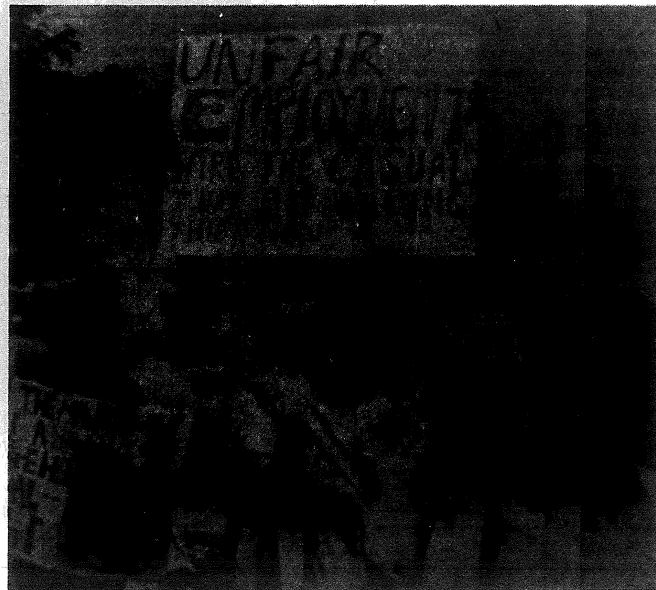
CHICAGO—Workers at the Main Post Office here have launched a fight for an all-regular workforce at the United States Postal Service (USPS). Subs (permanent postal employees without guaranteed hours) took the lead against the latest wave of attacks.

Starting time for many subs was moved back an hour for the second month in a row, disrupting home lives and the second jobs many subs must take to earn a decent living. A group of them met to plan a response. The subs issued a petition demanding that all postal workers be made full-time regular employees and guaranteed 40 hours' pay and a regular schedule. A demonstration was planned and the group decided to take the fight to their local American Postal Workers Union meeting that week.

At this meeting, a motion was raised for the local to sponsor a special meeting for all postal workers to take up the fight for an all-regular full-time workforce. The local's General President, Tommy Briscoe, immediately ruled the motion out of order and cut off those attempting to speak in its favor. As angry shouts from the rank and file filled the room, he adjourned the meeting.

Adjourning meetings when they "get out of control" is a trick that Briscoe, who openly boasts, "I am the dictator," often uses. But this time there were enough angry and organized rank and file members present to stop it from working. Supporters of the militant Postal Action Committee (PAC) denounced Briscoe's "Big Brother" tactics and urged everyone to stay and carry on the meeting without Briscoe.

Nearly everyone except Briscoe and his closest henchmen stayed and the meeting continued. The ranks adopted the earlier motion calling for a special meeting of all postal workers to build the fight for an all-regular workforce. Clerk Craft President Ernest Robinson, who had stayed at the meeting, agreed under this pressure to officially sponsor it. A rally was called at the



Main PO to build support for the struggle and bring more postal workers out for the special meeting.

This rally, held in darkness with rain continually threatening, lasted over two hours. Over 100 postal workers joined the march over the two-hour period. Hundreds more stopped to sign the petition for an all-regular workforce.

Nearly 50 postal workers, many of them regulars, came to the special meeting on Sunday, June 27. All tours and nearly every floor from the Main PO were represented. Several postal workers from outlying stations attended. A group of rank and filers met before the special meeting to plan what they wanted the meeting to accomplish. PAC supporters proposed that a network of representatives from every work location—regulars, subs and casuals of all crafts—be set up so that the ranks could carry out work actions. This proposal was accepted

by the group and adopted at the special meeting.

Today postal workers are divided. There are regulars, subs and casuals, three crafts and three separate unions. The shop floor network now being organized at the Chicago Main can bring all of its 18,000 workers together as a fighting force. An organization like this can plan demonstrations and job actions against cuts in subs' hours and the accompanying speedup of the regular workforce. And it can help to build the consciousness and organization needed to use the workers' main weapon—the strike—to stop management's attacks.

The type of struggle now underway at the Chicago Main PO should be used as a model by militant postal workers elsewhere. The fight in Chicago must become part of a national struggle to beat back the USPS attacks and to establish an all-regular, full-time workforce. □

KKK Attacks Tyler Supporters

As nationwide support for Gary Tyler grows, racist cops and Klansmen have escalated their attacks on Tyler's family and supporters.

Gary Tyler, an 18-year-old Black student, remains on death row for a crime he didn't commit. Two hundred rock-throwing gun-toting racists attacked a busload of Black students in October of 1974. In the incident a 13-year-old white student was killed. Police tore the Blacks' schoolbus apart; one cop held a gun to a Black student's head. Tyler protested and was arrested for "obstructing justice." Since then the state has manufactured a murder case against him (see last month's Torch).

Despite the fact that the state's case is one big lie, Judge Rouché J. Marino denied motions for a new trial. The courtroom was filled with shouts of "racist" when the judge announced his decision. Two appeals have been filed in the Louisiana Supreme Court. One is against the conviction and the second is against the denial of a new trial.

While Gary Tyler sits on death row,

the Ku Klux Klan has been harassing his family. In mid-May, the Klan followed Mr. and Mrs. Tyler while they walked to the City Park in New Orleans. KKK members have repeat-

edly cruised by the Tyler home in full Klan dress.

The state has joined in with its friends in white robes to harass the Tylers. On May 17, after being out of



San Quentin 6 Trial Exposes Gov't Conspiracy

SAN RAFAEL, California—the long and grueling trial of the San Quentin Six is nearing its end. The jury is expected to reach a verdict this month—15 months after jury selection began.

The six defendants—Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez and Willie Tate—are being tried on five counts of murder and one count of conspiracy to commit murder for the death of three prison guards and two tier-tenders on August 21, 1971. All six defendants are Black or Latin. The deaths occurred during an alleged jail-break attempt by Black revolutionary leader George Jackson. The San Quentin Six, according to the government, were Jackson's accomplices.

The real conspiracy on August 21, 1971, was not by George Jackson and the San Quentin Six, but by the California state attorney general's office, the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section (LAPD-CCS). The defense has shown that, beginning in 1970, these agencies had collaborated on a plan to kill George Jackson.

For example, Melvin (Cotton) Smith, a full-time LAPD-CCS agent who infiltrated the Black Panther Party, was assigned by the cops to organize a group of Panthers to help "free" Jackson. Both Jackson and the Panthers were to be murdered during the "break-out."

George Jackson was targeted because he was a prisoners' leader, a Black leader and a revolutionary leader. Now a legendary figure, Jackson's leadership and writing abilities had already attracted national attention to the fight of the Soledad Brothers (Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette) against the charge that they killed a Soledad Prison guard.

The plot to murder George Jackson was successful. He was murdered on August 21, 1971—shot in the back "trying to escape." The San Quentin Six were charged with involvement in the incident in a cynical attempt to try to cover the state's conspiracy against Jackson by accusing the prisoners of being the conspirators.

Equally cynical is the attempt to make the prison guards appear to be

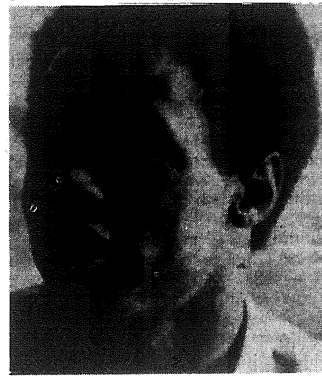
innocent bystanders. One of the defendants, David Johnson, was dragged by his hair across the prison courtyard while naked and bound hand and foot. Earl Gibson, a San Quentin inmate, received deep gashes all over his head as a result of being "interrogated" after the incident. These are not the acts of innocent bystanders. Whatever punishment the guards received during the incident, they fully deserved.

As expected, the prosecution has presented a patchwork of lies and distortions against the Six. The state has relied exclusively on testimony from prison officials—and even this has been contradictory.

The state must be prevented from railroading the San Quentin Six. The trial symbolizes important questions: Do Blacks have the right to organize? Do prisoners have the right to fight back against racists who treat them like dogs? Will the San Quentin Six be made victims of the FBI-led terror campaign—even while the Senate and the bourgeois press verbally condemn that campaign?

We stand with the oppressed. We

stand with the San Quentin Six and hail them as symbols of the revolutionary Black movement of the past decade. The San Quentin Six must be freed to help build that movement anew! The real murderers—the prison authorities, the state prosecutors, the cops, the FBI and their liberal apologists—must be exposed! □



Fleeta Drumgo.

Capitalism: Earning a Living Means Dying

How many workers die every year from chronic diseases caused by their jobs? Nobody really knows. A death certificate says cancer, heart failure or emphysema, never: "Killed by job."

In the past 14 months, 12 workers at the Johns-Manville plant in Carson, California, have died from asbestos diseases. Once asbestos gets into the lungs, it stays there, causing asbestosis and several types of cancer. By the time the disease shows up, usually after 20 or 30 years, it is too late to save the worker's life.

Roy Williams has worked at the Johns-Manville plant for 25 years; now doctors have found asbestos in his lungs. "Where I stand now I will get cancer in five to eight years," he said at a June 29 demonstration in memory of the 12 who died. Government inspectors insist that asbestos in the air at the plant is within the "allowable" limit. But what is an allowable limit when even a few particles can kill? The daughter of a former asbestos worker was found to have mesothelioma, a cancer caused only

by asbestos, 20 years after her father's work clothes were washed in the family machine!

Tommie D. Miller's death certificate says "acute lead poisoning." What it doesn't say is that at the plant where he worked—the Oakland Prestolite battery plant—the lead in the air was 13 times higher than "allowable" levels. Lead damages the kidneys, blood, brain and the central nervous system and can harm a woman worker's unborn child.

Plutonium workers have a death rate from cancer 10 times higher than other people. Doctors say there haven't been enough autopsies to give conclusive results, which simply means that this fairly new industry hasn't killed enough workers yet to give a "full picture." But the nuclear industry is planning to expand the use of plutonium, exposing more and more workers to radiation that not only will give them cancer but will deform their as yet unborn children. New research on plutonium indicates that present "allowable" levels may be more than

town for two days, Terry Tyler, Gary's younger brother, was arrested for "burglary." Police have yet to tell the Tyler family just where or when this supposed burglary occurred. The cops arrested Terry because he was building support for his brother at his high school. Terry is currently free on \$5,000 bond.

The most vicious attack occurred in the early morning hours of March 28. While standing on the street outside a Gary Tyler fund raising dance, Richard Dunn was shotgunned to death by two white men in a passing car. Dunn's murder was racist repayment for fighting for Gary Tyler's life. Dunn's mother and sister joined a

As we go to press, the U.S. Supreme Court has overturned Gary Tyler's death sentence. Authorities will probably try to resentence him to life imprisonment.

Gary Tyler is now in Angola prison in Louisiana. His life has been threatened. He has been tear-gassed in his cell and put in the "hole" for 20 days for carrying a spoon. Visits from his mother are now allowed only twice a month and visits from his brothers and sisters are no longer allowed at all.

The movement to free Gary Tyler has stopped the ruling class from killing him "openly and legally." Now we have to redouble our efforts—to free Gary Tyler and to save his life!

The Gary Tyler Defense Committee is calling for a massive national demonstration in New Orleans on July 24 in front of the Louisiana Supreme Court. We must build the largest and most militant demonstration possible and demand in one loud voice: **FREE GARY TYLER NOW!**

demonstration of over 500 people the next day, clearly showing that no amount of terror will stop people from demanding that Gary Tyler be freed.

With examples of strength and courage such as the Dunn and Tyler families have displayed, the movement to free Gary Tyler is bound to win. As the freeing of the Livorno Five demonstrates, the attacks of the racists, whether in white suits or blue, will be halted in the same way that Gary Tyler will be freed—by building a mass movement. □

Italy

By Pat

Italy's general election, mark the end of a period of class struggle, the working class. The major victors, the major party, won 38.4 percent of the vote. This was the same as in the last general election. Communist Party, Italian workers' party, won 24.4 percent of the vote. The substantial gain of the election, when the vote is counted, is the percentage of the vote.

The elections in Italy's capitalist system are a contest between the ruling class and the Communist Party. The elections are a contest between the ruling class and the Communist Party. The elections are a contest between the ruling class and the Communist Party.

On June 27, Ramalho Eanes was elected President of Portugal. Ramalho Eanes is a member of the Socialist Party. He is a member of the Socialist Party. He is a member of the Socialist Party.

defeated the racist dictatorship of Caetano. Ramalho Eanes is a member of the Socialist Party. He is a member of the Socialist Party. He is a member of the Socialist Party.

Ever since the Portuguese revolution, the Portuguese people have been trying to gain a period of time for themselves and peasants. By their own means, they are trying to curb the power of the landlords and the big estates. They are trying to curb the power of the landlords and the big estates.

But the Portuguese government always felt the victory. And after a period of time, the Portuguese people have been trying to gain a period of time for themselves and peasants.

Today, parliament has been held, a new election has been held. After two years of the Portuguese people have been trying to gain a period of time for themselves and peasants.

Italian Economy Heads Toward Collapse

Elections Solve Nothing

By Paul Benjamin

Italy's general elections, held last month, mark the beginning of a new period of class struggle for the Italian working class. The Christian Democrats, the major ruling class party in Italy, won 38.4 percent of the vote in elections for the Chamber of Deputies. This was the same total they received in the last general elections. The Communist Party (CP), which most Italian workers support, won 35.6 percent of the vote. This was a substantial gain over the last general election, when the CP received 27.2 percent of the vote.

The elections solved nothing for Italy's capitalist class. Behind the contest between the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party is the class struggle. And Italian workers remain on the offensive. As a result, the ruling class still can't run the country the way they want to. But, at the same time, they are still afraid to bring the CP into the government for the purpose of co-opting and checking the growing working class combativity. Italy's ruling class circles still do not trust the Communists enough to

share political power with them.

The capitalists are in trouble because Italy's economy is falling apart. Thirty years of Christian Democratic rule has left Italy in a shambles. Italian industry can't compete with its more wealthy capitalist rivals. Italy's trade deficit zoomed up to 2.4 billion dollars in the first four months of 1976—four times what it was last year. The lira is now close to worthless on the international money markets. Unemployment is over 8 percent and rising, while prices are climbing at a 25 percent annual rate.

During Italy's post-war boom, hundreds of thousands of peasants left their farms to find jobs in the cities. The ruling class did almost nothing to provide decent conditions for these workers. Now there are no jobs, and workers lack even the most elementary social services.

In Turin, an industrial city in northern Italy, the population doubled in 20 years. Two hundred thousand workers and their families are forced to live in one or two room slum apartments. Most of these apartments have no running water and no toilets. Here,



Campaign posters for Italy's June 20 general election.

as in other cities, thousands of unemployed have taken over buildings abandoned by their landlords because they weren't profitable enough.

Because there are no modern medical facilities, even workers who can afford it must wait two months or more to get into a hospital. Because no modern transportation system exists, workers must spend four or

five hours riding on buses just to get to work.

Italian workers have to pay taxes by having the money withheld from their salary. But Italian businessmen and professionals simply bribe their way out of tax assessments. Bribery is a way of life for government officials. Recently, Mariano Rumor, Italy's Foreign Minister and former Prime Minister, was accused of accepting millions from the Lockheed Corporation for defense contracts.

Italian workers have been fighting for change for years. In 1969 and again in 1972 workers brought Italy to a standstill. Workers beat back the attempt of a right-wing government to subdue them in 1972. They saw through the false promises of the next "reform" government and brought that down too. They have mobilized in huge demonstrations against the government and battled in the streets against police and fascist attacks. Women fighting for liberalized divorce and abortion laws—controversial issues in this Catholic country—have joined with workers to bring down two governments in three years.

Is it any wonder that one 45-year-old worker declared: "I'm not a Communist, but if I were 20 years younger I would be a revolutionary. Look at all these scandals. Nothing works—neither hospitals nor schools. And look at all these old faces in the government. We are all fed up. We want change."

BOURGEOISIE IN A BOX

The workers' hatred of capitalism has severe consequences for Italy's capitalists. It means they can't afford to work out political strategy through separate political parties, like the Democrats and the Republicans in the U.S. Instead, they put all their efforts into strengthening the Christian Democrats.

At first glance, this appears to make the capitalists stronger. It did keep the Christian Democrats on top for 30 years. But now that Italy is falling apart, the Christian Democratic monopoly actually makes the capitalists weaker, not stronger, in a number of ways.

First of all, the Christian Democracy is torn apart by internal differences. While the capitalists have generally been forced into one party, they still quarrel with each other. As different wings of the ruling class get their way for a while, the faces at the top of the party get shuffled and reshuffled, but no consistent policy can ever be carried out.

Second, this monopoly results in a

Army Strongman Wins in Portugal

On June 27 General António Ramalho Eanes was elected President of Portugal. Ramalho Eanes, backed by the Socialist Party and Portugal's two main capitalist parties, received 61 percent of the vote. The election results were a further step toward the Portuguese bourgeoisie's goal of a stable parliamentary system.

Ramalho Eanes was the officer who defeated the radical paratroopers' rebellion last November 25-26—the event that began Portugal's recent turn to the right. His whole campaign was summed up by his pledge that, if the workers attempt revolutionary action, "I will have no hesitation in calling out tanks or picking up a rifle and firing."

Ever since the army overthrew the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974, the Portuguese bourgeoisie has been trying to gain a firm upper hand. For a period of time, Portuguese workers and peasants were on the offensive. By their own mass action, they fought to curb the power of the capitalists and landlords and win a decent life. Peasants and farm laborers took over the big estates; squatters occupied vacant housing. The workers launched strike after strike, took over factories, formed workers' councils and forced the nationalization of most of the economy.

But the Portuguese workers' movement always fell short of complete victory. And after each failure to force decisive change, the middle layers in society—the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry—became more frightened. Following the unsuccessful paratroop rebellion last November, a general discouragement set in. The capitalists, using the paratroopers' revolt as an excuse, took the offensive.

Today, parliamentary elections have been held, a President has been elected, a new constitution is in effect. After two years of struggles and gains that went to the brink of revolution, the Portuguese workers' movement has retreated and capitalist "order" has been partly restored.

The capitalists want to establish a stable bourgeois democracy on Western European lines. This means crush-

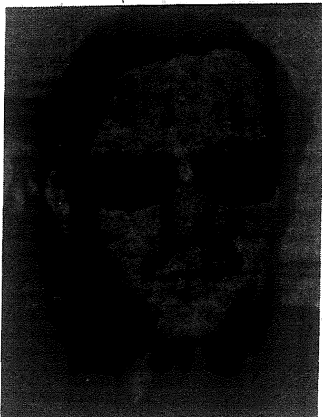
ing the workers' councils and peasants' and tenants' committees which represent a threat to the capitalists' and landlords' property. And it means an "austerity" program, cutting wages and hiking taxes to make the Portuguese people pay to revive rotting Portuguese capitalism.

CAPITALISTS SEEK STRONG STATE

To accomplish this, the capitalists need a strong state. So far this strong state power has eluded them. While revolutionary groups in the army have been suppressed, the reliability of the troops is still uncertain. And there is not yet a stable government.

The big conservative majority in the Presidential election was a step in this direction. But there are still major obstacles blocking the bourgeoisie's reactionary path. In the April parliamentary election, the largest winner, the pro-capitalist, pro-CIA Socialist Party, received only 35 percent of the vote. This means that the capitalists will have to try to discipline the workers through a minority government.

But most importantly, there is still a huge sentiment for socialist revolution among Portuguese workers. This is shown by the sizable vote for the



Portuguese President-elect Eanes.

most left-wing of the opposition candidates, Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. Saraiva de Carvalho ran on a platform calling for "people's power," workers' and peasants' committees, and other radical slogans. He received 16 percent of the vote. To this must be added the 7 percent won by the Communist Party, which ran its own candidate on a platform of "defending the gains of the revolution."

CARVALHO IS CAPITALIST IN SOCIALIST CLOTHING

Saraiva de Carvalho is not a revolutionary. He represents the extreme left wing of the military figures who took power in 1974. He is more willing than the rest to appeal to the workers in order to create his version of a modern Portuguese state. His version of this state involves more socialist trappings, with himself playing a dominant role, but it remains a capitalist state. Nevertheless, those voting for Carvalho thought they were voting for the socialist revolution.

The bourgeoisie's need for stabilization and a strong state led Socialist Party leader Mário Soares and the two capitalist parties to unite behind Ramalho Eanes. Their hope is that a strong military president will give the state the muscle which Soares' minority government will not be able to wield alone. If this fails, Ramalho Eanes will step forward as a military strongman, with the capitalists more than willing to accept this if other means for suppressing the masses prove ineffective.

The Portuguese bourgeoisie is far stronger than a year ago. The gains made by the Portuguese workers and peasants since the overthrow of Caetano are under grave threat. It is crucial to use the revolutionary sentiment shown by so many workers on June 27 to build a genuine revolutionary party. There is only one way to make the masses' gains secure—by the working class taking the lead of all the struggling masses, smashing the bourgeois state and establishing a government of the workers and peasants. □

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r is now in Angola isiana. His life has ned. He has been n his cell and put in r 20 days for carry- . Visits from his now allowed only and visits from his sisters are no longer l.

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Tyler Defense Com- ing for a massive onstration in New ly 24 in front of the reme Court. We e largest and most onstration possible in one loud voice: TYLER NOW!

f over 500 people the ily showing that no will stop people from Gary Tyler be freed. es of strength and the Dunn and Tyler displayed, the move- ry Tyler is bound to ing of the Livernois es, the attacks of the n white suits or blue, n the same way that be freed—by building nt. □

Workers Dying

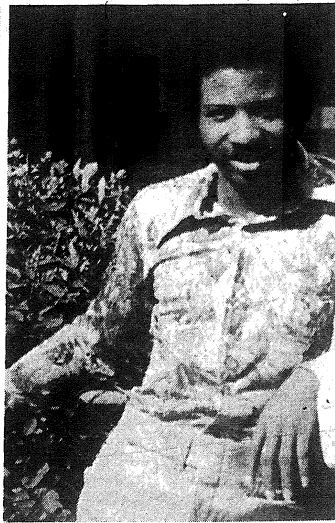
high! ent sets "allowable" sorts of dangerous are these levels set health or for the capitalists' profits? In stry, where cotton byssinosis ("brown 30 percent of cotton overment standards a of cotton dust per r. Until recently, the denied that a disease s even existed, al- researchers wrote s ago! Moreover, re- at anything over 0.2 safe, but the cotton that complying with standard would cost t a lot of companies So safe standards are overment and com-

s refuse to make in- the workers. The w long will workers fe for the capitalists?

(Continued on page 15)



The Livernois Five



Livernois Five defendants (from left): Ronald Jordan and Raymond Peoples; James Henderson.

"It Is Right To

The Livernois Five are now free. But why were five young Black men charged with first degree murder in the first place? Why was the state so determined to put Peoples, Henderson, Jordan, Lane and Young away for life? Why three trials? Why the railroad and frame-up?

To answer these questions several things must be understood. The Livernois Five were meant to be scapegoats. The state knew that the Livernois Five were innocent. But that didn't matter. With a racist judge, a biased press and the dependence of the defendants on court-appointed lawyers (always notorious for selling out their clients) the state thought there would be little trouble railroad five innocent Blacks to jail. It has been done a thousand times before.

Moreover, Mayor Coleman Young, Judge Gillis, the prosecution and Detroit ruling class circles were not interested in justice for Marion Pyszko. They never gave a damn for Marion Pyszko. Pyszko was white. But he was also a worker. The ruling class has never cared about what happens to white workers. The ruling class sends white workers as well as Black workers to fight and die in defense of imperialist interests. They send white workers as well as Black workers to the hell-hole mines and factories to get mutilated or killed making profits for the capitalists. At the same time, the ruling class always seeks to convince white workers that the government is on "their side," that whites should not unite with Blacks to jointly fight the capitalists. The ruling class was willing to turn Marion Pyszko's corpse into a tool to stir up racist hysteria against Blacks.

The whole purpose of the Livernois Five frame-up was to teach Blacks,

and Black workers in particular lessons. First, the ruling class is to say to Blacks: "Never lift a hand against a white man." White supremacist America has been teaching this lesson to Blacks for 400 years. The ruling class has said that one white life is worth more than the lives of any number of Blacks. And it has always tried to teach that there can be no excuse for a white man to insult, slap or hit a white man. This first racist "law" has been the essentials of the central social code of America.

The main weapon in enforcement of this code was, and still is, organization against Black people. Any Black person tries to defend herself, friends, family or dignitaries from attacks by whites, racist Americans tried to guarantee that he or she would pay—with jailings, beatings, mutilation of the body, burning or lynching. Lynch law, carried out by the ruling class structure of society, whether through the apparatus of its Ku Klux Klan or in their place as an especially repressed people in American society. In the past, this code was absolute. Lynch law was virtually explicit today, the struggles of Blacks have weakened this code. The ruling class still seeks to lynch Blacks now they need whatever legitimacy they can find. The overt method of the old days would alienate public opinion and ruin American image abroad. Most important, Blacks in this country would not stand for it.

The Livernois Five case is a continuation of the same racist pattern. The entire case was nothing but an attempted legal lynching. Black workers protest the racism.

Trial Ends in Acquittal

DETROIT—The Livernois Five are free! Workers and the oppressed have won a battle against racist frame-ups and legal lynching "justice."

On June 18, a jury found Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan not guilty of first degree murder. (Charges had previously been dropped against the two juvenile defendants, George Young and Douglas Lane.) After 11 months in jail without bail, after two trials had ended in hung juries, after watching a parade of prosecution witnesses lie and seeing the judge for all three trials, Joseph A. Gillis, work hand in hand with the prosecution—after all this, the Livernois Five are finally free.

In the first two trials, the state was on the attack. But in the third trial, the cops and the courts were put on the defensive. The defense tore holes in the state's case and revealed it for the railroad job it was. By the end, prosecuting attorney Pat Foley was reduced to pleading with the jury to believe that the police and the DA's office didn't conspire to frame up the defendants. Foley, head of Detroit's Organized Crime Force and the city's top prosecuting attorney, had to admit in his summation that "it was possible" that the cops and the prosecution were under pressure to find a victim.

The Livernois Five, five young Black men, were accused of murdering white motorist Marion Pyszko last July. Pyszko was killed during riots in Detroit's Livernois-Fenkell area that broke out after a white racist, Andrew Chinarian, murdered a Black teenager in cold blood.

The five defendants were picked up in a dragnet operation—over 100 young Blacks were pulled in by the cops. Witnesses were forced to testify through threats—other youths picked up were told to make statements if they didn't want to be defendants themselves.

This campaign of racist intimidation was continued in the courtroom. Early

in the recent trial, for example, Judge Gillis cleared the courtroom of spectators and warned against "disruptions." Later he accused defendant Peoples of threatening a witness—with absolutely no grounds for his accusation. When defendant Jordan and his attorney reacted to Gillis' blatant racism by shouting "This is a railroad," he threatened to keep Jordan behind bars for the rest of the trial.

The prosecution's case consisted of nothing but hearsay and lies. Prosecuting attorney Foley called 29 witnesses. Only four of these witnesses were able to connect the defendants in any way with Pyszko's beating.

Johnny B. Ward testified against Ronald Jordan. Ward described himself as a "free-lance investigator"—in other words a stool pigeon. When asked whether he was employed by Mayor Coleman Young's office during the Livernois-Fenkell riots, Ward refused to answer. Moreover, Ward was unable to pick Jordan out of a police line-up six days after Pyszko's beating. He only identified him later, after the police had arrested Jordan and charged him with murder.

The three other witnesses implicated the defendants in written statements last August. All three testified that they signed those statements

only after they themselves were threatened with first degree murder charges.

Bernard Boykin, a 16-year-old youth, testified that he signed a statement, dictated to him by police, only because he was threatened with a murder charge. Boykin also testified that when he told the prosecutor his statement was not true, he was immediately dragged over to the Homicide Division and told he was going to jail for 20 years.

James Bates testified that he signed a statement only after the police told him that the defendants had named him as Pyszko's attacker. "It was either me or someone else that was going to get railroaded," testified Bates. Given the choice of being a defendant or a witness, Bates chose to sign the statement. But, in all three trials, Bates denied seeing any of the defendants attack Pyszko.

Michael Dorris was granted judicial immunity in return for testifying against Peoples and Jordan. While he was being questioned about Pyszko's death, the police reminded Dorris of charges pending against him for receiving stolen property and carrying a concealed weapon, and showed him a statement accusing him of Pyszko's murder. Dorris was repeatedly called "nigger" by the cops as they pressed him to cooperate.

This was all the prosecution had. And the jury, which included 10 Blacks, didn't buy it. The work of the Livernois Five Defense Committee helped create a political climate in Detroit which enabled a jury to see who the real enemies in this frame-up were. One juror said: "They never should have been on trial in the first place." Another charged that Foley had been "trying to play tricks with our minds."

The outcome of the trial is a great victory. It proves that despite an 11 month witch-hunt, despite police terror and outright lies in the courtroom, working and oppressed people can fight back—and win. □

URGENT APPEAL

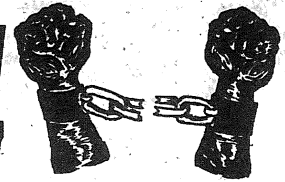
The Livernois Five Defense Committee is deeply in debt. The 11-month fight against three separate frame-up trials was extremely costly. Legal and other defense expenses outstripped the Committee's financial resources. The Torch urges its readers to aid the Livernois Five Defense Committee through generous contributions.

Please send contributions and requests for further information to:
Livernois Five Defense Committee
P.O. Box 503
Detroit, Michigan 48221



Mississippi, 1937: accused of killing a white, Black man was tortured with a blowtorch and f

Livornois Five Are Free!



"It Is Right To Rebel"

The Livornois Five are now free. Why were five young Black men charged with first degree murder in first place? Why was the state so determined to put Peoples, Henderson, Lane, Young away for

Why three trials? Why the road and frame-up?

To answer these questions several things must be understood. The Livornois Five were meant to be scapegoats. The state knew that the Livornois Five were innocent. But that didn't matter. With a racist judge, a biased press and the dependence of defendants on court-appointed lawyers (always notorious for selling their clients) the state thought it would be little trouble railing five innocent Blacks to jail. It had been done a thousand times before.

Moreover, Mayor Coleman Young, Judge Gillis, the prosecution and the ruling class circles were not interested in justice for Marion Pyszko. They never gave a damn for Marion Pyszko. Pyszko was white. He was also a worker. The ruling class has never cared about what happens to white workers. The ruling class has white workers as well as Black workers to fight and die in defense of capitalist interests. They send white workers as well as Black workers to hell-hole mines and factories to get killed or making profits for capitalists. At the same time, the ruling class always seeks to convince the workers that the government is on their side, that whites should not fight with Blacks to jointly fight the capitalists. The ruling class was willing to turn Marion Pyszko's corpse into a tool to stir up racist hysteria against Blacks.

The whole purpose of the Livornois frame-up was to teach Blacks,

and Black workers in particular, two lessons. First, the ruling class sought to say to Blacks: "Never lift a hand against a white man." White supremacist America has been trying to teach this lesson to Blacks for over 400 years. The ruling class has always said that one white life is worth more than the lives of any number of Blacks. And it has always tried to say that there can be no excuse for a Black man to insult, slap or hit a white man. This first racist "law" has been one of the essentials of the centuries-old social code of America.

The main weapon in enforcing this code was, and still is, organized terror against Black people. Any time a Black person tries to defend himself or herself, friends, family or dignity from attacks by whites, racist America has tried to guarantee that he or she will pay—with jailings, beatings, mutilation of the body, burning or lynching. Lynch law, carried out by the entire structure of society, whether its legal apparatus or its Ku Klux Klan, was and is the chief weapon to keep Blacks in their place as an especially oppressed people in American society. In the past, this code was absolute, and lynch law was virtually explicit. But, today, the struggles of Black people have weakened this code. The ruling class still seeks to lynch Blacks—but now they need whatever legal cover they can find. The overt methods of the old days would alienate liberal public opinion and ruin America's image abroad. Most importantly, Blacks in this country would not stand for it.

The Livornois Five case is a continuation of the same racist practices. The entire case was nothing but an attempted legal lynching. Young Black workers protest the racist murder

of a brother. The capitalists tell their flunkies: "Find some Blacks and, guilty or not, string 'em up. Make them pay. Teach them never to lift a hand against a white man." The Livornois Five dared to take to the streets to protest a racist murder—this was the real "crime" they were charged with.

OPPRESSED CAN WIN

The ruling class tried to use the Livornois Five arrests and trials to teach a second, related lesson. It seeks to teach Blacks, Black workers and all workers that they cannot fight back, that they cannot fight against their oppression, that they cannot fight for their needs, for their future and for their children's future. In the Livornois frame-ups, the ruling class was saying: "Lift one finger against this system, and we will come down with all the weapons at our disposal." Every time a Black is falsely arrested or beaten in jail, every time a worker, Black or white, is beaten on the picket lines, kicked out of his job or just told to "keep his place," the ruling class is trying to teach the same lesson.

But the victory of the Livornois Five teaches other lessons, lessons that can be seen time and time again in Detroit, in Vietnam, in Russia, in South Africa. The first of these lessons is: **It is right to rebel.** It is right to strike against the tyranny that oppresses you, denies your rights, your dignity and your humanity. It is right to hate the hypocrisy of the ruling class which, while claiming to stand for culture and civilization, will injure, mutilate and kill those who expose and fight against it. It is right to fight back. The ruling class says it is wrong to fight back—the Livornois Five case says it is right to take up arms against your oppressor.

But the Livornois Five trials and the defense work built around them teach an additional lesson. The freeing of the Livornois Five proves that the oppressed can win. Victory is possible even in the face of overwhelming odds. When the workers and the poor organize themselves and unite their forces, they can beat back the attacks of the oppressors. The ruling class is not invincible. They are a tiny minority of society. They can only maintain their oppression by dividing those they oppress, by getting one group of oppressed to help the ruling class oppress others. When the oppressed unite, victory is possible.

LEFT IN RETREAT

This victory was made possible by the work of the Livornois Five Defense Committee. But despite the Committee's efforts, most left-wing groups in the United States ignored the case. One exception was the Communist Labor Party (CLP), which joined the Committee and provided it with excellent legal help. However, even the CLP refrained from mobilizing its sizeable resources in the Detroit area for Defense Committee work. The Guardian ran two articles on the case, but only after some hesitation and

internal debate. It refused to mention the Revolutionary Socialist League, which initiated the Committee and carried out most of the work. Of the Maoist groups, these were the best. Others, like the October League and the Revolutionary Communist Party, refused to even mention the case in their press. The policy of the Maoist groups reflects the fear on the part of their leaderships about exposing their members to true Leninists—Trotskyists. The Maoist groups put narrow sectarian interests ahead of the interests of the working class and the oppressed.

Of the non-Maoist left, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) formally joined the Committee but also refused to do any work, despite its substantial resources. The SWP undoubtedly felt that since they were incapable of taking the Committee over, the case wasn't worth their efforts. The International Socialists (IS) wrote an article about the case but did not mention the Defense Committee or, needless to say, the Revolutionary Socialist League. Their motivation was undoubtedly much the same as the SWP's. None of these groups mobilized their members for demonstrations, leafleting, courtroom pickets or any of the numerous other actions the Livornois Five Defense Committee took to stop the racist frame-up.

Underlying the policy of all these groups is an adaptation to the conservatism of the political scene in the United States today. In the '60s, after the urban rebellions in Watts, Newark,



"praises lumpen rage." Stripped of SL rhetoric, this "charge" simply means that the SL thinks that the Livornois Five are part of the lumpen proletariat (the pushers, pimps, hustlers and other crime-ridden elements who leech off the working class) and that the Livornois-Fenkell rebellion was nothing but the aimless anger of lumpen elements thrashing out against everybody. Nothing could more starkly reveal the racist liberalism of the Spartacist League, a group that claims to be Bolshevik, than these statements.

The Livornois Five are not lumpen elements. The defendants themselves were unemployed workers, including

It is right to strike against the tyranny that oppresses you, denies your rights, your dignity and your humanity. It is right to hate the hypocrisy of the ruling class which, while claiming to stand for culture and civilization, will injure, mutilate and kill those who expose and fight against it. It is right to fight back. . . . It is right to rebel.

Detroit and elsewhere, it was popular among left forces to defend these rebellions from those who tried to dismiss them as mere "apolitical riots." Much of the left correctly saw them as protests against the appalling conditions of Black people in the big-city ghettos. Today, however, both the Black movement and the broad radical movement in general have receded. The political climate is far more conservative than it was in the mid-'60s. As a result, it is no longer popular to defend urban rebellions, even though the issue is the same as in the 1960s. There is little "political capital" to be gained from defending these actions to an audience far less radical. Thus the majority of the left ignored the Livornois Five case and was prepared to let the defendants be railroaded to jail for life.

The most craven of the entire left was the Spartacist League (SL). At first the SL openly refused to defend the victims of the frame-up. After the first trial, when the state could not get a conviction, they sheepishly changed their position. The SL openly paraded their racism. The RSL, the SL whined,

auto workers, or were the sons of workers. That they are unemployed is the result of the economic crisis that hit Detroit especially hard and the fact that the Livornois Five are Black, the first and worst hit by layoffs. To the SL, to be Black and laid-off is to be "lumpen"—the scum of society. But what about the "rage" part? Is a street riot that is the direct and immediate reaction to the murder of a Black youngster who hadn't harmed anyone a mere aimless thrashing about? This is ridiculous. The Livornois-Fenkell riots were not an outbreak of "lumpen rage," but of oppressed Black rage. They were a political response, spontaneous and unorganized to be sure, to an outright, brutal, racist murder and to the actions of the racist cops who protected the murderer. That someone got killed in the riot does not change this. Only liberals, racists and middle-class cowards can call the Livornois Five "lumpen elements" and call the Livornois-Fenkell riot a mere outbreak of "lumpen rage." To dismiss the

(Continued on page 15)



Mississippi, 1937: accused of killing a white, Black man was tortured with a blowtorch and lynched.

CHINA IN CRISIS

Part Two: The Cultural Revolution

By Jack Gregory

From November 1965 until November 1968 China was rocked by the greatest upheaval since the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek: the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Often viewed as a personal power struggle between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi, the Cultural Revolution was actually a political fight between two factions of the Chinese ruling class. The warring factions had counterposed programs for industrializing China on a capitalist basis.

exploitation, the low wages and long hours, necessary to fulfill the state-capitalists' goals.

TWO FACTIONS

At the time of the Cultural Revolution, there were two major factions within the Chinese ruling class, with two distinct approaches. One faction, led by Mao, stood for a policy of rapid economic development, through a policy of self-reliance and the mass ide-

and enterprises and allocated capital among the regions and enterprises on the basis of who produced the highest profits. The Liu-ists argued that steady economic growth based on technology, professionalism and efficiency would be the most direct route to a strong and modern economy.

As we saw in the first part of this series, Mao put his economic strategy into practice in pure form in the 1956-59 period following the opening of the

During the early '60s Mao remained in the background, his prestige still low from the failure of the Great Leap Forward. Liu and Teng, in contrast, were near the height of their prestige as the economy rebounded under their direction.

But by 1965 this picture was changing. With the three bad years behind him, Mao's prestige among the masses was soon restored. Most of the non-party masses did not know who had been responsible for the Great Leap Forward or who was responsible for the recovery; to them, the party was monolithic and Mao its leader. Further, Mao had solidified control over most of the armed forces through the work of his ally, Defense Minister Lin Biao. This added to his growing strength.

Meanwhile, the shortcomings of the Liu-Teng approach were starting to emerge. By allocating capital to the plants which showed highest profits, they favored the more developed coastal and northern areas which produced higher profits because these areas had China's more modern industry. In addition, the concessions to plant managers and regional party leaders diffused power away from the center. This merely aggravated the already existing pressures toward decentralization of the Chinese economy.

The most important setback to the Liu-Teng approach lay in the fact that the country was beginning to stagnate economically. China's narrow industrial base could not long afford to make broad material concessions to sectors of the workers and peasants without suffering a cut in the amount of capital available for investment. Further, the wage increases to skilled workers and rich peasants encouraged wider layers of the masses to demand concessions. This further undercut the basis for increasing growth at the expense of the masses. Finally, many plant managers held down production so that they could manipulate yearly increases in their bonuses.

Mao perceived these dangers. His solution was to return to moral incentives, abandon the material concessions and stress the importance of sacrifice. He felt this approach would not



Red Guards at Hsinghua University in Shanghai.

The entire state-capitalist ruling class shares agreement on the need to develop the Chinese economy through industrialization. If China is to become a powerful nation capable of defending itself in the dog-eat-dog world of capitalism, a modern industrial economy is absolutely necessary. Today, China remains economically underdeveloped, overwhelmingly rural and lacks a modern industrial structure and transportation and communications network. This underdevelopment means that the historic tendency toward regionalism and decentralization remains a deadly threat. Moreover, it means that China's ability to build and maintain a modern military sector capable of defending from external attack is very weak. To solve these and related problems, a modern industrial base is necessary. Industrial development is thus the key to building a powerful and united Chinese state.

But the workers and peasants do not rule China. They remain oppressed and exploited—today by a capitalist ruling class that administers the nationalized state property. Under this circumstance, economic development can only mean economic development on the basis of the exploitation of the workers and peasants. The economic surplus needed to industrialize must be squeezed out of the masses by an alien state-capitalist ruling class. The main conflicts within the ruling class are over how to do this, in particular how to get the masses to accept the conditions of

logical mobilization of the Chinese workers and peasants. This faction took the position that it was possible to multiply industrial output in a few years' time through ideological exhortations to the masses to produce more, be more disciplined, and make more sacrifices (so-called moral incentives). The tremendous labor resources of China were to be used to develop small scale production in the interior to supplement the production of the more modern facilities in the coastal regions. Wage differentials and economic bonuses would be decreased and an atmosphere of "socialist" egalitarianism created. The allegiance of the masses was to be maintained through the appeal of Mao's immense personal prestige and the promise that today's sacrifices would lead to a communist society in the future.

Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, representing the technical apparatus of administrators, technicians and factory managers, stood for a distinctly different policy. Their approach emphasized moderate but steady economic growth based on modern technology and the training of a professional administrative structure. Instead of "moral incentives" they proposed to stimulate production through material rewards ("material incentives") for increased productivity. Accordingly, they advocated wide wage differentials, special bonuses for skilled workers and private production incentives for the richer peasants. They emphasized efficiency, sought to encourage competition among plants

Sino-Soviet split. In a breakneck campaign to achieve self-reliance, he launched the People's Communes movement and the Great Leap Forward. Over 90 percent of the Chinese peasantry was organized into People's Communes in the space of a few months. The Great Leap Forward then attempted to harness this labor to industrialize the entire nation overnight. The result of this bold experiment was to nearly wreck the Chinese economy and usher in the "three bad years" (1960-62) of mass famine and depression.

LIU AND TENG TAKE COMMAND

Following this failure, Mao lost considerable prestige. The party apparatus, under Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, took command of administering the country.

Liu and Teng reversed Mao's stress on ideology and abandoned his utopian growth targets. They introduced a program of moderate growth and increased material incentives to stimulate production. They bent the stick away from regimentation and the stress on ideological appeals, and instead turned to stimulating production with material rewards. Along with this, Liu and Teng allowed more inner-party criticism to try to put an end to the constant fear of being targeted by one of Mao's purges, and to attempt to reduce inefficiency by allowing more room for individual initiative.



Political wall posters in Peking, 1967.

only increase output and overcome stagnation, but would also tie the country back together based on the masses' personal allegiance to Mao. As a Cultural Revolution pamphlet proclaimed: "If a nation of 700 million people does not possess a uniform ideology, then it will be (as Sun Yat-sen put it) . . . scattered sand. The ideologies of the entire populace can only be unified with the power of the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

In 1965, Mao decided to act decisively to restore his strategy to prominence and to regain his place as the party's undisputed authority.

Two events in 1965 accelerated the showdown between the Maoist and Liu-ist forces. In February, the U.S. escalated the Vietnam War by bombing the North. Army chief of staff Lo

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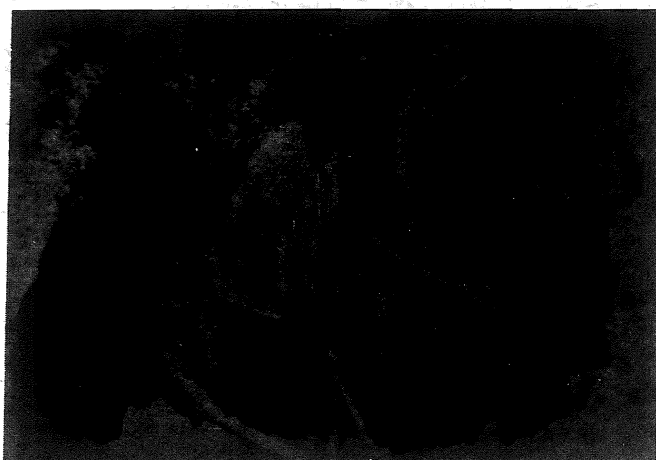
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Students take part in agricultural work during Cultural Revolution.

Jui-ching, apparently with at least tacit support from Liu, called for easing tensions with Russia so the military could provide the Vietnamese with more aid. Mao opposed this, insisting that self-reliance must apply to the Vietnamese struggle just as it did to the Chinese Revolution. Lo Jui-ching was purged.

Next, at a party work conference in September and October, Mao demanded a new "rectification campaign" to purge members of the apparatus for "routinism" and for downplaying ideology. Liu and Teng opposed this demand, which convinced Mao that he had to move outside official party channels.

Almost immediately thereafter, Mao opened the Cultural Revolution. Mao's basic approach was to mobilize non-party masses and the lower levels of the party as a battering ram against his opponents in the party. He tried to utilize the masses' discontent and desire to fight their oppression to increase his own bureaucratic power and authority. But before it ended, the Cultural Revolution had spilled over into a struggle involving millions of Chinese, including masses of workers, and had given birth to struggles aimed at the entire Chinese ruling class. This is the key to understanding the events taking place in China today. Thus, we must take a closer look at the Cultural Revolution.

THREE STAGES

China's Cultural Revolution can be divided into three distinct stages, each with its own dynamic. The first stage lasted from November 1965 until August 1966; the second from August 1966 until February 1967; and the third from February 1967 until October 1968.

In the first stage, Mao moved to gain command of the mass media and cultural departments in Peking and to weaken the powerful Peking party apparatus. Although his real targets were Liu and Teng, these two were not mentioned by Mao in this period; before taking them on, Mao first had to weaken their base.

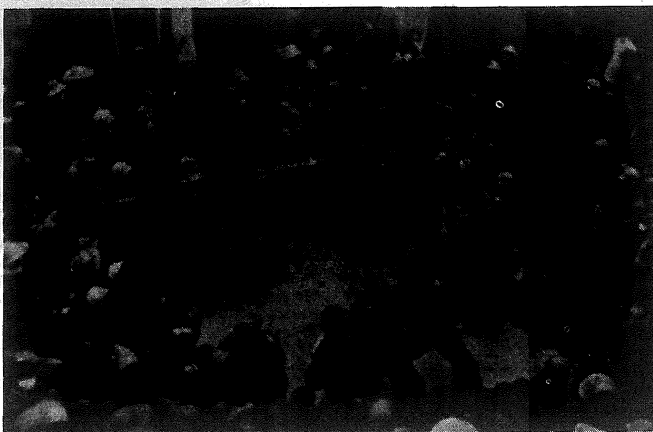
Because he was outnumbered in the party leadership, Mao took the unprecedented step of appealing to the masses for support against a "handful of party leaders taking the capitalist road." To appeal outside the party, Mao needed control of the press and radio, which is why it was important to strike first in the propaganda sphere.

It was in this stage, as well, that Mao organized his own extra-party cadres: the Red Guards. The Red Guards were made up of students and other sections of Chinese youth who had begun protesting against bureaucratism and the pervasiveness of bourgeois ideology in education. Mao gave

his blessings to their struggle, called on them to attack bureaucracy (i.e., Mao's enemies, not his own bureaucratic faction), emphasized the right to rebel, and spurred them on with calls to further the struggle for communism.

During this period, Liu and Teng allowed their chief associate, Peking Mayor Peng Chen, to be purged without raising opposition. They feared provoking an open split in the leadership, especially given Mao's overwhelming prestige among Chinese peasants and workers. Liu and Teng probably expected that Mao would stop short of purging the entire leadership and they almost certainly did not expect him to risk China's stability by setting loose hundreds of thousands of students across the country. And indeed, when Mao was silent for 50 days after the Red Guards formed in May of 1966, Liu and Teng took this as the signal to suppress the students with "work teams."

In the Cultural Revolution's second stage, which began with the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee, August 1-12, Mao demonstrated that he was prepared to encourage mass struggle. The Plenum sanctioned the Red Guards, condemned the work



Troops rally in support of Mao.

teams and demoted Liu and Teng to the sixth and eighth places respectively in the party leadership. The Peking Red Guards were given free transportation passes and encouraged to fan out across the country and build opposition to the party apparatus in other regions.

In this stage, the struggle spread to the Chinese proletariat. In the summer and early fall, party leaders in Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin and other industrial areas organized workers and peasants as a defense against the Red Guards. In response, the Central Cultural Revolution Group

(Mao's leadership faction for the Cultural Revolution) formed its own workers' organizations, known collectively as the Revolutionary Rebels.

The result was a deep split in the Chinese working class between, on the one hand, organizations sympathetic to local party leaders and, on the other, organizations backing the ideologists. The former were based mainly on workers' economic demands; the latter on appeals to the workers to attack entrenched authority and "seize power."

Throughout the fall and winter of 1967, there were pitched battles between the opposed groupings, some involving hundreds of thousands of workers. When the Revolutionary Rebels and Red Guards ousted the Shanghai party leadership in January 1967, millions of workers rose in a mass strike; simultaneously, mass strikes erupted in several other cities.

The strikers included supporters of the old municipal leadership and some forces who took seriously the Central Cultural Revolution Group's appeal to rise against "political oppression and economic exploitation." However, since Mao's goal was to increase central political control and increase economic exploitation, this development in the workers' movement represented the greatest threat to him. The wage demands were rejected and the strikes broken by infiltrating the strikers' organizations and bringing in the army.

In February, the Revolutionary Rebel organizations themselves splintered: left-wing Rebels seriously sought to implement Mao's calls for them to seize power, but found that Mao would only allow hand-picked followers to participate. Throughout February, battles raged between different supporters of Mao, ending only when Mao called out the army and rehabilitated disgraced party cadres to restore order.

MAO RESTORES "ORDER"

This opened the third and final phase of the Cultural Revolution, the phase in which Mao and his allies attempted to put a brake on the struggle

masses he had used in his factional struggle.

The next 18 months were a period of tacking and veering. At times, Mao was forced to appear to be supporting mass struggle in order to co-opt it to preserve order (as in April 1967, when he ordered the army not to open fire on the masses following two months of fighting by workers and students against the army). Overall, however, Mao steered the Cultural Revolution into safer channels, winding down dissent, imposing rule by the military and the party and purging the mass organizations of left-wingers. In September 1967, the left wing of the Central Cultural Revolution Group itself was purged. One year later, at the Ninth Party Congress, the Cultural Revolution was for all intents and purposes at an end. Liu and Teng were officially purged, but many of their associates were soon rehabilitated.

LESSONS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION

There are key lessons to learn from the Cultural Revolution. Mao learned the danger of trying to use mass struggle as a means of fighting his factional battles. Although he was successful in purging his main opponents, the mass strikes and upheavals caused by his appeals rocked the entire leadership and presented a haunting spectre for the future. The fact that it took Mao, with all his prestige, 18 months to suppress the struggle (the entire third stage of the Cultural Revolution) is testimony to the strength of the forces he unleashed. The power of the masses was also revealed by the fact that following the Cultural Revolution, Mao was forced to rehabilitate Teng Hsiao-ping and to agree to an economic strategy which in many ways was more similar to Teng's than to his own. He had learned the need to cultivate the apparatus through a recognition of its crucial role in preserving the capitalist order from the masses. He learned that more than ideology was required to maintain capitalist exploitation and to stimulate production.

In the Cultural Revolution, as the January events in Shanghai showed, the working class still looked mainly to the ruling class factions for leadership. But although most workers continued to maintain their illusions, the seeds of future organization were planted. Many workers were able to grasp that Mao's calls for "workers' seizure of power" were shams when, in practice, he opposed their attempts to establish their rule, opposed their economic demands, called in the troops against them and restored "capitalist roaders" to power.

For the most politically advanced workers in China, the Cultural Revolution demonstrated the anti-working class nature of the Chinese regime. For the ruling class, it showed the danger of unleashing the masses and demonstrated the need to try to prevent further splits at the top from spilling out of the party leadership.

With Mao on his deathbed, the class confrontation outlined 10 years ago is taking sharper focus. As we shall see next month, as Mao was burying the Cultural Revolution, an organized workers' movement began to form which, despite mistakes, pointed to the need for the workers to smash what it correctly described as the state-capitalist ruling class. This group, and the increase in mass strikes and other struggles in the past few years, show that Chinese workers have learned lessons from the Cultural Revolution and are preparing now for future battles when they will act in their own class interests. □

(To be continued next month.)

LETTERS

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

G.E. Worker Raps UAW Leadership

Dear Torch:

In early January, the UAW International presented to its members of the aerospace industry its list of demands to be presented to G.E.-W. (General Electric and Westinghouse) at the contract negotiations (beginning April 20 running to June 27). While this meeting was labelled a "Grass Roots" meeting, only the spindle roots of local hacks and bureaucrats were allowed to attend. The rank and file (the sweat and soul of the union) were not informed till later.

UAW Vice President Jerry Bale and 2A Regional Director Ray Ross conducted the meeting for the UAW. They laid out their demands for G.E.-W. which included an uncapped COLA, SUB pay (which G.E.-W. workers don't have), additional vacation, extended recall rights, no layoffs due to sub-contracting work, improved pension, 30 and out, plus a 32-hour work week.

The shorter work week, which workers must have for their survival, has never been mentioned again. When the local hack, who was reading off the list of demands, read it off, he could hardly keep his feet, so funny is the tool for workers' survival.

As stated, the shorter work week demand has not been raised again (save by the rank and file). Since 13 unions bargain together (with G.E.-W.), any protest raised against the UAW representative for not carrying through with this most vital demand will be turned aside by blaming the other unions.

This tactic has been used when G.E.-W. workers have received sell-out contracts in the past. Our local UAW hacks bleat that they (the UAW) have only one vote and must yield to the bigger unions in the coalition. Doubtless the other unions respond in the same manner.

The above mentioned hack's laughter, and all bureaucratic smirking about the shorter work week, is an indication to me of several things:

First, that these "leaders" have no concept of what is going on around them. They see no further than the tip of their cigar, or the extended girth of their swollen belly. They have failed to recognize that in order to have jobs for our brothers and sisters who are laid off and for those who have never had a job, we must cut the work week with no cut in pay. Thirty hours' work for Forty hours' pay! Six hour shifts! Four shifts instead of three!

Secondly, that these "leaders" are not really interested in the rank and file members they are supposed to represent. They are so fearful of the "state machine" (which reigns supreme ONLY in their minds) that their most militant posture resembles that of a mule stumbling under a heavy load.

And finally, that these "leaders" have no knowledge of the power lying dormant but ready in the rank and file, waiting only for a responsive leadership to lead them into confrontation with the bosses. Lead them united, united across union lines along with unemployed and the unorganized.

Workers must look to each other for the leadership and unity we need. We can no longer depend on government bureaucrats and professional union hacks to make our decisions for us. Let each and every worker shoulder the burden that is now ours. Stand Up! Speak Out! Let us show our strength to those who fear it most. The time has come for workers to unite.

A Friend
Cincinnati, Ohio

Editor's note:

Since this letter was received, a basic settlement with GE has been reached. The International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Electrical Workers (the only two unions which have national agreements with GE) accepted a \$1.10 per hour wage increase, and a cost of living allowance (COLA) limited to 6 percent unless inflation goes over 9 percent. As the writer of the letter predicts, the shorter work week demand was dropped. So were other major demands such as "30 and Out," full unemployment benefits and the union shop.

Livernois 5 Committee Sends Victory Message

Dear Torch:

The Livernois Five are FREE! Eleven months of struggle has ended for Peoples, Henderson, Jordan and the Livernois Five Defense Committee. This victory marks an important first step for the Black working class in Detroit. It is with good reason that those of us active in the Livernois Five Defense Committee celebrate Peoples, Henderson and Jordan being free. The Torch, which championed the defendants' case right from the start, deserves our many thanks.

But in celebrating we must not begin to believe that the struggle has ended. In this first stage we united, fought and won. We did battle against the police who obtained their witness through "any means necessary." We fought the prosecutor who attempted to make these witnesses into a case. And in the courtroom for three trials and finally three long weeks (third trial) we fought against Judge Joseph A. Gillis. Gillis, as a representative of the bosses' courts, made it real clear just what kind of "justice" young Blacks could expect to receive. None.

Why is this victory important? With the death of Marion Pyszko, Coleman Young promised that someone—read: anyone—would pay. Not for the death of Pyszko—but for Black workers daring to take to the streets for three nights in July 1975. Those in the streets fought to let it be known that the cold-blooded racist murder of our brothers and sisters would no longer be tolerated. Mayor Young from that night to the end of the third trial carried out his role as mayor. He was out to show us that we should not fight back. Not just

Bantustan Policy Strips Black Citizenship Rights

Dear Torch:

I have just finished reading Chris Hudson's article, "Movement Against S. Africa's Racist Apartheid System Builds," which appears in the most recent issue of the Torch. (Vol. 3, No. 6—Ed.) Although you explained the situation well, I found the section on the Bantustan policy a little confusing. Will all the South African workers be forced to live on the Bantustans or are they being "granted" the "option"? Where are the Bantustans located in relation to industry and the mines, and are they located on the national borders or inland?

Also, you stated that the racist rulers are using the Bantustans to "divert criticism from the brutal apartheid system." I'd like to know how this policy will "divert" the deep hatred the South African masses have for their white rulers, since forcing Blacks to live on the dung heaps of South Africa can only be seen as adding insult to injury. When the Vorster regime forced the schools to adopt the Afrikaans language for no other reason than to harass Blacks, they were met with widescale rioting. And if it's an "option," I don't see how Blacks could fall for this scheme

since not even the smallest concessions are given.

Yours in Struggle,
M. T., New York

Hudson replies:

The racist Vorster regime's "Bantustan" policy is designed to give South African Blacks—70 percent of the population—13 percent of South Africa's land as their new "tribal homelands." The Bantustans will become 10 separate "independent states," and in exchange, South African Blacks will be stripped of all their present citizenship rights.

South African Blacks have no "option" either about the policy itself or about which lands they will live on. As the official in charge of the program put it: "We as the givers must determine what land should be given, and it is not for those who receive to point out what land they should have."

The Bantustans are made up of the worst land in South Africa. Only one Bantustan, Transkei, is a single piece of territory with a sizable seacoast. The rest are tiny and separate patches of eroded farmland, located away from South Africa's borders. All of South Africa's major cities, ports and mineral resources lie outside the Bantustans.

Blacks will not be forced to move to the Bantustans; this is not the real purpose of the policy. Most Blacks will remain in what will be "white South Africa"—87 percent of their country—deprived of the few rights they presently have.

The Bantustans are largely intended to divert foreign criticism. They are another aspect of the racist lie of "separate but equal." The Vorster regime also hopes to create a thin layer of bought-and-paid-for Black "leaders" who will side with the white rulers against their own people.

The overwhelming majority of South African Blacks see through the fraud. They are no longer members of 10 separate tribal nationalities, as they were in the 19th century and as the white rulers' racist myths would still have them. They are members of one Black South African nation who are moving closer to the time when they will rise up and deal the apartheid system and its racist enforcers a deadly blow.

against racist killings, but against the misery we suffer day after day. Peoples, Henderson and Jordan were to spend the rest of their lives in jail to make the point.

Through 11 months of struggle the Livernois Five Defense Committee began to build a unity of Black and white, men and women, employed and unemployed. A unity that stopped the bosses' courts, and said to Coleman Young: "Yes, we can and will fight back."

The struggle does not end here. For every Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan that has been freed many other poor people, especially Blacks, sit behind bars—victims of the bosses' courts. The struggle must continue—and grow.

D. D., Detroit

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Syrians Meet Stiff Resistance in Lebanon

by Tony Curzo

Syria's massive invasion of neighboring Lebanon continues to grow in scope. By June 29, at least 16,000 Syrian troops had crossed into Lebanon. As these lines are written the Lebanese civil war has reached its bloodiest peak. Over 1,000 people died in one week of fighting for control over two Palestinian camps outside the capital city of Beirut. The camps came under attack as right-wing Christians, with Syrian help, renewed their offensive.

Last month we reported that Syria had abruptly switched sides in the civil war. A long-time supporter of the Moslem-Leftist Alliance, the Syrian ruling class suddenly threw its support to the Christian rulers when the leftists were close to winning. In the words of the New York Times, "Syria's interest lies in its fear that the leftists and Palestinians might crush the opposition and establish a radical state, independent of Syrian control, from which the confrontation against Israel would be intensified. That could lead to reprisals from Israel not only against Lebanon but Syria."



Palestinian troops celebrate a victory.

The pro-capitalist Times reveals only part of the story. The Syrian ruling class also fears the effect that such a Lebanese-Palestinian victory would have on the class struggle throughout the region. The occupied West Bank and parts of Israel have already erupted in repeated mass demonstrations against Zionist rule. The Syrians fear that a leftist victory in Lebanon would fan the fires of revolt, and that the struggle would engulf Syria. This would endanger the Syrian ruling class and its policy of seeking a separate negotiated settlement with the Israelis.

The Syrian attempt to "pacify" Lebanon hasn't proceeded according to the original plan. At all points, the Syrians have met stiff resistance. In Saida, Lebanon's third largest city, they suffered a decisive defeat. Everywhere, the leftists were able to put their anti-tank weapons to effective use, and the Syrian army appeared to be headed for serious trouble. As we stated last month, Beirut would be the decisive test—the point where the Syrians' collapse was most possible. On the road to the capital, the Syrians suffered heavy casualties. They never dared to actually enter the city, settling for a blockade.

ARAB LEAGUE STEPS IN TO AID SYRIAN TROOPS

Just when it appeared that the Syrian army was headed for a major defeat, the capitalist rulers of the other Arab states intervened. Their organization, the Arab League, pushed through an agreement between Syria and the Lebanese-Palestinian leftists.



Lebanese civilians examine wreckage of Syrian tank destroyed as Lebanese-Palestinian forces defeated Syrians at Sidon.

This agreement established an all-Arab "peace-keeping force" to police a cease-fire. The agreement keeps Beirut, Saida and other strongholds of left resistance free of the Syrians, though by the time it was signed the Syrians had no stomach for occupying them. But it also leaves Syrian forces entrenched throughout Lebanon, especially the north and east. Arab League pronouncements have made clear that Syrian troops will not leave the country until "peace is restored" (meaning the defeat of the left and the strangling of the Lebanese revolution).

The "peace-keeping force" of 6,000 troops will be made up of Algerian, Libyan, Saudi Arabian and Syrian troops. A thousand have already arrived. Far from kicking the Syrians out of Lebanon, the capitalist Arab League invites them to join this force. This is calling on the fox to guard the hen house. The accord between Syria and the Lebanese-Palestinian leftists also provides for the release of Syrian prisoners and the reopening of the Saïqa offices. (Saïqa is the Syrian-created and controlled Palestinian force which has been fighting against the left in Lebanon.)

In this agreement, Syria loses nothing and keeps everything. Its troops are still on the scene. The Arab League is in full agreement with Syrian aims in this war, in spite of their publicly neutral stance. The "peace-keeping force" is there to help the Syrians smash the Lebanese revolution. In the short run this force shields the Syrians from impending defeat. In the longer run, it means that the military and diplomatic weight of the various Arab capitalist regimes will be thrown behind Syria and the Christian right. Already there is talk of getting the two sides (Christians and Moslems) to work out an agreement, and of getting the Palestinians to live by "past commitments."

Under these commitments the Palestinians "are supposed to limit their

carrying of arms to their camps, and they are not supposed to have heavy rockets and artillery." The direction, if not reversed, can only lead to another "Black September" for the Palestinians. Unless they come to see the mortal threat that this "peace-keeping force" represents, they will be gradually disarmed and eventually smashed, exactly as happened in Jordan in 1970.

The "peace-keeping force," the latest setback for the Lebanese revolution, would not have been possible without the Lebanese and Palestinian left leaderships. We predicted that in spite of the heroic resistance of the masses, the leaders had no intention of mobilizing their base to destroy the Syrian army. Unfortunately, our fears have been confirmed.

The Rejection Front, the left-wing Palestinian organization led by George Habash, has a history of capitulating to states like Libya, Algeria and Iraq and painting them up in revolutionary colors. At home, they feel that "at this stage" the "national contradictions override class contradictions," and that under the leadership of the left it is possible for the capitalists to play a revolutionary role. This explains their failure to perceive the Syrian threat over the years, and their bowing down before capitalist politicians like Kemal Jumlat.

ARAB REGIMES WILL CRUSH MASSES

The left forces in Lebanon are making the same mistake concerning the Arab League that they made concerning Syria. The "left" members states of the League—Libya, Algeria and Iraq—use militant words like "war to the end" and "no compromise with Israel" just as Syria did. Like the Syrian ruling class, they have even offered aid to the Lebanese Moslem-Leftist Alliance, in order to maintain their influence and control. Yet, just

like the Syrians, these capitalist regimes are a threat to the revolution. When the working class threatens to spill beyond the boundaries of capitalist solutions these regimes will turn directly on the masses. This is the lesson of the Syrian intervention.

Short of the immediate organization of a revolutionary party (which is unlikely), Lebanon faces two possibilities: either the full triumph of the pro-imperialist reactionaries, or partition of the country into Christian and Moslem zones under Syrian and Israeli domination.

BREAK WITH OPPORTUNIST LEADERS

The Palestinian and Lebanese leftists are fighting for their very lives. If they are unable to sort out their friends from their enemies in time, they will be wiped out. They have suffered bitter and costly betrayals at the hands of the Jordanian, Egyptian and now Syrian ruling classes.

Already over 30,000 people have died in one year—one percent of the Lebanese population. An equivalent casualty rate for the U.S. would total 2 million. The left must abandon its current opportunist leaderships and forge a revolutionary party to avoid a disastrous defeat. Revolutionaries in Lebanon must begin now the work of forging such a party. The key tactic is to give military support to the Moslem-Leftist Alliance. This means a joint military struggle against the common enemy—the Lebanese ruling class, Syria and U.S.-Israeli imperialism. In this struggle, revolutionaries must retain full political independence. And they must expose the Lebanese-Palestinian leaderships by showing how these leaderships limit the struggle through failing to apply truly revolutionary methods. Within the limits imposed on relatively small forces, revolutionaries must seek to demonstrate these revolutionary methods in practice. The Lebanese and Palestinian workers must be armed, trained and organized into militias. Workers' committees must be established to prevent capitalist sabotage, to help provide food and other necessities for the masses and to lay the basis for a workers' and peasants' government.

Most importantly, revolutionary methods must be employed against the Syrian army itself. The Syrian army is made up of workers and peasants who themselves are anti-imperialist; they hate Israel and U.S. imperialism. Revolutionary agitation must be waged among the Syrian troops to explain to them the counter-revolutionary nature of their role in Lebanon. To defeat the Syrian army militarily, it is essential to undermine it from within by appealing to the

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S. Africa . . .

(Continued from page 1)

with the words on a placard in the June 16 demonstration: "A frikaans is a stench!"

On July 6 it was announced that a settlement had been reached on the language issue. Afrikaans will now be "voluntary." Although this appears a small concession, it represents an important victory against a regime which only knows how to use repression against the masses.

APARTHEID

The Soweto events were a revolt against the entire apartheid system. Black workers sweat in the mines, ports, factories and farms of South Africa to produce the profits for the white regime. But they are denied all rights. While they make up 70 percent of the population, South African Blacks lack the right to vote, the right to move or change jobs without permission and the right to own land. "Homelands" have been set aside by the government as "designated areas" for South African Blacks to live in. These "homelands" consist of only 13 percent of South Africa's total land area—for over 70 percent of the population. And they are the least fertile areas—the scraps the ruling white minority has no interest in.

These "homelands," part of the government's "Bantustan" policy, are used to deny Black Africans any right of residency in the rest of the country. As "immigrants"—in their own country!—Blacks can only work and travel outside their "homelands" with a properly stamped passbook. The passbook, which every African adult must carry at all times, shows the bearer's place of residence, work record and any police record. It puts the African at the mercy of the employer and the police. Passes may be cancelled at any time for minor infractions, giving the African 72 hours to return to his "homeland."

Soweto and other townships thus embody all that is brutal and violent in the apartheid system. Soweto's million residents are allowed into Johannesburg only to shop or work, but not to live—except as domestic servants. To reach Johannesburg they must ride packed in buses and trains whose high fares have caused protests and boycotts year after year. When they return, it is to tiny shacks, heated only by wood fires, half of them without running water, 85 percent without indoor toilets. For these favors they must pay 25 percent of a month's income in rent. Two hospitals serve a million people.

These conditions of insult and brutality turned a student protest into a general uprising. When police fired on an unarmed student demonstration against the language decree, killing two children, the students fought back. Crowds seething with rage attacked government buildings, the Phefeni railroad station and other targets. By nightfall thousands of persons were involved; by morning the uprising was spreading to other townships.

During the revolt, white students at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University organized a support march joined by over 1,000 Black and white bystanders. The demonstrators marched on downtown Johannesburg, chanting "Power to Soweto!" One hundred and fifty club-swinging police charged the march and broke it up. This demonstration was a significant display of Black-white solidarity in a country where the overwhelming majority of whites support the apartheid system.

The scale of the Soweto revolt far surpassed the Sharpeville massacre of

1960. And, though both Soweto and Sharpeville began with police firing on a peaceful demonstration, in Soweto the Africans did not remain non-violent. They fought back for three heroic days. Sharpeville was the end of the period of non-violent protest. Soweto is the beginning of a new stage of mass resistance.

Resistance to the apartheid system has been increasing for the past several years. But the recent victory of the MPLA in Angola against the combined forces of the imperialists' puppet "nationalists" and the troops of the racist South African government has brought forth new courage and determination. Vorster's white minority government rules by terror—it must convince the Black population of South Africa that no matter how brutal it is, it is equally invincible. The Angolan victory stripped away this mask. Today, Black Africans know that the Vorster government is as brutal as ever—but they also know it can be defeated.

Soweto and the other Black townships are now quiet. But underneath the momentary calm, the hatred for the white rulers remains. Far from being defeated, South African Blacks have dealt the apartheid system a mighty blow. Their message has echoed throughout the world: "We can and will fight back."

The South African Black proletariat, concentrated in the mines, the factories and the townships and burning with hate from two centuries of white violence and insult, is a force more powerful than anything the tyrants can muster. Soweto is the first stage of the new struggle of the South African masses, which will not end until the white rulers are pushed into the sea. □

Poland . . .

(Continued from page 2)

talists and the workers, fought over their respective shares of the value produced by the working class. The Polish capitalists, like the capitalists in the West, constantly try to maximize their share of production at the expense of the workers—through speedup, wage-gouging, productivity drives and other familiar techniques. Over the past decade, the state-capitalist regimes have copied productivity techniques developed in the U.S.

Boosting food prices is just one means through which the Polish ruling class attempts to maximize its share of the total value produced. By increasing the prices of the goods the workers need, it forces workers to turn more of their paycheck over to the capitalists. As a result, the real value of their wages (i.e., what they can buy with them) declines.

In the Western capitalist countries, inflation accomplishes the same thing. A rise in the cost of living lowers real wages. The only difference is the way inflation expresses itself. In the West, it occurs over a period of time, since the government has little control over the market. In the state-capitalist countries, the government has much more control over the market because it owns the vast majority of the economic enterprises. But this control does not enable the ruling class to end the contradictions of capitalism. These contradictions are merely expressed in the decisions the state is forced to take. In these countries, inflation takes the form of the government being forced to raise prices to solve the economic crisis.

Today's events in Poland, and past events in Eastern Europe, are a concrete demonstration that the class struggle is not absent from the so-called Communist countries of Eastern Europe. In September 1956, Polish

workers' anger at a food price increase soon turned into political protests against the presence of Russian troops. Khrushchev was forced to withdraw the troops and the Polish government rescinded the price increases. The victory in Poland was one of the sparks igniting the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which began a few weeks later and was finally suppressed by Russian tanks after days of fighting. In 1970, demonstrations in Poland began over food price increases, but quickly turned into broader working class political protests. Communist Party headquarters in Szczecin were burned to the ground and strikers chanted slogans directed against the CP leadership, leading to Gomulka's fall. These protests also spread, this time to neighboring East Germany where a wave of strikes and protests followed the Polish events.

The state-capitalist rulers are well aware of these facts. When the June 25 events broke out in Poland, the East German CP, which did not publicize the food price increases, took the unusual step of publicizing Gierk's food price rollback. Frightened that the East German working class would again follow the example of Polish workers, the East German government kept the Polish workers' mass actions out of the press and made special efforts to keep consumer stores well stocked.

As the economic crisis in the state-capitalist countries deepens, upsurges such as those in Poland will become more frequent. The struggle to overthrow capitalist oppression in Eastern Europe is the same as that of workers everywhere. □

Jamaica . . .

(Continued from page 2)

these measures which have stirred up the hostility of big Jamaican capitalists and their Western imperialist backers.

Manley calls his reforms "democratic socialism." In fact, he has instituted a mild welfare-state capitalism. But the imperialists and the JLP fear that Manley has lost control of events and will be pushed by his own supporters into more radical measures.

In response to the increasingly violent right-wing attacks, Manley has tried to appease the imperialists by swearing he is an opponent of Communism and a friend of foreign investment.

As part of his strategy of proving his loyalty to the imperialists, Manley has refused to arm the masses to defend the country's democratic institutions against the reactionary plotters. After the violence began in January, Manley did tell the PNP ranks to "organize your own defense groups of men and women," but under pressure from the Chamber of Commerce and the JLP he quickly backed down.

Manley's current police measures will not solve any problems. His attempts to limit wages, the budget cuts in his own inadequate welfare programs and his refusal to mobilize the masses will cut the ground from under his own feet. When the coup attempt comes, the workers and youth may be too demoralized to rise up and defeat the right wing.

To avoid defeat, a party must be built which tells the truth about Manley and mobilizes the workers and poor farmers in their own interest. If necessary, this party will mobilize the masses to fight alongside Manley's forces to defeat a right-wing take-over. But a Jamaican revolutionary party, whatever its temporary allies, will have as its main goal the strengthening of the mass struggle against Jamaican capitalism, including Manley's decrepit liberal capitalism.

One group in Jamaica is moving in this direction. The agitation of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) is popularizing the call for an armed people's militia, the smashing of the wage and anti-strike laws, nationalization of industry and the large estates under workers' control and a workers' and poor farmers' government. While calling for armed defense of Manley against the right, the RML warns that his "democratic socialism" is nothing but "capitalism with a pretty face."

Though the RML is still discussing important questions such as state capitalism and the Fourth International, it has taken a revolutionary course in the face of the current Jamaican events. This provides the potential for becoming the nucleus of a revolutionary party that can mobilize the masses in their own interest to smash the right wing and conquer power. □

Auto . . .

(Continued from page 4)

On July 7, 4,000 workers walked off the job at Chrysler's Trenton, Michigan, engine plant. The strike was called to protest deteriorating working conditions and, as of this writing, the workers are still out.

Throughout the spring, the ranks forced the leadership of the UAW to sanction strikes over working conditions. A four-day strike at the Sterling Heights, Michigan, axle plant over safety violations threatened to shut down all the U.S. Ford operations. As of June 1, the UAW was paying strike benefits to workers in 48 shops and plants.

More attacks are coming down. Anger is growing. But so far there are only the first signs of an organized response. In the UAW, there is not yet a tested and trusted opposition leadership which can organize the ranks' anger and inspire the confidence and participation of the thousands of individual militants.

The corporations are aware that the situation is becoming ripe for a leadership force to develop which can speak to the frustration of auto workers. Thus, the Big Three are beginning to move against groups that they feel pose a threat. In the past few months, several supporters of the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC) have been fired, including Dave McCullough at Warren Stamping and long-time activist Edie Fox at Dodge Main. The CGC is organizing nothing more militant than a "no" vote on any contract not meeting their demands. But even this is seen as a grave threat.

Will there be a strike in September? The UAW has accumulated a record \$175 million strike fund, enough to pay strike benefits to Ford workers for 16 weeks. But all indications point away from anything more than a "blow off steam" action such as the '73 Chrysler mini-strike. As long as the corporations are willing to give up a little money to prevent a long strike, the UAW leadership is willing to go along. Since Ford is the target company, UAW Ford director Ken Bannon may want to stage a showy strike to increase his leverage against other UAW officials in the power struggle over succession to Woodcock. But he is no more serious about fighting for real solutions—union control of working conditions, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, no forced overtime—than the rest of them.

The September contract expiration date is quickly drawing near. Defeat in the '76 contract fight can be avoided, but only if auto workers can give the deep anger in the plants an organized form. Woodcock and his betrayal plans can be stopped, but it will take preparation and organization to defeat him. □

Italy . . .

(Continued from page 7)

lazy, unimaginative party leadership unwilling to face Italy's problems. The party is basically just a machine for keeping the Communists out of power. The capitalists can't afford to wreck this machine. There is no pressure to provide even a minimally effective government.

Third, the party has a gigantic patronage system to keep the sons and daughters of the ruling class and the middle classes employed, happy and loyal. It has created a massive civil service bureaucracy for this purpose, which chokes any effort to provide cheap and efficient government.

Fourth, because the party has been in power so long, it has attracted an army of thieves who use the civil service and elected offices to line their own pockets.

Fifth, it doesn't guarantee strong government, which is what the capitalists were after in the first place. The Christian Democrats don't have enough support to govern alone. They must rely on the support of a number of small parties to keep a majority and stay in power. This has meant a never-ending series of weak, unstable coalition governments, which don't accomplish anything.

Now, Italian capitalists are trying to hold power with a government apparatus incapable of dealing with Italy's deep social crisis. They must try to rule through a decaying and corrupt political party which no one believes can rule effectively.

ROLE OF ITALIAN CP

Italy's Communist Party has reaped the benefits of the workers' militancy and the Christian Democrats' corruption. It now controls almost all of Italy's major cities, six of its 20 regions, and 40 of its 94 provinces. The Communist Party administrations in these areas have a reputation for honest and efficient government. As a result they are gaining support from small businessmen, peasants and professional people. These elements have traditionally supported the Christian Democrats. Now they are desperate for the kind of orderly government which the Christian Democrats can't provide.

Since 1973, Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer has called for an "historic compromise," a political alliance with the Christian Democrats. Right now Berlinguer demands that the Christian Democrats "consult" with his party on important decisions. That way he can have some influence, while avoiding any responsibility for government decisions. Later he hopes for an outright alliance with the Christian Democrats.

Unfortunately, many Italian workers still have illusions in the capitalists' promises about democracy. They believe that if they "play by the rules" and win power through elections, the ruling class will allow them to take over peacefully. Berlinguer and the Communist Party leadership survive as working class leaders because they are experts in encouraging these illusions.

These illusions give the CP the room it needs to prove its loyalty to the capitalists, which it must do to carry out the historic compromise strategy. The party used its control of the trade unions to make a wage agreement that holds wage gains to 20 percent for the next three years. This does not keep wages even with inflation, and means a cut in real wages. The party has condemned workers' strikes and demonstrations, and called for more discipline in the factories. It did its best to keep the Christian

Democrats in office by abstaining on key votes in the Italian parliament.

The Communist Party doesn't want a revolution. It has explicitly rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat. It fears the workers' militancy just as much as the ruling class does. What the Communists want is to run capitalism more efficiently than the present ruling class and its parties can. It uses the workers to achieve this. But whenever the workers ignore the Communist Party and start fighting for themselves, the Communist Party betrays these struggles and joins with the capitalists against the workers.

The ruling class knows that the Communist Party is willing to make a deal. It knows that the CP is the only force that can talk the workers into accepting wage cuts, unemployment and productivity drives. It knows that the Communist politicians and the trade union officials who work with them lack even an ounce of revolutionary spirit. But the ruling class does not fully trust the Communist Party.

First of all, there are still many old-line Stalinists in the party. These types want a monopoly of power for the CP so it can reorganize the Italian economy along the lines of Russian and Chinese state capitalism.

Even more important, the ruling class has no assurance that the CP can actually control the working class if it is allowed to take power. In Chile, the Allende government was unable to prevent strikes, factory occupations, land seizures and demands for workers' councils to run the government. The Chilean ruling class had to use the military to crush these demands. In Italy, the CP was unable to prevent the mass struggles of 1969 and 1972. If the CP is allowed to take power, it might increase the workers' militancy and force a full-scale revolutionary crisis.

The ruling class cannot control the working class without the CP's assistance. But it does not trust the CP's willingness to confine itself to a policeman's role. It does not trust the CP to leave the capitalist's property and control over Italian politics alone. And it is not convinced the CP actually has the ability to control the workers.

BOURGEOISIE WILL TURN TO FASCISTS

Right now the capitalists would like to avoid handing power over to the fascists or the military. They prefer "democratic" methods. But they will turn to the fascists or the army if it is necessary to save themselves from workers' revolution. This is shown by the Christian Democracy's orientation to the fascists in the election.

Amintore Fanfani, leader of the Christian Democrat right wing, called for members of Italy's fascist party, the Italian Social Movement (MSI) to vote for his party in a last-ditch effort to keep the Communists out. These votes gave the Christian Democrats their narrow margin of victory.

The danger of fascism is real. On June 4, left-wingers and fascists fought in riots; three fascists were shot. On June 5, fascists attacked a group of Communist Party supporters and other leftists at Sezzi, 50 miles outside of Rome, with clubs, chains and guns. One Communist Party member was murdered and another leftist seriously wounded.

Italy is at a turning point and the bourgeoisie knows this. One Italian newspaper remarked before the elections that "democracy is talked about as if it were already moribund (dying) and people are discussing whether the dictatorship will be harsh or soft, open or disguised, red or black. Many are convinced that what is dying is not a legislature but the first republic." All

this really amounts to is that the class struggle in Italy is reaching the point where it can no longer be contained within the boundaries of parliamentary norms. No reformist maneuvers, "historic compromises," can change this fact.

Italian workers must build a revolutionary party that truly fights for their interests and can lead them and the Italian masses to the socialist revolution. The Italian Communist Party is the opposite of such a party. At every turn it betrays the workers' interests in the interests of building an alliance with the Italian bourgeoisie. Of the many Italian political groups to the left of the CP, there are, unfortunately, no groups representing a revolutionary alternative. In one way or another, theoretically and practically, they capitulate to the Communist Party. The many honest and dedicated Italian revolutionary militants must be organized into a Trotskyist organization which understands Leninist tactics and strategy for revolution and which understands the capitalist nature of Stalinism—whether it appears in the form of the Stalinist parties or in the form of the state-capitalist system these parties have established in many parts of the world. The failure to understand Stalinism in all its forms can only lead to class collaboration—the death of the revolutionary struggle.

There can be no "historic compromise," explicit or implicit, with Italian capitalism. Unless the advanced workers construct a revolutionary Trotskyist party which can lead the workers in the socialist overthrow of Italian capitalism, Italy will continue its plunge toward decay and destruction.

Rebel . . .

(Continued from page 9)

whole affair and slander the Black defendants on trial for their lives is to be nothing less than accomplices to the whole frame-up.

Marxist revolutionaries do not advocate rioting. The main reason for this is that in these actions the masses usually get killed instead of the oppressors. Take a look at the rioting in South Africa. Over 175 people have been killed (by official estimates) and the overwhelming majority of them are Black. Riots diffuse the energy of the masses and allow the oppressors to regain control relatively easily. Revolutionaries advocate, in so far as possible, organized struggle, struggle that maximizes the strength and combativity of the masses rather than disperses it. But revolutionaries never condemn rioting directed against the oppressor and his tools, the police and the army. Liberals condemn rioting because it is violent, conveniently ignoring the day to day violence used to maintain capitalist tyranny. Revolutionaries do not stand off on the

sidelines refusing to defend the struggle but giving "advice." We say "some struggle is better than no struggle. A riot—even if some innocent people get killed—is better than no struggle at all." A riot means that the masses are no longer accepting their oppression silently. It means they are beginning to fight back, with whatever means they have at hand.

This is the lesson of South Africa today. Did not two possibly innocent whites get killed? Did not some innocent Blacks get killed? Revolutionary workers must ask the members of the Spartacist League: Is this not another example of "lumpen rage" by your definition? If you were consistent, would you not condemn the rioting in South Africa too as an example of lumpen rage? Or will you instead slip, slide, squeal and squirm on this question, because defending the rioting in South Africa is the "thing to do?" Let the Livernois Five hang, since they are lumpen, but "hurray for the struggle in South Africa" because even the liberals are for it and after all, it is far, far away from us. This is the method of the Spartacist League and all those who hide their liberalism with a thin "revolutionary" mask.

We say that the struggle in South Africa, the fight to save Mario Muñoz, and the struggle to free the Livernois Five are part of the same struggle. It is the international fight against racism, imperialism and capitalism. This struggle is right and just and will be victorious. □

Lebanon . . .

(Continued from page 13)

anti-imperialism of the Syrian soldier. As part of this strategy, the Lebanese revolutionaries must call on revolutionaries in all the Arab countries to fight for an all-Arab escalation of the struggle against Israel. The Syrian masses and the Palestinian masses on the West Bank and within Israel itself must especially be mobilized. They could undermine the whole imperialist plot, threaten the Syrian and Israeli rear and give the Lebanese masses leverage to take the offensive within Lebanon.

The nationalists limit the struggle to Lebanon and make deals with the capitalist powers; their tactics must be exposed. The masses must be mobilized to fight Israeli and U.S. imperialism and the Arab rulers and leaders who stand in the way of this fight.

Concretely, the alternatives are either an accommodation with the U.S., Israel and their Syrian proxy—which means the destruction of the revolution—or a mobilization of the masses in the Arab countries to destroy the Zionist state, overthrow the Arab capitalist rulers and create a Socialist Federation of the Middle East. □

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