

INSIDE— Socialist Revolution: The Only Road to Lesbian and Gay Liberation

TORCH

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Anti-Apartheid Protests Sweep South Africa

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Four years after the Soweto rebellion, Black students and workers in South Africa, together with militants from the country's other oppressed peoples, have initiated a new round of struggle against the white minority ruling class and its apartheid system. Students all over the country are

boycotting schools to protest the racist educational system. Mixed-race ("Coloured") and Indian students began the boycott in April. By the end of April over 130,000 students were on strike. Then on May 6 Prime Minister Pieter Botha promised to investigate the students' "legitimate grievances." Following this announcement, student leaders in Cape Town voted to return to class, and it appeared that the boycott would soon be over.

In fact, it was only the beginning. Although Black students for the most part had not participated in the early stages of the boycott, they began their own nationwide strike after 175 Black students were jailed on May 15 for supporting the strike of the Coloured and Indian students. Meanwhile, the Coloured students who had returned to school walked out again. In the first week of June, students in Namibia (South-West Africa), which is occupied by the South African regime, also joined the boycott.

Liberal Black and white religious leaders in South Africa are now supporting the students. On May 26, 53



Johannesburg mixed-race students march to a rally against apartheid this April.

ministers were jailed overnight for holding an illegal rally to protest the arrest of John Thorne, a mixed-race cleric who has been charged with instigating the boycott.

Botha's government, which tried to buy off the mixed-race students with promises, has taken a hard line since

Black students joined the strike. On May 26, Louis Le Grange, the Minister of Police, threatened that "people who, through underground methods, want to have the schools' situation develop into a public confrontation with the government, must realize it is

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**our
readers
write...**

Send letters to:

TORCH, PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

Court nears decision on U.S. Steel safety violations

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) versus U.S. Steel South Works (Chicago) case that you wrote about in the April 15 Torch resumed hearings on May 19. The case concerns water and molten metal explosions.

The hearings ended with everything pointing to a victory for OSHA and Local 65 of the United Steel Workers union, which joined with OSHA in prosecuting the case. If, as expected, the company loses, it would establish an important precedent: that the company knowingly and willingly jeopardizes the safety of its workers, and that this constitutes criminal negligence.

Witnesses from the basic oxygen process (BOP) shop and blast furnaces testified about the hazards of water in the areas where molten metal is poured. One worker, who had worked in the plant for 27 years, told how he had seen water in the steel pouring areas. He also described an incident where a full ladle of steel was spilled. If water had been in the area there would have been a total catastrophe.

U.S. Steel's defense—that water and molten metal do not produce an explosion—was crushed by the workers' testimonies. The company understood this and called only two witnesses, the supervisors from the BOP shop and blast furnace. When the union cross-examined the supervisors, they were forced to admit that the situations under question were unsafe. They also admitted seeing many dangerous situations.

There are many important lessons to be learned from the case. This case was the first at Local 65 where the union exercised its right of equal party status with OSHA and the company. By the union working closely with OSHA, the case was better structured. The union played the most

important role. It convinced and organized workers to participate in the trial. With its knowledge of the work areas and how the company operates to cover up unsafe conditions, the union was able to uncover the company's lies and distortions.

Another lesson from the case is that when workers organize and fight collectively the company has a harder time disciplining workers who protest unsafe conditions. As you reported in the Torch

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article, the company harassed and disciplined me because of my trial testimony. But now, the company has backed off. The union is fighting the disciplines on the basis of discrimination, and there is a good chance we will win.

Another important lesson is that workers can use OSHA and the courts as an arena to show that the companies are interested in production first and safety last. The OSHA case is a way to build the confidence of workers that when we take a stand and organize, we can win some gains. This must be coupled with understanding that the only way we'll ever have safe jobs is to run them ourselves. We must begin now by organizing to shut down all unsafe jobs, with no loss in pay. We must take responsibility for learning more about health and safety on the job and in the communities. As the steel industry falls apart with the rest of the U.S. economy, we must organize to take over the mills and country (and world) and run them under workers' control.

For the revolution,
Lisa Shea

Gay reader harassed by cops, attacked by thugs

Dear Torch,

Violence against gays is nothing new, but violence against gays in the Greenwich Village and Chelsea area is on a dramatic increase in the wake of "Cruising."

On the night of June 4, I decided to go out for a drink after work. I work the evening shift. I arrived at one of the dockstrip bars called the "Cell Block." No sooner had I started my beer than a drag queen ran in screaming, "Somebody come help. Someone's been pushed into the river."

Being a nurse and a fair swimmer, I thought my services could be important. The bartender called 911 and I ran

out to the pier. Sure enough, there was someone bobbing in the water. We pulled him out. Someone for no reason had run by and pushed him in. Numerous homophobic gangs wander the Village Chelsea dockstrip area at night.

After the police arrived it was about 30 minutes of their piggish insults. One said to another, "It's just a fag."

After this incident I decided to cross West St. and finish my beer. When I crossed the street a yellow cab with a passenger called me to the corner. As I approached the window the driver pulled a gun and told me to get in the back of the cab.

They thought I was a male prostitute. They drove me to a

deserted area of the pier. They asked me if I was gay and when I said yes they became enraged, slapping and punching me. They told me fags were sick. They wanted any money I had and when I only produced a dollar, which is all I had, they forced me to strip. At gun point one told me to perform oral sex on him but as soon as I started they hit and punched me again saying that I was sick. They told me they were going to shoot me in the head or the groin. Then one said, "We can shoot him in the legs, throw him in the river and watch him drown."

While I was still naked the one with the gun told me to turn over—he was going to fuck me. I told him, "Go ahead and shoot me. That's the final straw—nobody's going to fuck me." Again I was hit and punched.

At this point I was allowed to put on my clothes and I got the impression they were going to take me someplace else. They spoke Spanish and I understand very little. At this point one got out to urinate and when the gunman looked to check on him I grabbed the gun and punched him. I leaped from the car and ran as fast as I could. They tried to run me down but just succeeded in knocking me down and then drove away.

I was free! Bruised, shaken, but alive! It's difficult but I try not to blame these two individuals but the sick system that produces such sick anti-gay hatred, and that sets gays and prostitutes up as perfect victims because the police see us as worthless!

Thank you to the RSL for letting me inform others of the growing danger and also for their support during this frightful experience.

In struggle,
Steve Rose
New York City

From a Tenn. prisoner

Dear Comrades,

I have only recently become aware of your publication and your interest of the struggles of the men and women locked in these human warehouses. I am presently confined in the Federal Correctional Institution at Memphis, Tennessee. I am in the segregation unit, and because of my speaking out against abuses that the officers have committed against prisoners I have been a victim of beatings, threats and constant harassment.

On February 19, 1980, I was beaten by two officers because I requested they return to me or the owner a letter that was sent to him as legal mail. The envelope that the letter was in was clearly marked an attorney-client correspondence but the officers took the letter saying it wasn't legal mail. When I made a request to see the correctional supervisor I was assaulted by these two officers.

I have also seen officers

attack inmates on two occasions since my confinement in segregation. On April 10, an inmate was attacked and beaten by an officer here. This officer is a self-proclaimed member of the KKK, and advocates the killing of Blacks whenever necessary, saying it is always necessary. There was another incident on April 27, where an officer had made several verbal insults to an inmate, then struck the inmate with a metal tray while feeding him, that led to a physical confrontation. This inmate was chained to his bed for a day after this incident.

I would appreciate it if you would print my letter in your newspaper, so people will know that the practice of racial discrimination is widely practiced throughout the Bureau of Prisons, and that the men and women confined are struggling in here to maintain some semblance of their dignity.

In struggle,
Yacub

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ILG Leaders Stand in Way of Victory

Cops Arrest 18 in Glydons Strike

LOS ANGELES, June 8—In the biggest attack so far on the four and a half month old Glydons strike, 18 people were arrested June 6 during a strike support picket outside the factory. The 18 included striking Glydons workers, garment workers from other factories, and supporters of the Revolutionary Garment Committee (el Comité Revolucionario de la Costura—CRC), Revolutionary Socialist League, News and Letters, and Revolutionary Workers Group. All were charged with obstructing a sidewalk.

The Glydons workers are striking for union recognition and a union contract. Last December they voted 149 to 10 for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Since then the Glydons management has refused to negotiate with the union.

The unexpected mass arrests represent a new escalation in efforts by the Glydons boss and the police Labor Squad to demoralize the Glydons strikers and particularly to halt the weekly strike support pickets sponsored by the CRC. These pickets have been taking place without incident for nearly two months, ever since a court injunction limited to four the number of strikers legally allowed to picket at the factory gate. Non-striking supporters from other factories and from several left groups have helped keep the pressure on where it's needed most—right in the faces of the boss and his scabs.

Shortly after the arrests, CRC and RSL spokespeople announced their intention to continue with the weekly support pickets and called for others to join in the activities. This long and difficult strike for union recognition is not defeated. It can win, but only if support is broadened and intensified. This will have to be done in spite of attacks from the boss and the state, and despite opposition from the ILG, which seems determined to make the strike lose.

ILG leaves striker in jail

The Glydons workers were prepared to see the Glydons boss try to kill the strike. They soon came to understand the role of the state—the police and the courts. But it has been the actions of the leaders of their own union that have done the most to demoralize the workers and weaken



Glydons strikers and supporters at mass picket line organized during April Week of Solidarity.

the strike.

A glaring example of the treachery of the ILG leaders occurred May 28 when Tony Orea, member of the Glydons Organizing Committee and one of the strike leaders, was arrested by the police on the order of Irvin Hoptman, an official of Glydons, Inc. Orea was accused of vandalism against company property without any proof except the boss's word. Orea was arrested while he and other strikers were standing by the main gate of Glydons preventing people from crossing the picket line. Nevertheless, the union refused to bail him out of jail.

The main reason the union gave for refusing to post bail was that Orea was guilty of the charges. Thus when Orea called the union from jail to see if the union would put up his bail, the union's director of organization, Phil Russo, told him "It's your problem." Actions such as these are unworthy of a workers' organization; whether or not the worker is guilty—and in this case there is no proof that he was—the union should not judge the worker at the moment he is being attacked by the police and the boss. Nevertheless, this is the type of mentality these trade union "leaders" have.

But the real reason the union refused to defend Orea is more than simple personalism. Tony has been consistently fighting for democratic control of the union, for the decisions of the majority to be respected. This question of union democracy is particularly important in the Glydons strike because there are serious differences over how to

carry out the organizing. The CRC and many of the strikers have urged that the union carry out a militant campaign (including mass picketing and building support among other garment workers, unions, left and community organizations) to force the boss to the negotiating table. The union leaders, on the other hand, have conducted a passive, indecisive and timid campaign. From the beginning of the strike the union decided not to take action to force the boss to negotiate a contract. Time and again the union leadership has overturned decisions of the strikers themselves and jammed through its own proposals.

"Labor peace" tactic fails

As was reported in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*, secret talks between one of the Glydons bosses and the

union began at the beginning of May. After the Organizing Committee waited four days to see the results of these talks, the union leadership came before the committee and proposed to wait two more weeks, to take people off the picket line, leaving only four people at each gate, and to carry out no activities except a boycott at one or another store. A majority of the Glydons Organizing Committee voted to reject this proposal for a two-week truce. The union hacks roundly opposed this decision of the Organizing Committee. Only by intimidating the strikers and insisting that they would accept no strategy but their own were the union leaders able to ram their approach through. They then brought their proposal to a general meeting of the strikers where the majority opposed it once again. Nevertheless, the union arbitrarily decided to carry it out.

Glydons' reply was a round refusal to start talks with the

union. It is now one month later and the situation is worse. We face a strengthened company that has successfully resisted all the efforts of the strikers. Despite this, the union has decided only to carry out a series of boycott activities. These activities are good but by themselves they are insufficient; they lack the power to force the company to negotiate. The main task now is to build support from other unions, organizations, church groups, etc.

The direct pressure we can exert on the company is what is important. We must look for support from other workers in the garment industry. The participation of these workers is not just important because we are uniting against a common enemy. It is also crucial because by participating in this activity workers acquire the class consciousness they need to fight for their liberation.

Strike needs support!

The leadership of the union has shown that it is incapable of doing what's necessary to win the strike. It has demonstrated that it doesn't represent workers' unionism but bureaucratic unionism.

In fact, the union consists of the workers who built the union through their struggles. The representatives of the union are individuals elected and/or paid by the members. The job of these representatives is to carry out what the membership decides and not to impose themselves on those who pay them. This is the kind of unionism we should be fighting for, not the kind the leadership of the ILGWU represents.

From its formation, the CRC has participated in and offered its support not only to the strike itself but to all aspects of the organizing drive. We have supported the strike by organizing demonstrations and publicizing the strike. These actions have helped to force the company to close the factory and to maintain the morale of the strikers.

The Glydons strikers need your support and funds are needed for the cost of defending the 18 people arrested on June 6. Please send messages of solidarity and whatever amount of money you can to: **Comité Revolucionario de la Costura, Box 327, Hollywood, CA 90028.** □



Pickets confront scab at Glydons.

**"Justice
in America
Is a
Damn Lie"**

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

While the 1980s officially started on January 1, politically the decade began on May 17.

On that day, an all-white jury in Tampa, Florida, acquitted four white policemen for the fatal beating of Black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie last December 17 and its subsequent cover-up. The cops claimed that McDuffie resisted arrest when stopped for speeding on a motorcycle; thus they beat him with billy clubs and heavy metal flashlights until his head "cracked like an egg," in the words of the Dade County medical examiner. They then ran the motorcycle over his lifeless body, and tried to pass it all off as an accident. In handing down an acquittal the jury ignored the testimony of three cops who said that McDuffie had shouted "I give up" before the beating started.

Within hours of the verdict, the Black communities of Miami exploded in a three-day rebellion, the likes of which has not been seen since the urban uprisings that swept the country in the middle and late '60s.

For three days people fought the cops and National

Lessons of the Miami

Guard, looted stores and then set them to the torch. Liberty City, Overton and other Black neighborhoods became war zones, fires burning, streets barricaded, hospitals filled with wounded. Whites and Latins who drove into the area unawares were attacked, leaving five dead and scores more injured. The death toll for Blacks went even higher, with vigilante whites shooting at Blacks from cars and panelled vans, and trigger-happy cops gunning down unarmed Black youths.

The three days of rebellion left 18 dead; hundreds injured, many seriously; over 1,000 arrested; and property damage totalling over \$100 million.

Miami Blacks no longer ignored

The three days of rebellion also left the rulers of this country reeling, their vain hopes shattered that the Black "question" and the Black liberation struggle had been repressed in the '70s for decades to come. In three days, the government paid more lip service to the problems Black people face in this society than it had in 10 years. The Justice Department rushed investigators to Miami to look into and possibly prosecute not only those responsible for

McDuffie's murder, but cops accused of brutality in other cases as well. Florida Governor Bob Graham announced he would seek emergency federal funds to rebuild the riot-torn communities.

Thus in three days, the Black people of Miami ac-

tion. The white foreman of the Tampa jury blamed the fact that they handed down a verdict on a Saturday, instead of waiting until Monday. The *Wall Street Journal* focussed on the lack of investment capital available to Black businesses. The media have dis-

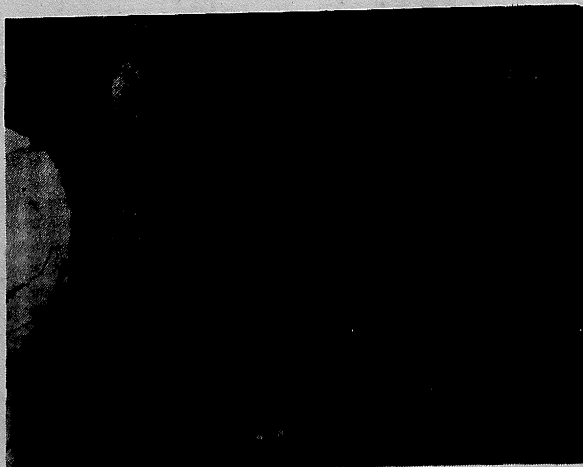
Africans were brought here in bondage in 1619.

"Justice in America is a damn lie," read one of the first placards to appear in the streets of Miami after the verdict was announced. Those words—often summarized simply as "McDuffie"—were echoed again and again throughout the rebellion.

We will leave it to the bourgeois liberals, however, to document all the motivations, all the social and economic travesties that led to the Miami rebellion. Terrified that cities across the country could blow up at any time, they will compile their statistics and paint heart-wrenching pictures of what it is like to be Black in America. For them, the Miami rebellion was the unfortunate culmination—the end product—of the injustice they believe is inconsistent with "democratic" U.S. capitalism. For us, the Miami rebellion was the beginning of a needed fightback against what is a wholly consistent, undemocratic, unjust and rotten system.

But recognizing that the Miami rebellion was an important step forward is not enough. When all the dust settles in Liberty City its residents may well find that very little has changed. The government is already backing off many of the promises it made in the heat of the uprising. Thus the rebellion's accomplishments may prove to be more symbolic than real.

For Miami to be a real beginning, an assessment of the rebellion—its strengths and weaknesses—is desperately needed. The capitalists will make such an assessment the better to repress future uprisings. The Black reformists will draw their balance sheet the better to head off



Black man argues with cops who refused to allow ambulance to pick up a wounded relative wounded in rebellion.

accomplished more than had all the working-through-the-system preachings of the Black reformist leaders who dominated the Black movement of the '70s. In three days, that decade was buried.

Many things have been blamed for the Miami rebel-

covered such things as the chronically high unemployment rate for Blacks, particularly Black youth, and now mushrooming under the impact of the recession; the brutality of the cops and the inequities of the court system; the fragility of the hold that the Black middle class exercises over working class Blacks.

(This last point was graphically demonstrated when Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young and other prominent Black leaders flew to Miami during the rebellion expecting they could quiet things down, only to find themselves either booed or ignored.)

The press has also made much of the fact that people from Cuba and Latin America—who now outnumber Blacks in Miami—have prospered while Blacks have fallen further behind.

But the most astute commentators have noted that the rebellion didn't erupt over bread-and-butter issues like jobs, or even around police brutality in the narrow sense. Miami exploded not after McDuffie's death, but only when face-stinging insult—the acquittal—was added to years of injury.

Unorganized, often given to random and brutal violence against whites and Latins, the rebellion lashed out at the system that has kept Black people on the bottom while assimilating and absorbing, to varying degrees, all those peoples who came to this country long after the first

Jordan Shooting Reveals Growing Racist Climate

Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League (a moderate civil rights organization), was shot and seriously wounded in Fort Wayne, Indiana, at about 2:00 a.m. on May 29. Earlier that evening, Jordan had addressed a local Urban League banquet. After the banquet ended, he was introduced to Martha Coleman, a white woman who is a member of the local Urban League's executive board. Jordan later accompanied Coleman to her home. He was shot just after she dropped him off at his motel. Evidence indicates that the would-be killer or killers waited a considerable time on a knoll outside the motel to get a shot at Jordan.

Within hours after the shooting, the FBI began a well-publicized investigation into "an apparent conspiracy to deprive Vernon Jordan of his civil rights." There are two reasons why the Carter administration jumped into the case so quickly. The first is that in

the wake of the Miami rebellion, the ruling class feared that unless it acted quickly the Jordan shooting could touch off further Black uprisings. The second is that Jordan himself is a reformist politician who is completely loyal to the U.S. ruling class. The ruling class needs allies like Jordan to cover up its oppression of Black people, to keep the Black struggle within pro-capitalist bounds and to head off the emergence of more militant Black leaders. So it will take some efforts to protect them as long as they are useful.

However, on June 4, FBI investigators said they had no motive or suspect in the shooting and little prospect of solving the case. Instead, officials—both federal and local—and the capitalist press are trying to reduce the attempted murder of Jordan into a sleazy sex scandal centering around Coleman's personal life in general, and her rela-

tionship with Jordan in particular.

We don't know who shot Vernon Jordan. But we suspect that the shooting was racially motivated. The Ku Klux Klan has been actively organizing in the Fort Wayne area. It held a rally in Fort Wayne itself last September, and another in nearby Kokomo in April.

It's possible that local Klan forces saw Jordan's visit to Fort Wayne as an opportunity to murder a nationally known Black leader. It's also possible that he was shot by some racists simply because he was a Black man in the company of a white woman. In any event, the campaign to dismiss the attempted murder of Jordan as a revenge shooting by one of Coleman's alleged "male friends" must be condemned as an effort to cover up racism in Indiana and the growth of the racist right-wing movement across the country. □



Whites in one trailer park armed themselves but told reporters they sympathized with rebellion.

Rebellion

and control "their" communities. Working and oppressed people need our own assessment—the better to take the struggle beyond Miami.

Accomplishments of rebellion

We believe the positive sides of the Miami rebellion are as follows:

1) It was the most major, mass response in a decade to the attempts of the ruling class to keep Blacks on the invisible fringe of society, to strip away the already limited gains won through struggle in the '60s.

2) It broke with the predominantly peaceful and legalistic modes of struggle that characterized the Black movement—indeed almost every movement—of the 1970s. As one young brother put it during the rebellion: "When we try to do it their way, look at what they do to us."

3) It helped to expose the role that Black reformist leaders play in trying to control the Black communities for the ruling class.

4) It put the capitalists on notice that there was a price to be paid for treating Blacks as an "underclass," as the bourgeois sociologists like to put it. It showed that "the chickens come home to roost," as Malcolm X put it.

5) By bringing the McDuffie case to national and international attention, it exposed how hypocritical and dishonest the U.S. capitalists' claim to be for freedom and democracy really is.

On the other side, there were two crucial weaknesses in what happened during the rebellion.

First, there were some particularly brutal attacks on whites and Latins. In any rebellion it is almost inevita-

ble that innocent people will get hurt. Someone walks in the middle of cross-fire or is hit by a flying object. But in Miami, it was more than a few whites and Latins getting caught in the wrong place at the wrong time. While many Blacks tried to warn white motorists not to enter the area, other whole groups of people went after all who did, including setting people afire, running a car over someone several times, and so on.

One participant in the rebellion described this violence as "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." But the power structure responsible for thousands of McDuffies—from the cops to the bosses to the politicians—lost no eyes or teeth. Rather it was mostly working class whites and Latins who bore the brunt.

This misdirected hostility did much to undercut the political impact of the rebellion. It was all too easy for the media to describe it as a "race riot." And it was all too easy for them to play up the victimization of whites and Latins when in fact more Blacks died during the rebellion at the hands of vigilantes and cops.

More importantly, the violence prevented an alliance with the many whites and Latins who shared Black people's fury at the McDuffie verdict. On the second day of the rebellion, television reporters found armed whites standing in front of a trailer park near Liberty City. The whites told reporters that they sympathized with the Blacks, but had to protect their property; it was all they had in the world. Similarly, the vast majority of letters after the rebellion to the Miami Herald from whites and Latins expressed solidarity with the Black people of Miami:

"...With this verdict—what now? Will I be next because I'm a disabled veteran,



Black-owned cars wrecked by cops in Liberty City area.

will I be next because I'm Polish, will I be next because I'm a middle-aged white?"

"After hearing the verdict in the McDuffie trial, I cried. I am white. The Black people in Dade County have real grievances and no other means to vent them except retaliative rage..."

"I am truly embarrassed to be a member of the 'white majority.'" (All quotes from the Miami Herald, May 22, 1980.)

The second weakness, and closely related to the violence against whites and Latins, was the lack of political organization and leadership to emerge during the rebellion. No mass meetings were held in the three days, no set of demands issued. There was no form of organization through which whites and Latins could be urged to support and join the rebellion. And no game plans were drawn up to prevent the cops and National Guard from terrorizing the community and rounding up hundreds of Blacks.

The result was that the cops got off easy; they just stayed out of the area the first night and let innocent motorists take the rap. By the second day, they were able to regain some initiative, shooting young Blacks, arresting hundreds more and vandalizing the "suspects' cars. And when the rebellion was over, Black middle class leaders—including the head of the Greater Miami Urban League, who had played golf on the

second day of the uprising—were able to step into the vacuum and claim to speak for the community.

More broadly, the struggle remained localized. In a few cities across the country Black and left organizations held demonstrations and put out leaflets in support of the rebellion. But this remained passive support, not active participation.

Loss of political consciousness

However, it should be neither surprising nor discouraging that the Miami rebellion—which rocked the nation for three days and will be a deafening moment of the '80s—displayed political weaknesses. Since the end of the Vietnam War and the smashing of the Black liberation movement, the class struggle in the U.S. has been in a relatively deep lull. Despite the recession of 1974-75, the economy continued to limp along without disaster until the end of the decade. Many of the thousands—millions—who were radicalized in the '60s "dropped back in." Many Black activists, upwardly mobile, swelled the ranks of the small Black middle class, joining their white counterparts of the "me generation." White rock replaced Black soul at the top of the record charts, and jogging and granola replaced struggling against the injustices of U.S.

imperialism. Thousands more, including many Black workers, resisted the lull but became cynical or went into a sort of political hibernation.

Because of these things, the level of political awareness and organization in general is lower than it was a decade ago. Many lessons need to be re-learned, and there are other lessons that were never properly understood after the struggles of the '60s.

First is the need for class unity among all working and oppressed people against our common enemy: the capitalists and the entire state apparatus—the government, cops, courts, etc.—that protect their interests. The problems that Black people face, whether unemployment, inflation, or discrimination, are the problems that working people of all colors and nationalities have to deal with to varying degrees. In Miami, for example, young people both Black and white find themselves to be easy targets for cops quick on the trigger. Only by fighting together can we defeat the enemy which seems so all-powerful.

Second is the need for revolutionary organization, a revolutionary party. As a leaflet put out by the Detroit RSL said right after the Miami rebellion:

"We need organization, training and leadership to go beyond the Miami rebellion. We need to create a revolutionary party that can turn the spirit of Miami into something ongoing. A revolutionary party would unite into one organization the most politically aware, dedicated and militant people of all races. It would teach people that our fight with the capitalists is a fight to the death. That we must use any and all means necessary for victory. And it would organize and train people so that we could fight, taking the smallest losses possible... The Revolutionary Socialist League is the beginning of this party. We are fighting for the masses of working and oppressed people to take control of society into their own hands. When the working class destroys this government and takes over the factories, land and banks, we can build a new socialist world. We will wipe out all racial, national and sexual prejudices."

Today the '70s are definitively over. The economy is perched for collapse; the lull in the class struggle is breaking up; and there will be an increasingly desperate struggle for survival. Miami is only the most dramatic indicator of this to date. Meanwhile, the country is polarizing between right and left and the revolutionary forces are painfully small and unprepared.

Miami, with its foretaste of things to come, must also be a warning of what needs to be done. □

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3) It helped to expose the role that Black reformist leaders play in trying to control the Black communities for the ruling class.

4) It put the capitalists on notice that there was a price to be paid for treating Blacks as an "underclass," as the bourgeois sociologists like to put it. It showed that "the chickens come home to roost," as Malcolm X put it.

5) By bringing the McDuffie case to national and international attention, it exposed how hypocritical and dishonest the U.S. capitalists' claim to be for freedom and democracy really is.

On the other side, there were two crucial weaknesses in what happened during the rebellion.

First, there were some particularly brutal attacks on whites and Latins. In any rebellion it is almost inevita-

working class and Latins who bore the brunt.

This misdirected hostility did much to undercut the political impact of the rebellion. It was all too easy for the media to describe it as a "race riot." And it was all too easy for them to play up the victimization of whites and Latins when in fact more Blacks died during the rebellion at the hands of vigilantes and cops.

More importantly, the violence prevented an alliance with the many whites and Latins who shared Black people's fury at the McDuffie verdict. On the second day of the rebellion, television reporters found armed whites standing in front of a trailer park near Liberty City. The whites told reporters that they sympathized with the Blacks, but had to protect their property; it was all they had in the world. Similarly, the vast majority of letters after the rebellion to the Miami Herald from whites and Latins expressed solidarity with the Black people of Miami:

"...With this verdict—what now? Will I be next because I'm a disabled veteran,

(the Miami Herald, May 22, 1980)

The second weakness, and closely related to the violence against whites and Latins, was the lack of political organization and leadership to emerge during the rebellion. No mass meetings were held in the three days, no set of demands issued. There was no form of organization through which whites and Latins could be urged to support and join the rebellion. And no game plans were drawn up to prevent the cops and National Guard from terrorizing the community and rounding up hundreds of Blacks.

The result was that the cops got off easy; they just stayed out of the area the first night and let innocent motorists take the rap. By the second day, they were able to regain some initiative, shooting young Blacks, arresting hundreds more and vandalizing the "suspects'" cars. And when the rebellion was over, Black middle class leaders—including the head of the Greater Miami Urban League, who had played golf on the

Loss of political consciousness

However, it should be neither surprising nor discouraging that the Miami rebellion—which rocked the nation for three days and will be a deafening moment of the '80s—displayed political weaknesses. Since the end of the Vietnam War and the smashing of the Black liberation movement, the class struggle in the U.S. has been in a relatively deep lull. Despite the recession of 1974-75, the economy continued to limp along without disaster until the end of the decade. Many of the thousands—millions—who were radicalized in the '60s "dropped back in." Many Black activists, upwardly mobile, swelled the ranks of the small Black middle class, joining their white counterparts of the "me generation." White rock replaced Black soul at the top of the record charts, and jogging and granola replaced struggling against the injustices of U.S.

be easy targets for cops pointing the trigger. Only by fighting together can we defeat an enemy which seems so powerful.

Second is the need for revolutionary organization, a revolutionary party. As a leap put out by the Detroit People's Party right after the Miami rebellion:

"We need organization, training and leadership to go beyond the Miami rebellion. We need to create a revolutionary party that can turn the spirit of Miami into something ongoing. A revolutionary party would unite into one organization the most politically aware, dedicated and militant people of all races. It would teach people that our fight with capitalists is a fight to the death. That we must use all and all means necessary for victory. And it would organize and train people so that they could fight, taking the smallest losses possible... The Revolutionary Social League is the beginning of this party. We are fighting for the masses of working and oppressed people to take control of society into their own hands. When the working class destroys this government and takes over the factories, land and banks, we can build a new socialist world. We will wipe out racial, national and sexual prejudice."

Today the '70s are definitively over. The economy is perched for collapse; the class struggle is breaking up; and there will be an increasingly desperate struggle for survival. Miami is one of the most dramatic indicators of this to date. Meanwhile, the country is polarizing between right and left and the revolutionary forces are painfully small and unprepared.

Miami, with its foretaste of things to come, must also be a warning of what needs to be done. □

CA Voters Nominate Klansman for Congress

In last month's Torch/La Antorcha we reported that Harold Covington, a Nazi, got 56,660 votes in a losing bid for the Republican nomination for North Carolina state attorney general. On June 3, Tom Metzger, a TV repairman and the California state director of the Ku Klux Klan, won the Democratic nomination for the House of Representatives in the 43rd Congressional District, receiving 32,344 votes.

Metzger ran in the primary to carry out racist, right-wing propaganda. He focused his attacks particularly on the influx of Cuban, Vietnamese and other refugees who he contends are taking away jobs from white people. He is against admitting any more non-white refugees and wants to deport all undocumented workers. He opposes all affirmative action programs and says one of the reasons the Democratic Party is in trouble is because it supports gay rights.

The people who voted in the primary probably know

who Metzger is. Ten days after he entered the race he had his followers in a demonstration in Oceanside that was broken up by community residents and supporters of left groups. In early May he donned his white hood and robe and organized a cross burning. All this got him tons of media coverage.

But most of those who voted for Metzger are probably not Klan supporters—at least not yet. For the most part they are scared and confused whites who recognize that the system is in trouble. But, infected by racism and frightened by the high proportion of Mexicans and Asians in the area, they are wide open to the Klan's analysis that Blacks, Latins, gays and other oppressed people, along with leftists, are the cause of the crisis of the system. Unless they can be reached by a militant working class movement, they will become increasingly open to the Klan's program—to make the U.S. a "white man's country."



Oklahoma: no-parole board

Charles Bernell Barr, a prisoner in the Oklahoma state prison at McAlester, was denied parole this past March. The reason? The board ruled he had already received enough clemency because in November 1979 an appeals court overturned his conviction and reduced his 40-year sentence to 10 years, to run concurrently with two other 10-year sentences. In a letter to the Torch/La Antorcha he writes: "If the Pardon and Parole Board should check my institutional record it would show that I have perfect work and conduct record and only one rule violation, so this is why I appeal to your organization and the public for assistance."

The Oklahoma Pardon and Parole Board arbitrarily denies parole to almost all eligible prisoners. Barr gives the figures for the March 1980 parole hearings for the Inside the Walls Facility at McAlester. Out of 50 cases reviewed: 45 denied; three granted recommendation; one passed to another docket. Some cases were disposed of in less than a minute. In eight sessions of clemency hearings between May 1979 and March 1980, only eight percent of the cases got favorable recommendation. And out of that number less than half actually got out on parole.

Women's control unit opened

The federal government opened a control unit at the women's prison in Alderson, West Virginia, on December 25. It was built secretly to prevent a protest movement of the kind that forced the closing of Alderson's Maximum Security Unit (MSU) in January 1979. The purpose of control units is behavior modification. As psychology professor James McConnell explains it: "I believe the day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with drugs, hypnosis, and astute manipulation of reward and punishment to gain almost absolute control over an individual's behavior. . . ." If all that fails, there are shock treatments and lobotomies.

Political activists and prison organizers are the most likely candidates for behavior modification. "The main purpose of the long-term control unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large," according to court testimony by former Marion warden Ralph Aron.

The first two prisoners assigned to the Alderson control unit were Rita Brown, a former member of the George Jackson Brigade, and Sally Moore. Moore, who was convicted of trying to shoot President Gerald Ford, played a leading role in the struggle to close the MSU. Both women have since been transferred to other prisons.

Anti-prison-rape ctte. formed

Prison activist Russell Smith was released March 30, 1980. Smith spent seven years in federal prisons—two and a half for defending himself against prison rapists. While he organized around many issues, he became especially known for his fight against rape.

Since his release, Smith has joined with other activists to form People Organized to Stop Rape of Imprisoned Persons (POS RIP). The group's first news release states: "One of every five prisoners is subjected to rape in some form, from the coercive tactics utilized by prison officers and jail guards to the brutalization and mutilations inflicted by other, physically stronger prisoners. The victims are of all races and nationalities, sexes and sexual preferences. As is the case with victims of rape in the outside world, there is no typical victim of prison rape. . . . Prison rape affects all people. No one can guarantee that he or she will never be arrested and incarcerated. . . ."

POS RIP intends to publicize facts about prison rape, the conditions that lead to it and prisoners' struggles against it, and through this, to force prison officials to protect prisoners from rape and sexual assault. Write POS RIP, PO Box 3001, St. Louis, MO 63130.

After a four-day trial, Maria Haydee Torres was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment by a federal jury in New York May 22, for the 1977 bombing of the Mobil Oil building, in which one person was killed. The FALN took credit for the bombing.

—AL

Irish Freedom Fighters Hit Prison Conditions



Demonstrators in Britain demand release of H-Block prisoners.

By ADELE LOHMAN

Close to 400 prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland are protesting conditions that are among the most barbaric in the world. These special punishment cellblocks, built in the shape of an H, house prisoners charged with membership in the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army. The two organizations, which have been waging a guerrilla war against British colonial rule in the northern six counties of Ireland, are illegal under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

This law was passed in 1974 in an effort to crush resistance to British rule over what they call Northern Ireland. It allows the government to round up Irish nationalists and railroad them to prison in special no-jury courts, where the only evidence required is a signed confession—extracted from prisoners by torture.

Protestants ally with British

The present phase of the struggle in the six counties started in 1968 with civil rights demonstrations by the Catholic minority, which were fired on by the cops. Northern Ireland is a British colony. The British maintain their rule by defending the privileged position of the Protestant majority and playing on their anti-Catholic bigotry. The Catholics hold the low-paying unskilled jobs; they have the worst housing and a high unemployment rate. The Protestant majority gets the better-paying skilled jobs. Afraid that any gain by the Catholics

will mean a loss for them, they fiercely defend their privileges by defending British imperialism.

In response to the Catholic workers' demands for jobs and housing in 1968, armed Protestant thugs attacked Catholic neighborhoods. The residents fought back arms in hand and in 1969 Britain sent in troops to impose "order." This meant disarming the Catholics, which in turn led to increased resistance and support for the IRA. Britain answered by building the H-Blocks and filling them with Irish nationalists. As a result of mass protests and a prisoners' hunger strike the British were forced in 1972 to grant the internees Special Category status as political prisoners.

Special status abolished

In March 1976, however, the British abolished the Special Category status and declared that no prisoners would be considered political. Anyone convicted of violating their "law and order" would be treated as an "ordinary criminal." But they kept their repressive apparatus, including 14,000 troops to reinforce the 20,000 regular and special cops in the six counties. And they kept the H-Block dungeons.

Since March 1976, the H-Block prisoners have been fighting to regain Special Category status as political prisoners. Their demands include the right not to wear the prison uniform, not to do prison labor, to organize recreation, to get visitors and mail once a week, as well as the right to parole. They

refuse to put on the prison uniform, to work, to wash, or to obey the prison rules.

As a result, these men lie naked except for a blanket, two men to an eight-foot square cell, on torn, filthy foam mattresses, which are their only furniture. The cell floors are covered with urine and piles of rotting garbage. The cell walls are smeared with the prisoners' feces. The stench is unbearable because special windows shut out all fresh air and light.

Most of the prisoners look like skeletons from the starvation diet. They are denied medical care, exercise, recreation and reading materials. They are locked in their cells 24 hours a day. They are allowed one letter and one visitor a month. They endure daily beatings, force-washings with ice-cold water in the dead of winter, and humiliating body searches. There are 35 women prisoners on a protest in Armagh enduring similar conditions.

The prisoners are gaining outside support. Started by the Relatives Action Committee, a Smash H-Block coalition has been built in Ireland that includes trade unions, left groups, women's groups and others. There have been demonstrations all over Ireland, while support has also been growing in Britain. Send messages of solidarity to the H-Block prisoners and the women in Armagh jail to: John and Bridie McDonnell, 15 Slemish Way, Andersonstown, Belfast, Northern Ireland. They will see to it that the letters are delivered. □

SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

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

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

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

Send contributions to:
Prisoner Literature Fund
PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

By ELIZABETH

We have received letters from prisoners who are members of (NOI) and who article, "The Her published in the the Torch/La An

In particular, gree with my v abstentionist, th tion that sat ou Black people in They don't like w why Malcolm X I disagree with my NOI is not anti-c committed to s people as it usor their letters rev ences between u revolution.

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Reform or revolution

What was Ma during this per about the ballot talking about about not relyi kept ridiculing like Martin Luth

By ELIZABETH VOLKES

We have received a number of letters from prisoners, most of whom are members of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and who disagree with my article, "The Heritage of Malcolm X," published in the March-April issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha*.

In particular, these brothers disagree with my view of the NOI as abstentionist, that is, as an organization that sat out the mass struggles of Black people in the 1950s and '60s. They don't like what I had to say about why Malcolm X left the NOI. They also disagree with my point of view that the NOI is not anti-capitalist and is not as committed to self-defense for Black people as it used to claim. Finally, their letters reveal important differences between us on what we mean by revolution.

One of the brothers writes, for example, "As for Brother Malcolm's reason for leaving the Nation of Islam... he was placed on restricted membership because of public statements made concerning the Kennedy assassination."

Yes, Brother Ja'Far, that's exactly the point. What did Malcolm say about Kennedy's death? He said: "The chickens are coming home to roost!" And what did he mean? He meant that this rotten system has been oppres-

Reply to Readers on Malcolm X and Revolution

Young, etc., for being Uncle Toms, for being front-men for the system, for being for their rotten, racist set-up that oppresses Black people. He urged Black people to break completely with the system AND rely on ourselves. That went against the grain of what the Nation of Islam was trying to do.

Malcolm X wanted to smash the system and Elijah Muhammad wanted a piece of the system. Malcolm X was for revolution until his death. Elijah Muhammad was for building Black capitalism, for building up the enterprises of the Muslims, for expanding his operations right inside the heartland of U.S. Imperialism! You can't have it both ways. You are either for tearing it down, like Malcolm X was, or you are trying to get a piece of it, like the NOI. That's what brought Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad to a

parting of ways. That's why these two people had to separate. One wanted revolution; the other, his own form of integration within the system.

What you really have to do, when you strip away all the bull, is to build a movement that's devoted to one thing and one thing only—the destruction of capitalism, the seizure of power by the working class and all other oppressed people. If we Black people are to be free, we have to smash capitalism. That's our view. That's where we differ with the Nation of Islam. The NOI is not doing this, even though they use some anti-capitalist rhetoric. They have never done this.

Blacks oppressed by capitalism

Black people are not oppressed because we are ignorant. That's the lie that Jesse Jackson and the ruling class put forward. Black people are oppressed because we live in a system that is made for profits and greed. It's built on exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class. For this system, a worker, a Black person, a Latin or some other oppressed person is only good to make money for the capitalists. That is the material basis of racism. We are oppressed because of capitalism.

On the question of self-defense, one Muslim brother wrote, "Anyone connected with the precepts of Muslims knows that we do not turn the other cheek!" This is his response to my statement that Malcolm X left the NOI after the Los Angeles police shot seven unarmed Black Muslims in

April 22, 1962, in cold blood, and Elijah Muhammad prevented Malcolm X and the local NOI people from fighting back. I mentioned in my article that this was the main reason for the split. (No, Alex "Roots" Integrationist Haley didn't mention any of this in Malcolm's autobiography.) But look at what Malcolm X said on December 31, 1964, in a Harlem speech to some young people from Mississippi. They were talking about a voter registration campaign in Mississippi, where three Black men had been murdered. He criticized the Black civil rights organizations for not having protected them and for not reacting properly after the murders. Then, Malcolm went on to say: "That's what split the Muslim movement. That's what caused the Black Muslim movement to be split. Some of our brothers got hurt, and nothing was done about it, and those of us who wanted to do something about it were kept from doing something about it. So we split!"

Malcolm X took himself very seriously, and if anything was deeply ingrained in him it was the notion of self-defense. "If anyone lays a hand on you, send him to the cemetery." When he saw that Elijah Muhammad didn't mean it, he realized it was all a lie. Malcolm X saw that Mr. Muhammad was not about to organize Black people to fight back against the system because he didn't want to threaten his own little empire within the system. So he split.

Malcolm X worked to destroy system

We are not trying to pick on the Muslims. The Nation of Islam, especially its leadership, long ago showed what they're all about. There's no need for the RSL to pick on them. What we are trying to do is explain to Black people and the working class here in the U.S. what Malcolm X stood for—because we see the need to build a revolutionary leadership, and we think Malcolm X represents that. His ideals, his program still have a lot to say to Black people, to the working class and to other oppressed people of this society who are fighting for liberation. Malcolm X was a man of many ideas. He died before he could refine them down to one organized program. But we think he was moving toward revolutionary socialism, the idea that the root of Black people's oppression is the capitalist system and that the way to liberation is to tear that system down and build a new one run by and for the working class and all oppressed people. Malcolm didn't live long enough to figure out what socialism was all about—the rulers of this country made sure of that! But one thing stands out, and stands out clearly: Malcolm X hated this blood-sucking system and worked to destroy it.

This question of Reform vs. Revolution is still the main question facing Black people today. Are we going to go the way of Jesse Jackson, Vernon Jordan, Wallace D. Muhammad and Reverend Ike, each in his own way hustling on behalf of capitalism and U.S. Imperialism? Or will we, the Black workers, seize the leadership of the struggle, smash these front-men for the ruling class and—united with all other workers in the U.S. and around the world—fight for socialist revolution to free humanity? □

Civil rights protesters waterhosed by Birmingham cops. Black Muslims refused to join mass struggles for Black rights in the '50s and '60s.

sing Black people and people all over the world for generations, killing, exploiting, plundering. Then, finally, when Kennedy gets killed, Malcolm X calls it what it is: "The chickens coming home to roost." The Bay of Pigs, the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the killing of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, the violence that U.S. imperialism had started—that Kennedy was responsible for—was coming home to haunt the U.S. rulers. As they say, "What goes around, comes around!"

This is what Malcolm was saying. So why did Mr. Elijah Muhammad shut him up after this statement? Because this statement was an attack on the U.S. ruling class, and Elijah Muhammad freaked out. While Malcolm X was attacking the ruling class, Elijah Muhammad was trying to cozy up to it, to make a deal with it.

Reform or revolution

What was Malcolm X talking about during this period? He was talking about the ballot or the bullet; he was talking about armed self-defense, about not relying on the system. He kept ridiculing and attacking leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., Whitney

More important, just trying to change people's minds isn't enough. If

CIA-backed assassination of Patrice Lumumba of the Congo was example of U.S. ruling class violence which came "home to roost" when Kennedy was shot.

"Recession arrives; depression on the way?" the Torch/La Antorcha front page asked this April. Today the answer is still not clear, but there is little question that the current recession will be deeper than the 1974-75 recession, which in turn was the most severe crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

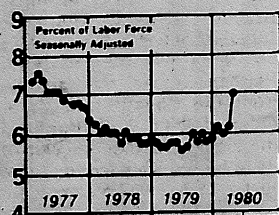
The Commerce Department's Index of Leading Indicators dropped 4.8 percent in April (the latest month available as of June 13), the largest one-month drop ever. New factory orders dropped 5.5 percent to \$143.8 billion—the sharpest drop since December 1974. Construction spending dropped 3.6 percent after a decline of 5.4 percent in March. April is now being considered the fourth month of the 1980 recession, but all these April figures are higher than they were four months into the 1974 recession.

Unemployment is also much higher than it was four and five months into the last downturn. The May unemployment figures showed total joblessness at 7.8 percent, up from 7 percent in April. "Durable goods sector" unemployment—auto, steel, glass, lumber, etc.—rose to 10.5 percent. Over 17 percent of construction workers were jobless in May. Black workers' unemployment was set at 13.9 percent and Black teenage unemployment at 35.2 percent.

As we have mentioned in

LATEST FIGURES SHOW ECONOMIC NOSEDIVE

the past, these Department of Labor unemployment figures are figured in a way that leaves out millions of people who don't have jobs. During



Unemployment is zooming...

the April transit strike in New York City, for example, the city's unemployment figures dropped because all the unemployed people stuck at home were considered to be not "actively looking for work" and therefore not part of the unemployed workforce!

The relative prosperity in the U.S. over the last few years has been built on consumer spending based on credit. In the past we have characterized this as a "debt economy" and pointed out that while the expansion of

debt created a surface recovery, the foundations of the economy—the plants, machinery, transportation, equipment, etc.—were being left to rot.

But now a credit crunch has ended the expansion of debt. This April consumer credit declined for the first time since May 1975. The drop of nearly \$2 billion in outstanding credit was the largest in the 37 years they've been keeping records. Without credit, few workers have money to buy much beyond the basics; real after-tax income of factory workers is less now than in 1962.

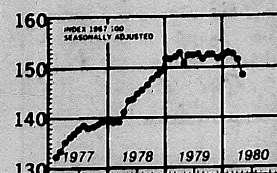
The result has been a sharp drop in all industries dependent on debt-based spending: auto, home construction, and consumer goods. This is what is causing the large-scale layoffs and the jump in unemployment.

Car sales for the Big Three dropped 38 percent from the same time last year, down to the lowest level since May 1962. Combined scheduled June production for the five largest car makers—GM, Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen of

America, and American Motors—is the lowest since 1961.

The annual rate of new housing starts has already dropped to below the low in 1975, while new home sales plunged 21 percent to a 14-year low. Retail store sales dropped 1.5 percent in May, making a total of a 7 percent drop since last January.

As sales and finished product production dropped, the steel mills have been closing their blast furnaces. Today, steel production is the lowest since 1971; the mills are operating at only 62 percent of



... while production plunges.

capacity. Machine tool orders declined 27 percent in April, total U.S. productivity went down and total utilization of factory capacity dropped to 81

percent.

Meanwhile, the European economies, while not falling as rapidly, are on the way down. Britain is already in a depression. A slump is beginning in West Germany. And in the rest of Europe, unemployment is growing and growth rates have dropped.

To sum up, everything is going to hell very fast. Whether or not the recession actually becomes a depression is difficult to predict.

"Today," we wrote at the beginning of the 1974 recession, "the international capitalist economy is collapsing under the weight of its previously hidden contradictions. The international economy is plagued with increasing obsolete sectors, a lack of capital sufficient to recreate conditions of profitable production, and a continuously mounting burden of debt and fictitious capital."

"In such conditions, Keynesian 'solutions' will be increasingly ineffective, even on a temporary basis: increasing doses of deficit financing and other forms of credit expansion will be necessary just to modernize the stagnation. The result will be galloping inflation even during downturns...."

"The overall direction of the capitalist economy is down," that same article continued, "although not necessarily without fluctuations along the way." □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Sanderson strike gains support

Up to 3,000 demonstrators from all over the South marched in Laurel, Mississippi, on May 17 to support 200 workers who are on strike at a local Sanderson Farms poultry processing plant. Over the past year, the Sanderson strike, which began on February 27, 1979, has become a key test in the struggle to defend the rights of workers, particularly Black and women workers, in the South.

Most of the Sanderson workers are Black women whose job it is to kill, cut up and package chickens for shipment throughout the region. The workers, who are members of the International Chemical Workers Union (ICWU), Local 882, walked off their jobs to demand decent wages and improvements in the miserable working conditions they face in the plant. The plant is constantly covered with blood and chicken intestines. Workers are allowed to go to the bathroom only three times a week. If they come in five minutes late, they are often suspended for two or three days.

The workers are also fighting Sanderson's racist and sexist policies. The company reserves the easiest and cleanest jobs for whites. Most of the foremen and supervisors are white males. A spokeswoman for the union told the Torch/La Antorcha that at least one supervisor in the plant is a known member of the Ku Klux Klan.

The ICWU has set up a Committee for Justice in Mississippi to organize national support for the Sanderson strikers. The committee gained the support of 175 leaders of labor, civil rights and

women's organizations for the recent march, which was its first major action. Continuing national support for the Sanderson workers will be vital not only for achieving their demands, but also for extending the struggle for trade union rights throughout the South.

Tax cut proposition defeated

On June 3, California voters defeated Proposition Nine, which would have cut taxpayers' personal state income tax in half regardless of income. Passage of Proposition Nine would have resulted in massive layoffs for public workers who are paid from state revenues. It also would have meant misery for poor people who depend on state-funded social services to survive. Finally, it would have provided a \$3 billion windfall for wealthy taxpayers, while providing little relief for taxpayers in lower income brackets.

Proposition Nine was the brainchild of Howard Jarvis, who became a right-wing hero after California voters approved his Proposition 13, which drastically cut property taxes, in 1978. Since then 25 states have enacted some kind of legislation limiting state tax revenue.

There is no doubt that rising taxes are really strangling the incomes of working class and middle class people. But the ruling class is using the "tax revolt" to turn the anger of employed white workers and middle class taxpayers against public workers and poor people—especially Black and Latin people—dependent on social service programs, and away from the capitalist

system which is responsible for the economic crisis. The defeat of Proposition Nine indicates that many working people in California are not being fooled by Jarvis and his phony tax reforms.

CTA ruling screws workers

CHICAGO—Last December, leaders of the Amalgamated Transit Union called off a militant four-day strike against the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) and agreed to court-ordered compulsory arbitration. On May 16, the arbitration results were announced. The transit workers got clobbered.

The main issue in the strike was the transit workers' fight to defend the 100 percent cost-of-living (COL) protection they had won in previous contracts. The arbitration settlement allows them COL raises covering only 55 percent of the official inflation rate. The CTA also won the right to hire part-time bus service workers immediately, and part-time drivers next year. As part-time workers will get minimum pay and no benefits, the CTA can use them to undercut the union. Finally, workers will now have to work four years instead of three before getting full pay.

Compulsory arbitration is one of the capitalists' favorite weapons against trade unionists in general, and public workers in particular. The ruling class uses arbitration to enforce "labor peace." At the same time, trade union bureaucrats welcome it as an excuse for giving up contract demands. On rare occasions, arbitrators may grant workers some contract gains in order to avoid militant strikes. But as the CTA arbitration demonstrates, arbitration usually results in a defeat for the workers.

—PB

Leadership Offers Balloons, Not Solutions, at UAW Convention

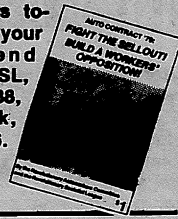
By LISA GREEN

From June 1 to June 6, the United Auto Workers union (UAW) held its convention in Anaheim, California. The convention meets every three years to set general policy for the union—its legislative and social goals. It is also the place where officers are elected and changes in the rules that govern the union are made.

THE CONVENTION took place at the worst time for autoworkers since World War II. Almost 300,000 workers, nearly one out of three autoworkers at the Big Three (General Motors, Ford and Chrysler), have been laid off. Thousands more have lost their jobs at smaller auto-parts supply plants and related industries. Plants are being shut down throughout the United States and Canada. In Detroit, between 1970 and 1976, 270 manufacturing plants closed.

As part of their plans to down-size cars and increase fuel economy, the Big Three are waging a vicious speedup and automation campaign to cut jobs—the largest, most systematic, most expensive campaign in the history of the

Pamphlet, written for the 1979 auto contract round, discusses issues still key for autoworkers today. For your copy send \$1.00 to: RSL, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.

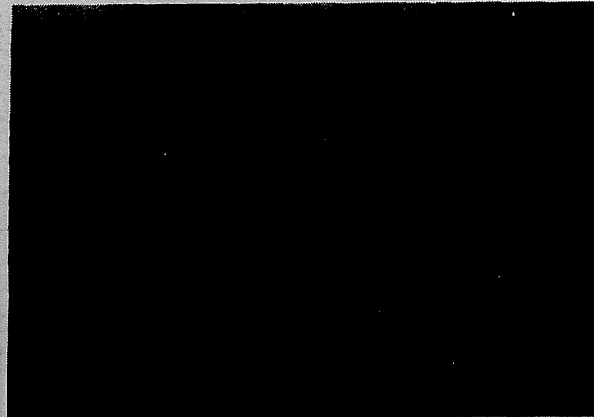


auto industry. Especially hard hit are women, and Black, Latin and Arab workers—the last hired and the first to be let go. But at the UAW convention there was no sense of the depth of the problems facing the UAW. And there was no general understanding of the poverty of solutions put forward by President Douglas Fraser and his leadership.

The convention itself was a sham. Nothing was decided on the convention floor. Results of elections that were to take place on Wednesday were printed in the previous Monday's newspaper. Although hundreds of militant resolutions were submitted, nothing came up that wasn't decided on by hand-picked committees. Even the pro-Fraser Administration Caucus delegates talked about the

convention as being "open and shut." They also commented that careers were being made and broken in back rooms. Most delegates were bored by the speeches and the reading of resolutions. A clown was hired to liven things up and give away

with companies in contracts. Two times debate was broken up. Once by an overnight recess and once by a 45-minute demonstration supported by the Administration Caucus. The demonstration's main banner said, "Thank you, Emil Mazey, Irving Bluestone,



UAW workers at Essex Wire Company in Indiana struck to win union recognition in 1978. At 1980 convention, they joined with other workers to demand fight against plant shutdowns.

balloon hats. As the days went by, fewer and fewer delegates attended sessions.

The attacks that UAW workers are facing come from the U.S.-based auto corporations. But Fraser's main solutions to the layoffs, plant closings and overwhelming job cuts are to restrict Japanese auto imports and to get Japanese companies to build plants here. This ignores the fact that the auto crisis is just one part of a crisis of the world capitalist system. It ignores the fact that jobs are getting scarcer for autoworkers in all countries. It ignores the fact that U.S. corporations plan to cut half the number of jobs, that Japanese auto plants are much more automated than U.S. plants, and that even if Japanese corporations build plants here, the number of jobs created will be a drop in the bucket compared to what is being lost.

FRASER'S approach also doesn't deal with the problems of the Big Three contracting out jobs in shops where workers get substandard wages, and of the union-busting drive going on in these shops.

One of the most important discussions at the convention was over plant closings. A resolution outlining the problem and endorsing the Ford Riegle National Employment Priorities Act (HR 5040) was passed. Delegates spoke of the need for stronger legislation, more militant action, or taking on the issue directly

Ken Bannon, Pat Greathouse" (all are top UAW officers who are retiring). Many signs carried read, "Hungry? Eat your Toyota."

At the end of the debate Fraser remarked: "If I thought we could solve this problem by having a massive march on Washington, we'd do it every week." This was the only response to a petition, circulated by delegates representing Dodge Main workers whose plant was shut down last January, calling for the UAW to organize a coalition for a mass march on Washington this Labor Day. One thousand delegates, alternates and other UAW members signed this petition. But it was never taken up by the convention.

Michael Harrington, leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), addressed the convention openly as a socialist. Top UAW leaders have begun to come out as supporters of DSOC. Harrington said he was against the corporations. He also called for industrial democracy. By that he meant Fraser being on Chrysler's board of directors! He called the UAW the most progressive, democratic, creative force in the U.S. today.

One-half hour later there was debate on removing the "red clause" from the UAW constitution. This clause denies the rights of communists to hold office in the UAW. It had been challenged in court and found to be unconstitu-

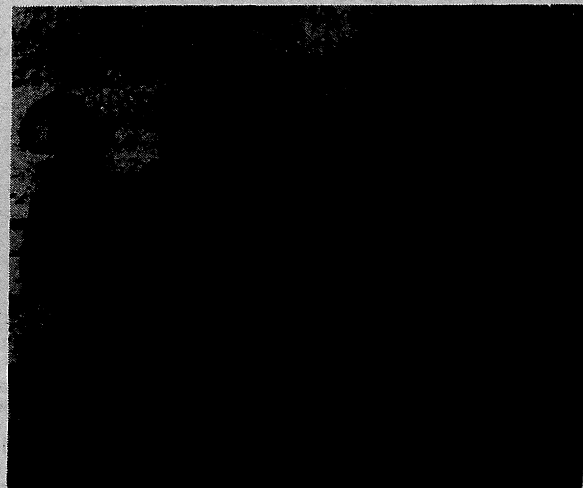
tional. The resolution to repeal the clause was calculated to provoke anti-communist sentiment from the delegates. Suddenly, all the boredom and frivolity ceased. Delegate after delegate rose to blast away at the "reds." The most angry speeches of the convention were given at this time. Neither Fraser nor anyone from the Constitution Committee (which had proposed the change) spoke in favor of deleting the clause. Two delegates, Lew Moye from St. Louis, Missouri, and Michael Messina from Marshalltown, Iowa, were the only two delegates who spoke against the red-baiting. The message of the day was clear. It's okay to be a "democratic socialist" and give speeches about how nasty the corporations are. But the UAW leaders will try to channel the workers' anger and frustration against any left-wing opposition that wants to launch a real fight against the 'to companies.

The emphasis on import restrictions, mealy-mouthed legislation, positions on corporations' boards of directors, and anti-communism all fit together. If the Japanese are the problem, there is no need to fight the U.S. corporations. If "friends" in Congress can pass legislation, there is no need to educate and mobilize hundreds of thousands of autoworkers to demand decent lives. If Fraser sits on Chrysler's board of directors supposedly to make them treat workers more humanely, there is no need for workers to overthrow capitalism and run society ourselves. But if Fraser's strategy had a snowball's chance in hell of working, there would be no need to try to suppress the opposition inside the UAW.

Fraser will not get over so easily. Some delegates, feeling the pressure of the rank and file, expressed resentment toward the amount of control the International has over the locals. The 11 delegates and 11 alternates from McDonnell-Douglas passed out a leaflet against a change in the constitution that would make it easier for the International to force a bad contract down the throats of UAW members. The International's attempt to fix the length of term for shop stewards and committeepeople at three years was turned around. Pete Kelly and Al Gardner from the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) used the chance to nominate officers for president and vice-president to publicize the need for the referendum vote, in which UAW members would vote directly for International officers.

UAW MEMBERS who are involved in struggles against the corporations and the government came to the convention to find support and publicize their fight. Before and after convention sessions, in small rooms or away from the convention center, those interested in a militant struggle met together. For example, Vogue Coach workers from Local 509 (near Los Angeles, California) were there. They have been on strike for six months over the company's refusal to negotiate a contract. They make one-third the average wage of Big Three workers and have no cost-of-living, no pension and a mandatory 60-hour workweek. Many workers there are Mexican and undocumented. After a successful unionizing drive, the company ordered an Immi-

(Continued on page 17)



Workers leave Ford Mahwah, N.J., plant after learning it would close in June.

Anti-Apartheid Protests Sweep South Africa

(Continued from page 1)

a question of so far and no further." Two days later, police fired into a student rally in Cape Town, killing two students and seriously wounding three others. Police also swept through Black townships and jailed over 1,200 people in a so-called anti-crime campaign.

Black workers begin strike wave

In addition to the student protests, thousands of Black workers have downed their tools in what is now the biggest strike wave since 1973. In Durban, 6,000 workers in the Frametex textile mills are on strike for higher wages. In Cape Town, 3,000 meat workers are striking for more pay and for the right to elect their own bargaining committee. Another 1,500 workers in a clothing factory in Cape Town are also on strike for higher wages. And on June 3, 4,500 gold miners at the Stilfontein mine walked off their jobs.

The striking workers are gaining widespread support from the rest of the Black community. For instance, to support the meat strikers, the Black community in Cape Town is boycotting red meat, while Black butchers are selling only chicken. On May 24, 3,000 Cape Town students shut down a white shopping center and fought with riot police to demonstrate support for the meat strike as well as to enforce their own demands.

Furthermore, as part of the broad-based campaign against the apartheid regime, militants in the underground are stepping up their armed struggle. They scored a spectacular success on June 1 when they blew up a synthetic fuel plant and refinery near Johannesburg without suffering any casualties. According to the *New York Times* (June 3, 1980) South African intelligence experts estimate that the number of militants training for guerrilla warfare in sanctuaries in Angola has increased from 600 to 5,000 in the past two years. Meanwhile, the government is planting walls of sisal cactus on its northern borders and beefing up its frontier forces in an effort to prevent guerrilla warfare from breaking out in the countryside.

This escalation of the struggle on all fronts demonstrates the determination of Blacks and other oppressed people in South Africa to smash the apartheid system. Under



Riot police attack Cape Town demonstrators.

apartheid, the Black masses are slaves in their own country. They are denied the most minimal political or civil rights such as freedom of speech and assembly. Militants are routinely jailed on frame-up charges and murdered in prison. Black people are segregated in almost all aspects of life—where they can live, eat and work. They must carry passbooks that the government uses to track and control their movements. Over three million Black people have been forced to leave their homes and settle in the so-called "homelands." When they fight back against their oppression, they must face one of the most well-equipped and brutal military machines in the world. Nevertheless, the Black masses have continually rebelled against the white racist rulers of South Africa.

Botha proposes petty reforms

The recent struggles also reveal that Botha's effort to revise the apartheid system in order to head off a full-scale Black revolt and to meet the changing needs of South Africa's capitalist economy is a failure. Botha came into office in September 1978, declaring that the whites in South Africa had to "adapt or die." Since then he has introduced a number of reforms, including legalizing Black trade unions, revising the job preferment system which kept Blacks out of skilled jobs and ending some of the more blatant features of petty apartheid (segregation of hotels, restaurants, and some theaters and sporting events). They also included allowing Black families, who are forbidden by law from owning land outside the Black "homelands," to sign 99-year leases on their homes

and shops in the Black townships.

In the wake of the defeat of white minority regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Botha is trying to convince the whites in South Africa that they must accept some concessions to the Black majority to survive. In addition, he is under pressure from the U.S. ruling class to grant minimal reforms to stabilize capitalism in South

Africa and to provide a "human rights" cover for U.S. imperialism's continuing support to the white ruling class.

One particular reason Botha is advocating "reforming" apartheid is because there are simply not enough whites in South Africa to both suppress the Black population and keep the economy going at the same time. Around 64 percent of the whites work for South Africa's enormous state machine. As one Black woman in Soweto told reporters: "It takes a lot of white folks to enforce all those restrictions and stamp all those papers to control us."

As a result, there are only 10,000 whites available to fill the 26,000 skilled jobs which open up every year. When the *Johannesburg Star* interviewed South African business leaders on the state of the economy, almost all listed skilled labor shortages as the main bottleneck to economic expansion. Leaders of the 330 U.S. companies with plants in South Africa are particularly concerned with the need for skilled labor. Patrick Wilson, head of Mobil South Africa,

told the *Wall Street Journal*: "There is a terrible shortage of skilled labor here. The only way this country has a future is to bring non-whites into the system."

In other words, the ruling class is allowing Black workers into skilled jobs—despite the opposition of racist white trade union leaders—because it has no other choice. According to the *Johannesburg Star*, Black workers, who now number only 7.5 percent of the "qualified" labor force, will grow to 40 percent of the skilled work force in just four years.

At the same time, the South African ruling class is introducing other measures to try to keep the Black working class under control. In industry, both U.S. and South African companies are training a few Black students to become managers who can stand between the ruling class and the Black workers. For instance, the Anglo American Corporation has begun a program to train 12 Black students a year for the next five years for management positions. Program Director Nicholas Oppenheimer told *Time Magazine* a big goal was to produce a "privileged few" managers.

In addition, Botha's regime is working out new strategies in an attempt to isolate Blacks from the other peoples who are oppressed by the apartheid

Military Dictatorship Crushes Uprising in South Korea

From May 13 to May 27, South Korean workers and students rose up in the greatest rebellion the country has seen in 20 years. The revolt occurred after South Korea's military government, which had promised a return to civilian rule when it took power last October, refused to set a definite timetable for drafting a new constitution and organizing free elections.

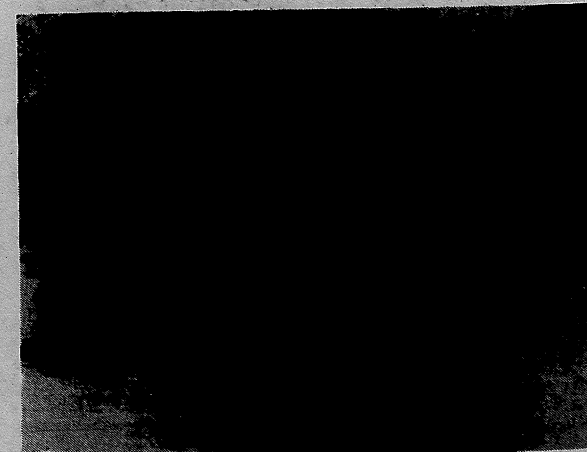
The anti-government demonstrations first broke out in Seoul, the national capital, and quickly spread to Taegu, Inchon and other cities. In South Cholla province, in the southwestern part of the country, the protests exploded into a full-blown insurrection against the government. On May 18, 200,000 people in Kwangju, the capital of the province, went into the streets, armed themselves with weapons taken from local police stations, and forced police and army troops out of the city. They controlled the city for the next eight days.

Demonstrators also took control of Mokpo and other

cities in the province.

However, General Chon Too Hwan, the head of the army's Defense Security Command and the real ruler of South Korea, was able to regain control of the country by May 27. The army declared martial law on May 17 and immediately jailed student and politi-

cal opposition leaders in Seoul. In South Cholla province itself, the army blockaded roads and cut off phone communications to isolate the militants. Then on May 27, troops launched a pre-dawn attack and recaptured Kwangju. Although precise figures are not known, it is reported



Kwangju rebels parade in vehicles they captured from army during insurrection.

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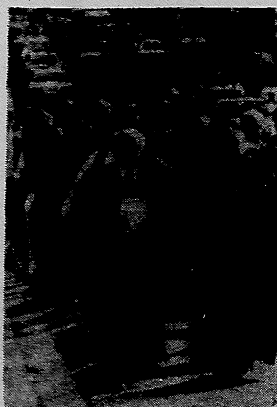
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Clergymen march to jail after May 26 protest.

system. For example, the government recently revised the country's 1910 constitution to eliminate the Senate and replace it with a council appointed by the government which will include white, mixed-race and Asian representatives, but no Blacks. One Black man neatly summed up Botha's program by saying: "The prime minister and Dr. Kooimhof [Minister of Black Affairs] are great promoters, but all their vaunted promises haven't made one bit of difference in our daily lives. All this talk about a Black middle class means that they want to build a buffer between themselves and the poorest Blacks, and the talk about expansion of the economy just means that

that at least 280 people were killed and 2,000 wounded in Kwangju alone.

U.S. backs Korean military

When the rebellion began, the U.S. State Department called for "maximum restraint" by all sides. But when the people of South Cholla rose up and took over the province, the Carter administration encouraged Chon to crush the insurrection. The U.S. military maintains 39,000 troops in South Korea, and exercises joint command over the 600,000 troops in the South Korean army. On May 21 General John Wickham, the head of the joint command, released troops to Chon for "crowd control and security work," in other words, to smash the uprising in Kwangju.

Once the militants were defeated, Carter began urging Chon to "broaden" his regime by giving civilians a greater role in the government. The U.S. ruling class wants to maintain South Korea as a fortress for U.S. imperialism in the Far East. Because of this, the Carter administration fears that continued repression in South Korea could spark new mass revolts which

they have figured out one more way to exploit us."

Despite the fact that Botha is a die-hard supporter of white rule in South Africa, right-wingers in the ruling National Party (NP) are condemning his policy as a threat to the survival of the apartheid system. In February, Andries Treurnicht, Botha's main rival inside the NP, criticized Botha's decision to allow Black and white rugby teams to play each other, warning that "if the white man shares the rugby field he would ultimately have to share the country." Treurnicht, who has the support of 60 of the 134 NP deputies in parliament, is demanding a return to a hard-line defense of apartheid.

Workers have power to smash apartheid

In reality there is no way to "reform" the apartheid system in South Africa. The stability of South African capitalism, and the prosperity not only of the capitalists, but of the white minority as a whole, depends on the super-exploitation of Black workers. This super-exploitation is maintained by apartheid. The ruling class can protect its control of Black workers and its profits only by denying Blacks any means of struggling for even minimal reforms. If it grants any signifi-

could threaten the U.S.'s hold over the country. Carter realizes that it was similar repression that sparked anti-imperialist revolutions in Nicaragua and Iran. To avoid another defeat for U.S. imperialism, he is pressuring the South Korean government to grant a few reforms which he hopes will ease popular hostility to the military regime without endangering U.S. interests.

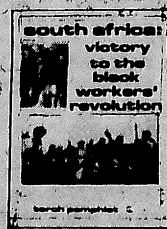
The U.S. ruling class can afford to carry out this policy because the opposition leaders in South Korea are pro-capitalist politicians who fully support U.S. imperialism and agree on the need for a democratic facade to protect traditional capitalism in South Korea. When the Kwangju insurrection broke out, opposition leaders in the city set up a "Crisis Settlement Committee" and urged militants to turn the guns they had seized in to the committee. At the same time they appealed to U.S. Ambassador William H. Graystone, Jr., to arrange a truce with the army.

Earlier, Kim Young Sam, head of the opposition New Democratic Party, called on demonstrators in Seoul to exercise "maximum self-restraint." Kim Dae Jung, the best-known opposition politician, advised militants who were battling police in Seoul (Continued on page 17)

cant concession it gives Blacks some leverage to take on, and eventually bring down, the entire system. If it grants reforms that are virtually meaningless, it will have solved nothing and will continue to sit on a volcano ready to explode.

The Black masses can smash apartheid and actually gain control of their country only by overturning the capitalist system itself. The struggle in Zimbabwe proved that it's possible for a guerrilla movement to exhaust even a well-entrenched white regime if it has sanctuaries outside the country. South Africa is almost surrounded by Black regimes which will be under increasing pressure to provide such sanctuaries as militants step up the armed struggle against apartheid. But it remains to be seen whether the Black working class in South Africa will be able to gain the leadership of the struggle against apartheid and transform it into a socialist revolution. In Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, the liberation movements were led and controlled by Black middle-class leaders. While these movements defeated the white minority regimes, they also set up (or, in the case of Zimbabwe, are setting up) new ruling classes which con-

Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution in South Africa!



Send 50 cents to: RSL, Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.

tinue to exploit the Black masses in these countries. It will be difficult for similar leaders to isolate the working class in South Africa, because the Black working class is so large and the struggle against apartheid is bound up so tightly with the struggle against capitalism. Nevertheless, Black workers in South Africa will have to take on the middle-class leaders who dominate the various Black organizations active in the liberation struggle at this time.

Black workers are in an excellent position to carry out this struggle. They are moving into the heart of the economy. They are gaining experience, organization and popular support through the continuing strike wave. If Black workers can organize an underground revolutionary party to coordinate a guerrilla movement in the countryside with the workers' and students' struggles inside the cities, they can eventually assume leadership of the national liberation movement and guide it to victory. □

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Strikers battle cops in Santo Domingo

A strike by 5,000 public drivers in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, set off more than a week of demonstrations against President Antonio Guzman's regime. The drivers, who own their own cars, are licensed by the government to pick up passengers along designated routes in the city. On May 28, they went on strike after the government raised gas prices from \$1.85 to \$2.39 a gallon. Militant drivers blocked streets, shutting down transportation in the city, to press their demands for either a reduction in the gas price or permission to raise fares. The government sent in troops to break up the drivers' roadblocks. On May 30 leaders of the National Union of Drivers and the Union of Unionized Chauffeurs declared the strike over. The drivers denounced them as "traitors" and then set up an Independent Drivers Movement to continue the strike.

On June 1 a crowd of 12,000 drivers and other workers who supported their struggle held a protest demonstration outside the offices of the National Union of Drivers. At least four militants were wounded and 1,000 others jailed in clashes with police. The government also arrested Naecison Isa Conde, head of the Dominican Communist Party, 30 other party officials, and leaders of other leftist opposition groups. But this repression failed to break the strike or prevent further demonstrations. On June 2, students at the Universidad Autonoma de Santo Domingo who supported the drivers tried to set fire to the main offices of the Shell Oil Company. Police and troops attacked the students with guns and tear gas. At least one striker and one cop were killed when police assaulted strikers trying to stop a scab bus. Businesses in Santo Domingo closed down as strikers continued to paralyze transport in the city. The strike ended only after the government agreed to negotiate with the drivers' rank and file organization on June 6.

Zionists wreak terror on West Bank

As part of their drive to increase Israeli settlements on the West Bank and cripple the Palestinian liberation struggle, right-wing Zionists have launched a terrorist campaign against Palestinians living in the area. On June 2 Bassam Shaka, the mayor of Nablus, had his legs blown off by a bomb placed in his car. The same day a car bomb also seriously injured Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah; Ibrahim Tawil, mayor of Bira, narrowly escaped a similar fate. In return, West Bank Palestinians called a three-day general strike. Israeli troops tried to break the strike by forcing merchants to re-open their shops. Two Palestinian militants were wounded when Israeli soldiers opened fire on anti-Zionist demonstrators.

Despite international outrage over the bombings, spokesmen for right-wing Zionist organizations vowed to continue terrorism against the Palestinians. On June 3 Yossi Dayan, deputy leader of the Kach movement, declared: "What you saw yesterday is only the beginning." Earlier, on May 9, Meir Kahane, the leader of the organization, called on the Israeli government to set up a "Jewish terrorist group" to drive Palestinians out of the West Bank. He was later jailed in connection with a plot to blow up the Al Aksa mosque in Jerusalem.

The government of Menachem Begin tried to dissociate itself from the attacks by promising a full investigation. But the bombings are only the logical extension of the government's own policies. On September 17, 1978, Begin signed a peace treaty with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. In exchange for selling out the Palestinians, Sadat got the Sinai desert and a vague promise for some kind of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank. Since that time, Begin has stalled the autonomy talks while steadily strengthening Israeli control over the area. Encouraging reactionary Zionists to settle on the West Bank is a key part of his plan. If Begin has any objection to the bombings it is only that they called attention to his maneuvers and may build more international support for the Palestinian cause.

—PB

The following is the position paper distributed by the RSL at the northeast Lavender Left conference held in Shirley, N.J., May 24-26 and attended by 150 lesbian and gay socialists and anarchists. The position paper discusses the relationship between capitalism and gay oppression, and why and how lesbians and gay men should fight for freedom through socialist revolution.

Today, our fight for lesbian and gay liberation is at a crucial point. After 10 years of militant struggle, we are seeing many of the gains we've made coming under attack and being taken away. Thug assaults on gay people are on the rise. Police harassment has been stepped up. A new wave of homophobic movies such as *Windows* and *Cruising* are being made. Television programs such as "Gay Power, Gay Politics" are being shown, portraying gay life in an utterly false manner. Anti-gay feelings are being whipped up among all sectors of straight society. If we are to be able to move the struggle for gay liberation forward, it is crucial that we take stock of the situation we are facing and assess the goals, strategy, and tactics of the lesbian and gay liberation movement. This is why the present conference is important; it gives lesbians and gay male socialists an opportunity to discuss the crucial questions that are confronting us. The Revolutionary Socialist League is putting forward this paper to outline our views on some of these issues.

Crisis of capitalist society

This weekend's conference on perspectives for lesbian and gay socialists is taking place at a time when it is becoming clearer every day that capitalist society is falling apart. The economy is in a mess, both in the U.S. and worldwide. We are entering a severe recession which may turn into a depression. The post-war prosperity is over and we are entering into a period of prolonged economic crisis.

As the crisis in the economy deepens, so does the crisis in the political sphere. On the one hand, the struggle of the working class and oppressed people against capitalism and its imperialist domination of the world is sharpening: The people rose up to overthrow hated U.S.-backed dictators in Iran and Nicaragua; in El Salvador and South Africa the struggle is intensifying. Workers and other oppressed

people within the imperialist countries are beginning to step up their struggles.

On the other hand, the political crisis within the international capitalist class is deepening. The inter-imperialist rivalry for markets, investment opportunities, raw materials and for overall domination of the world increases by the week. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. raid on Iran are only two of the recent signs of this.

The capitalist system is out of control. During the post-war boom international capitalism was able to maintain the illusion that the system could continue to expand indefinitely, providing a decent life for an increasing number of people. To a great degree, this was based on the U.S. domination of the world market, the plundering of imperialized parts of the world and the environment, and was complemented by a massive increase in government spending. Today, however, we can see that the bases of the post-war prosperity have run their course and that the system is once again being thrown into a crisis that will quickly acquire worldwide dimensions. In fact, the crisis conditions of the 1930s are not far away; world depression, mass fascist movements and world war.

To try to save its sinking system, the U.S. capitalist class—the people who own the factories, the bankers, the capitalist politicians, etc.—are launching a war against working and oppressed people to get them to shoulder the burdens of the crisis. They want to boost productivity and cut government expenditures. They are attacking the gains and political rights of Latins, women, Blacks and other specially oppressed people. They are increasingly appealing to patriotism and "traditional" values—e.g., family, religion—both to whip up support for their imperialist ambitions abroad and as a means of social control at home.

In the context of this crisis and the escalating attacks on the working class and oppressed people, a mass right-wing movement is growing in numbers and political weight. This is no accident. The 1930s-like conditions of social crisis give the right wing greater opportunities to organize. In such conditions many people become confused and afraid. Many look for "traditional values"—country, family, religion—as solace, to help orient themselves and give them support. The right wing organizes by exploiting this fear and confusion, fanning the flames of racism, sexism, homophobia and anti-communism.

This is the background to the increas-



Socialist Revolution The Only Road to and Gay Liberation

ing attacks on lesbians and gay men. The ruling class appeal to traditional values and the corresponding growth of the right (as indicated by the 56,000 votes Harold Covington, running as an open Nazi, got in the Republican primary in North Carolina on May 6), lead inevitably to intensified attacks on lesbians and gays. Homosexuality is increasingly seen not only as "immoral," but also as a deadly threat to the civilization itself. It is being used as a symbol to represent the "decay of America." The sexist "models" for

women and men are reinforced, even glorified. A man is "supposed to be" a, b, c—a husband, father, bread winner; a woman is "supposed to be" x, y, z—a wife, mother, housewife. Those who don't conform to these models—especially lesbians and gay males—are labeled as abnormal, immoral, and a prime cause of the crisis in society.

In our view, it is the crisis of the world capitalist system, the attempts of the ruling class to defend its rule and various developments that flow from these that are the cause of the increasing oppression of lesbians and gays.

class societies, depends on family and religion. It needs the means of raising the new generation of workers, and socializing the children docilely to their own exploitation and oppression. It needs the traditional means of social control—family in particular as well as the property and status of the individual in relation to another. The family and religion are two key elements of the social, cultural and ideological structure that is essential to the preservation of wealth, power and privilege of the capitalist class and the system as a whole.

Moreover, as capitalism enters a crisis, the ruling class will try to preserve its system by repressing the conservative and authoritarian cultural and ideological apparatus. As long as capitalism exists, the family and religion, lesbian and gay men—who do not conform to traditional social roles considered normal—will be repressed. They will continue to be labeled as abnormal, sick, perverted and as such will be the target of campaigns to hide, "quarantine" and eventually suppress homosexuality. In other words, as long as capitalism exists, lesbians and gay men will not be free.

B. Lesbians and gay men will be free where capitalism does not exist, in a society in which the ruling classes, exploitation and oppression of the majority by a t



Left: Right-to-life demonstration in Massachusetts. Above: Protest against Nazi bookstore in Detroit. Growing right-wing movement threatens lesbians, gays and all oppressed people.

Photograph: Gary Hammond

What political perspective for lesbian and gay liberation?

A number of political conclusions flow from this analysis of the capitalist crisis.

A. We should recognize that our chief enemy is the capitalist system and the capitalist class that rules it and defends it. More specifically, we should recognize that the oppression of lesbians and gay males in this society flows from the fact that capitalism is a competitive, class-divided system based on private property. Capitalism is based on the exploitation and domination of the many by the few; the working class and other oppressed people by the capitalist class. This system, like all previous



Revolution: Road to Lesbian Liberation

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class societies, depends on the family and religion. It needs these as a means of raising the "new generations of workers, and socializing them to submit docilely to their own exploitation and oppression. It needs them as a continual means of social control. It needs the family in particular as a way to pass on the property and status of one generation to another. The family and religion are two key elements of a complex social, cultural and ideological structure that is essential to preserving the wealth, power and privileges of the capitalist class and the capitalist system as a whole.

Moreover, as capitalism goes into crisis, the ruling class will try to preserve its system by reinforcing this conservative and authoritarian social, cultural and ideological apparatus, thus increasing the oppression of gay people. As long as capitalism requires the family and religion, lesbians and gay men—who do not conform to the traditional social roles considered sacred and normal—will be oppressed. They will continue to be considered abnormal, sick, perverted and sinful, and as such will be the objects of campaigns to hide, "quarantine" and eventually suppress homosexuality. In other words, as long as capitalism exists, lesbians and gay men can never be free.

B. Lesbians and gay males can only be free where capitalism no longer exists, in a society in which social classes, exploitation and the domination of the majority by a tiny minority

have been eliminated. We can only be free in a society in which private property has been eliminated, in which the family and religion will no longer be imposed as a means of inheriting private wealth and status and as a means of social control. We can only be free under socialism, a classless, stateless society run by the working class and all oppressed people through their own councils, committees and other mass democratic organizations. Such a society would have no need to impose the nuclear family, religion or capitalist socialization—which all give rise to and maintain lesbian and gay oppression.

C. But by socialism, we do not mean the societies that exist in countries such as Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe. To us, these societies are forms of state capitalism. They are societies still not run by the workers and peasants, but by a handful of bureaucrats. Classes have not been eliminated; the few dominate and exploit the many. The masses of people are powerless and must hire themselves out to survive, just as in traditional capitalist countries.

In these societies, the oppression of lesbians and gay males has not been eliminated. This is not just an unfortunate accident or a minor flaw in an otherwise "progressive" society. It is built right into the system. In state-capitalist countries the family is still the main institution for raising new generations of workers. It is still the crux of the process of socializing workers and peasants and other op-

pressed people to accept their positions in society. In this way the family serves to transmit social status. In these countries status is also inherited through one's family: Children of working class families remain workers while children of ruling class bureaucrat families are trained to run society and maintain the system.

While organized traditional religion is suppressed or barely tolerated, the ruling class tries to use a substitute to perform the same social role. Traditional religion is replaced by a phony socialist ideology that is as wooden and authoritarian as religion. This ideology glorifies the "proletarian" family and condemns homosexuality as "bourgeois" and "decadent." This ideology serves to maintain what is still a class society by convincing the exploited workers and others that their oppression is necessary today to build a supposedly progressive and free society "tomorrow."

D. Socialism—the real thing—can only be brought about through a revolution. It cannot be voted in or created peacefully. It cannot be formed by rearranging the top layers of society leaving the majority of people where they are. The capitalists and state-capitalist bureaucrats will never give up their power without a fight. Moreover, the majority of working class women and men and other oppressed people will not become politically conscious nor learn how to run society unless they are involved in a deep-going social movement that brings them into the center of political life, in other words, unless they are part of a socialist revolution.

E. Such a revolution must be a proletarian revolution, a revolution based on, and led by, the working class. The working class consists of people who work in the factories and hospitals, mines and mills, who run the trains, drive the trucks, clerks, secretaries, etc.—all the people who must hire themselves out to the owners of the means of production in return for wages. This class, if united, organized and conscious of its tasks, has the power to stop capitalism in its tracks, as the recent general strike in Sweden demonstrated. These people, along with their allies among other sections of society, have the economic and political strength to kick out the capitalist class and reorganize society on socialist lines, to create a society truly run by and for working and oppressed people.

F. Finally, if such a revolution is to succeed, the working class must be led by a revolutionary party, made up of its most militant and farsighted members. Such a party must mobilize, organize and unite the workers and raise their political understanding. It must point the way forward, preparing the workers to seize power, kick out the capitalists and set up a government based on its own mass, democratic institutions. Such a party must be modeled after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the Russian workers and peasants to power in 1917.

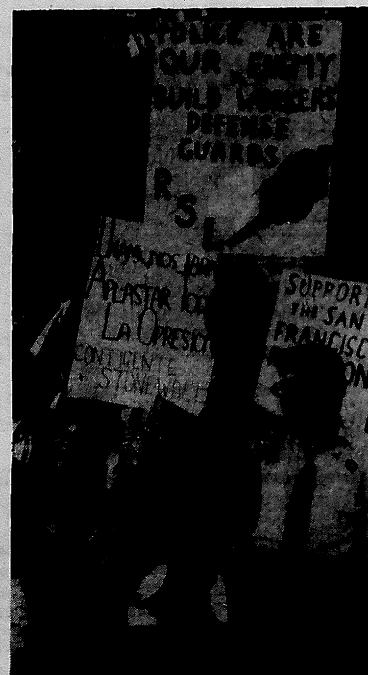
What strategy for lesbian and gay socialists?

In light of our analysis of the present period and of the necessity of a working class, socialist revolution, we believe lesbian and gay socialists have a special role to play both within the gay movement and the radical movement as a whole.

A. Our starting point is that we

believe we, as revolutionary socialists, should say, upfront and out loud, exactly what we believe, as clearly and as honestly as we can. This might seem like elementary decency, but too many political organizations on the left have developed political methods that explicitly involve not telling the truth. They hide who they are, obscure what they believe, try to pretend that what they are fighting for is not socialism but a few reforms, a little of this and a little of that. This is an insult to the working class and all oppressed people. It will never build a strong movement, since people who are lied to and misled can never be a strong base for a movement. A strong movement can only be based on people who are conscious of what they are doing and where they are going. In addition, an approach of hiding who we are and what we believe will not make us better able to win people to our struggle.

Today, more and more people are confused by the economic and social crisis. The old answers don't answer the questions. Liberalism as an ideology is being exposed every day while millions of people are looking for an alternative, a sharp and clear alternative. The right wing puts forward a program that is sharp and clear: return to traditional "American" values, self-reliance, family, god and country—which means cut back social programs and government



regulations, put women in the home, attack Blacks and Latins, bust up the trade unions, suppress homosexuality and fight communism. To fight the right, we need our own sharp and clear program. We cannot limit ourselves to calling for political and social reforms which, by themselves, only sound like the same old liberalism. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the Russian Revolution said, we must "say what is." As socialists, we must explain what we believe the cause of gay oppression is and why socialist revolution is the only road to win liberation. We must explain who the enemy is and how we are to defeat it. Only if we tell the truth can we win people's confidence and convince them of our point of view.

B. This means that one of our key tasks within the gay and lesbian liberation movement is to:

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tion movement is to convince people that we need a MILITANT movement, a movement that fights, not begs, for our rights and needs. Nobody ever won rights without fighting for them. Those who have only begged for their rights have always remained on their knees. Even legal reforms that have been won have been won because the rulers of society were frightened into granting them. They granted them as concessions, to try to head off the movement, to prevent it from growing, to prevent it from getting out of control.

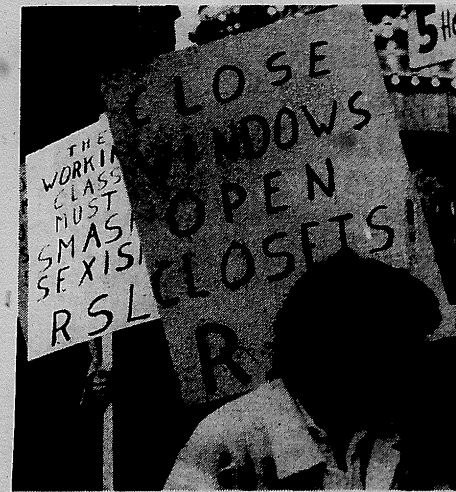
We need a lesbian and gay movement that is strong and capable of mobilizing broad grassroots support against our enemies and their attacks. The movement must be militant in the spirit of the Stonewall and San Francisco rebellions. It must be prepared to respond to all anti-gay attacks, whether from the capitalist state, the growing right wing, the media, etc. And to achieve the unity necessary among the different specially oppressed sections of the lesbian and gay movement, our movement must be prepared to defend and fight for the rights of all lesbians and gay males, including transvestites, transsexuals, lesbian and gay parents, and lesbian and gay youth. This is especially important now when, because of the economic/social/political crisis, the ruling class is cutting back on reforms and

people to capitalism by pretending to be progressive.

We must reject political leaders who say we can work in the Democratic Party, who say we can reform capitalism. Given the opportunity, they come into our movement to wreak havoc and divisiveness. Some say we can "use" the Democratic Party to fight for us. But who ends up using who? The Democratic Party politicians make their promises, take people's aspirations, money, time and votes and sell out their rights and needs to maintain capitalism. We cannot look to the ruling class, their state, courts, parties or two-faced liberal politicians. We must build our own movement and fight to keep it independent of the capitalist class.

D. The gay movement has potential allies. These are the millions of working and oppressed people—gay and straight, Black, white, Latin, Asian, young and old—who are being lashed by the economic crisis and the capitalist campaign to get us to pay for the crisis of their decadent system. The entire working class and all sections of oppressed people are coming under attack.

There is an objective basis for uniting all these people because our oppression is all from the same source, we all have the same enemy. The Ku Klux Klan



Toronto courtesy Kelly & Kathy

honesty, fairness, equal rights, freedom. We must try to reach them. We must try to reach them, on the one hand, through propaganda and education about lesbian and gay oppression. On the other, we must try to reach them through our deeds. Specifically, we can win support for the struggle for lesbian and gay liberation by actively championing the needs of all oppressed people.

Lesbian and gay organizations should seek united fronts with the organizations and movements of other oppressed groups who are fighting against the capitalists' and right-wing attacks. For example, we should take part in coalitions and actions against the Klan and the Nazis, against cop attacks on Blacks and Latins, against the attacks on undocumented workers and against the attacks on abortion clinics, etc. We must openly fight for the rights of Blacks, women, Latins, Asians, etc. We should support strikes, union organizing drives, struggles to prevent hospital closings. Wherever possible we should seek concrete unity with other groups on specific questions and proposals for action. We should support and mobilize for their actions and demonstrations, showing in deeds that we believe all our struggles are one and the same.

F. Gay socialists should fight for a revolutionary socialist perspective within the gay and lesbian liberation movement. We must patiently explain our socialist outlook to the rank and file of the movement. We should try to explain to them that capitalism is our enemy and that our goal must be to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a society run by and for the working class and oppressed people. We must show how the capitalist politicians are our enemy and that we should try to build a strong, militant and united movement of all working class and oppressed people to fight the attacks that the ruling class and its allies in the right-wing movement are waging against us.

There are no vacuums in politics. If we do not fight for our views, the movement will not be neutral. Other people, other forces who in fact stand for capitalism and the continuation of gay oppression, are fighting for their views and for their control over the movement. If we fail to wage a fight for our perspective, we will guarantee their victory and the defeat of our cause.

But our fight for a revolutionary socialist program and strategy cannot be limited to words, written and spoken. We must work to build and cohere a revolutionary socialist wing within the lesbian and gay movement that can resist the efforts of those who

want to keep the movement chained to a strategy of begging for our rights, of those who spread illusions about the nature of our oppression and about the road to freedom. Only by building and uniting such a left wing will we be able to defeat those who want to tie the movement to the ruling class, divide us from our oppressed sisters and brothers and lead us to defeat.

To build this left wing, we must utilize the same united front approach we are proposing for the entire movement. When and where we agree, revolutionary individuals, collectives and organizations should seek to unite around concrete issues. We should unite, for example, to oppose efforts to allow Democratic Party politicians to address gay and lesbian liberation conferences. We should join forces to advocate joining anti-Klan and anti-Nazi demonstrations against those who say "Those are not gay issues, that isn't a gay struggle." We should pool our efforts to convince all gay people that our fight is part of a much larger fight, a fight of all oppressed people, against our common enemy, the worldwide capitalist system.

G. But gay and lesbian socialists should not limit their work to the lesbian and gay movement. We should be active and fighting for our views in all the struggles of the working class and oppressed people, among all layers of the working class. We should see ourselves as cadres in a struggle to build a united revolutionary working class movement. To us in the Revolutionary Socialist League this means, above all, building a revolutionary party that can lead the entire working class and all oppressed to freedom through a socialist revolution that will smash the capitalist class and the capitalist state and bring about a truly free society.

In conclusion

The approach we have outlined here is the outlook of the Revolutionary Socialist League. We have been fighting for this in the lesbian and gay movement, in the anti-Klan/anti-Nazi movement, in the factories and unions where our members are active and in all struggles and movements we are involved in. If you like what we have to say and/or are interested in having discussions with us, write to us. Where we agree on specific tasks and concrete goals we should unite to pursue these jointly-held concerns. If you agree with us and want to help us fight for our ideas and goals, join with us. □

JOIN WITH RSL ON GAY PRIDE DAY

Boston: Saturday, June 21, RSL contingent. For more information write PO Box 114, Boston, MA 02186 or call N.Y. RSL office.

Chicago: Sunday, June 29, Stonewall contingent gathering 1:00 p.m., Cornelia (3400 north) and Halsted. For more information call (312) 864-2008 or 229-5915.

Detroit: For more information call (313) 893-5868.

Los Angeles: Sunday, June 22. For information call (213) 685-0345.

New York: Sunday, June 29, RSL contingent gathering 11:00 a.m., 7th Ave. and Christopher St. For more information call (212) 695-6802.

San Francisco: Sunday, June 29, RSL contingent. March starts at 10:00 a.m., Spear and Market. For more information write PO Box 1147, Berkeley, CA 94701 or call Los Angeles RSL.

taking away the rights of oppressed people. The capitalists are waging a campaign to take back whatever they were forced to give in the past. In this situation, it is suicide to believe that lobbying or "going through the proper channels" will win what we need.

C. It is also crucial that we fight to ensure that the gay movement is independent of the ruling class and its politicians—Democratic, Republican and "Independent." The ruling class is our enemy. Their political parties are key weapons in their war against the working class and oppressed people. Through these parties and other institutions, they try to divide us and pit one group against another. They try to convince us to vote for members of the conservative war-mongering, racist and sexist Democratic Party in order to keep out the Republicans who are supposed to be worse. Some people try to convince us to work inside the Democratic Party in order to change it or take it over. The working class and oppressed people will never take over the Democratic Party or change it into an instrument for liberation. Its very nature, its program, structure, history, and function make it a pro-capitalist party that ties millions of working

is not just out to lynch and burn Black people. They hate Latins, Asians, Jews, lesbians and gays, and leftists, and they believe women should be solely childbearers and housekeepers. The right wing that is organizing against the ERA and abortions is also racist, anti-Semitic and anti-communist. The ruling class that is ultimately behind the attacks on lesbians and gay males is preparing a head-on assault on the trade unions. Only if the working class and all sectors of specially oppressed people unite can any of us win. The struggle to build that unity must be central to our strategy.

E. This unity will not be easy to build. As concerns lesbians and gay men in particular, a lot of homophobia exists among straight working and oppressed people. However, there are a lot of gay people among different oppressed sections of society who can be won to a militant gay movement that makes the needs of all the oppressed central to its strategy. Moreover, a lot of the homophobia that exists is based on ignorance, fear and confusion. Yet, in the midst of the deepening crisis in society, the cutbacks, attacks and suffering it brings, a lot of confused people are struggling to retain decent values:

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Jamaica on the Brink of Collapse

Part I: Economy Bankrupt

By WILLIAM FALK

"Capitalist society in Jamaica is in the final stages of collapse at this time," a recent radio broadcast by the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Jamaica, the sister organization of the RSL, stated.

The RML speaker was in no way exaggerating or being over-dramatic. Each day in Jamaica for months now, more factories close, more workers lose their jobs, more basic food stuffs disappear from store shelves, more machine parts break with no replacements available, and more workers are shot down in the street for virtually no reason. Each week the government cuts back services and goes deeper into debt to foreign banks.

The two political parties,

million people the government is now over \$1 billion in debt. It needs to borrow \$180 million this year—with \$170 million of the borrowed money to be used to make payments on earlier loans. There is a severe shortage of U.S. dollars and other widely-accepted currencies that must be used to buy parts or supplies abroad. As a result, factory after factory is closing because of lack of materials.

Official unemployment for workers aged 15-29 is 40 percent; total unemployment is put at 26 percent. Reliable estimates suggest that the true figures are at least 20 percentage points higher in both cases.

Jobless workers in Jamaica have no regular means of support. There is no unem-

shortage of foreign exchange mentioned above. In the past month workers have been unable to get laundry soap, flour or cooking oil. Rice is in short supply. Widespread hunger is a real possibility in the coming months.

About half of all the people born in Jamaica now live in other countries. A few years ago, many of the emigrants were middle class and professional people who left to pursue careers. But an increasing number of Jamaican workers and small farmers are now leaving in order to find work.

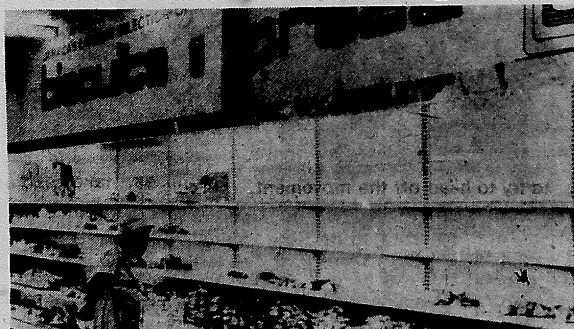
Random violence and political warfare

Walled in by economic barriers, a growing number of Jamaican youth have become desperate and hopeless about the future. Random robberies, shootings and murders, with working and poor people as the victims, are increasing in the capital city of Kingston.

On top of the random violence is the revival of political warfare between the youth gangs equipped, paid for and controlled by the JLP and the PNP. Over 30 people have died in political violence since elections were announced. In February a PNP rally was attacked by people armed with guns, knives and stones. A short time later, gunman-arsonists killed two men and set fire to six houses in a poor working class district of Kingston. In April a JLP fundraising dance was attacked by nearly 100 men dressed in black and carrying automatic weapons. They blocked off the surrounding streets and fired at point blank range into the crowd, killing four.

As a result of the warfare, ordinary working people are afraid to leave their neighborhoods. Downtown Kingston has been largely deserted, abandoned to the hired thugs who battle each other for control of the empty, neglected blocks. Several Kingston bus routes have been shortened or re-routed because the drivers refuse to enter certain streets for fear of their lives.

The political violence, which also marked earlier election campaigns, serves to discipline party members into loyalty and forces people to choose sides simply for physical protection. One goal of the violence is to drive supporters of the opposite party away from the home districts before "enumeration day," the day the list of eligible voters is drawn up. Another reason for



Shoppers face empty shelves in Jamaica supermarket.

the warfare is that government jobs, public housing and other forms of welfare are handed out on the basis of political support. Which party is in power is a direct struggle between groups of loyal party workers over who gets what little booty is available.

Jamaica victim of neo-colonialism

Today's crisis of Jamaican capitalism grows out of the history of the island since it was conquered by European forces 400 years ago. Until 1962, Jamaica was a colony of England, which had "developed" the country as a sugar island based on African slave labor in the 18th and 19th centuries, and had invested next to nothing in the country since then. While England was the formal ruler until independence, the U.S. has been the dominant economic power since World War II.

Jamaica's most important product in the post-war period has not been sugar or bananas but bauxite (aluminum ore). Jamaican bauxite provided 90 percent of the North American aluminum industry's ore in the 1950s and '60s, and all of it was bought at rock bottom

prices set and enforced by the U.S. While the bulldozers picked up Jamaican earth and sent it north to be processed, Jamaica continued to be dependent on the imperialist nations for nearly all finished goods—from cars to thumb-tacks—and for much of the food and clothing it needed.

From 1962 to 1972, the Jamaican government—at that time the JLP—tried to increase the amount of manufacturing in Jamaica by attracting U.S. companies with low wages and tax cuts. This didn't work well even on its own terms: Only a few companies set up manufacturing, almost none of them for export, and the country continued to be dependent on bauxite, sugar and tourism. Between 1956 and 1968 workers entering the workforce outnumbered new jobs by 7,000 a year and 160,000 people left Jamaica to find work.

In 1972, the PNP won a majority in parliament under the slogan "Better Must Come." PNP head Michael Manley projected himself as a leader who would banish the old colonial ways and create equal relations, both within Jamaica and in the island's dealings with the rest of the world. After the PNP took office there were some new social service and education programs set up including, for a while, a land-lease program that made small plots of land available at low cost. But the basic economy changed very little and the imbalance of trade caused debts to pile up. In 1977, the government went to the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan.

In the course of a year of negotiations, the IMF agreed to provide Jamaica with loans of up to \$264 million. In exchange, the IMF demanded a series of steps to end Jamaica's balance of payments deficit and increase its ability to pay back the loan. These included 1) decreasing Jamaica's imports—which provide basic food and clothing for workers; 2) increasing its exports by forcing down the price of Jamaican goods and workers' wages; and 3)

(Continued on page 16)



Angry Jamaicans confront Michael Manley (left) during his recent tour of countryside.

the liberal capitalist (supposedly "democratic socialist") Peoples National Party (PNP) and the right-wing pro-U.S. Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), both claim to have solutions to turn the country around and end the present suffering and chaos. The two parties, each of which has its own trade union federation, youth group, women's group, and its own group of armed thugs, will be facing each other in national elections to be held late this summer.

But the solutions that the PNP (now the ruling party) and the JLP (now in opposition) say they have are re-runs of the policies each party has followed when they headed the government in the past. These are the policies that led Jamaica to the brink of collapse today. They are not solutions at all, but part of Jamaica's problem.

A look at the state of the economy gives an idea of just how deep the crisis in Jamaica is. The government and the central banks are literally bankrupt. In a country of 2.2

million people, there is no unemployment insurance, no food stamps, little welfare or public housing.

Even workers who still have jobs are having a tough time surviving. The minimum wage was just raised in May to \$16.80 a week (in U.S. dollars) and only a few workers earn much more than the minimum. Domestic workers and workers in some special government job programs earn less. These wages buy no more in Jamaica than they would in the U.S. Some typical current prices of basic goods (converted to U.S. dollars) are: milk, over \$4 per U.S. gallon; eggs, \$1.10 a dozen; a loaf of bread, \$.62; gasoline, \$2.25 per U.S. gallon.

The spread between wages and prices in Jamaica has not always been so wide. In the last year, real wages—pay in terms of what it will buy—have dropped 45 percent. The year before that they dropped 35 percent.

In addition to the high prices, many basic goods are unavailable because of the

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Jamaica

(Continued from page 15)
cutting back government spending on social programs. In other words, transfer the crisis caused by the centuries of imperialist looting to the Jamaican working class by lowering the workers' living standards.

The IMF/PNP measures, however, did not prove to be successful in reviving Jamaica's economy. This was partly because of the weakness of the world economy, partly because of the continued refusal of Australia and Guyana to cooperate in raising bauxite prices, and partly because of the rise in the price of oil.

Jamaican workers resist attacks

But a major reason the IMF plans did not work out is that the Jamaican workers have consistently fought back against the attempts to make them pay for the crisis.

In particular, workers in the light industry district of Kingston have fought the government's wage guidelines. These limited raises to 15 percent the first year of the IMF loan (while prices were raised 40 percent) and, under the name "social contract," have limited raises to 10 percent in the last two years. Some of the more prominent strikes took place at CMP and Bata (both shoe companies), Combined Tobacco Company, Coca-Cola, Salada (tea and coffee), Teletronics, Jamaica Railway Corporation, P.O. Polack (a major trucking company), Jamaica Omnibus Service and the Bank of Jamaica.

These struggles had to be carried out both against the companies and against the union leaders, those in the PNP's National Workers Union as well as those in the JLP's Bustamante Industrial Trade Union. Over and over again the union officials stood in the way of conducting these strikes in a way that could win, or uniting the district's workers for a combined offensive.

But the struggle of the Jamaican people did not stop with strikes. In January 1979 their anger exploded in response to the announcement of a new price rise and tax hike for gasoline. Demonstrations against the new price were called by the JLP but soon went beyond anything the JLP wanted or could control. People barricaded roads in Kingston and several other towns, and stopped all traffic. The bauxite workers walked out in support of the rebellion. It took the government several days to regain control of the streets, and they had to back

down on the proposed gas increases.

Under the pressure of the failure of the IMF's plan and the militant fight against it, the PNP and IMF began to have disagreements during 1979. The PNP wanted to slow down a little in squeezing the workers, or at least simply to continue at the pace of 1977-79. The IMF said it was proud of the Jamaican government for attacking the workers so hard even though it made people hate the PNP, and insisted that in 1980 the government push even harder. That is the way, the IMF said, we can make up for the degree to which the plan has been spoiled by the oil price increases. In other words, more of the same—make the workers pay.

Specifically, the disagreement was over how much to cut the new government budget: by \$150 million as the IMF wanted, or by "only" \$100 million as Manley wanted.

In February, talks on new loans broke down, while ne-

gotiations continued over \$30 million that was due to Jamaica under the old IMF agreement, but which had been withheld when the Jamaican economy failed an IMF test in December. At that point, Manley announced new elections for the late summer 1980, a year earlier than he is constitutionally required to hold them. It is believed that the IMF forced him to make that announcement as the condition for any future loans.

Then on March 24, Manley announced a total breakdown of negotiations with the IMF. The PNP proclaimed itself in favor of a "new road," a non-IMF strategy for recovery. Manley and his party began preparing for their re-election bid based on promises to reject everything they had been doing for the past three years. □

(Part two, appearing in next month's Torch/La Antorcha, will discuss the solutions to Jamaica's problems being proposed by the PNP and the JLP in their election campaigns. It will also take up the two major organizations of the left, the RML and the Workers' Party of Jamaica.)

Anti-Nuke Militants Attempt Occupation of Seabrook

By JIM KELLY

SEABROOK, New Hampshire—"Seabrook, May 24. It Won't Be Built." This was the slogan for the demonstration of the "Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook." Fifteen hundred persons attempted a non-violent occupation and blockade of the construction site of the nuclear power plant in this small New Hampshire town. The demonstration lasted three days. About 33 people were arrested in sit-ins on Sunday and Monday, May 25 and 26.

The most militant part of the demonstration was when demonstrators attempted to tear down the fences and occupy the site. The 300 Solar and Wind Power militants formed affinity groups and armed themselves with wood shields, helmets, goggles, hockey gloves, gas masks, fence cutters and ropes with hooks to tear the fences down. However, the militant but non-violent tactics just could not overcome repeated attacks by state troopers wielding riot clubs, mace, and pepper gas. These violent assaults were never countered by the militants, who main-

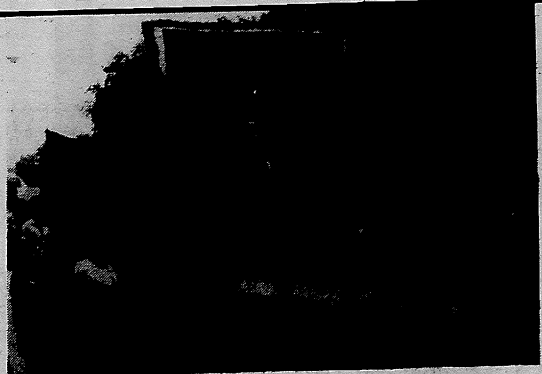
tained a non-violent response to many, many attacks.

The troopers were able to "arrest" most of the wood shields, fence cutters, and ropes with hooks. While no demonstrators attacked the troopers during these confiscations, they did try to resist and hold onto their equipment. Many of these same anti-nukers had been attacked, beaten, and arrested during the demonstration here last

October 6-8. They learned a lesson and this time had a large, well-trained medical team. Only one serious injury was reported on Saturday, but many of us were maced more than once. The medics' aid was a great comfort since being maced is both painful and disorienting.

Although the militants lost this skirmish, they may be winning the protracted Battle

of Seabrook. The nuclear plant used to employ 5,000 construction workers, now the number is down to 500. This must be due in part to the adverse publicity gained by this and past demonstrations. One former construction worker who attended the demonstration said construction was halted and only a "containment" area was now being built. □



Torchphoto/Dave Warren

200 March in Desfile del Pueblo in Chicago

On June 7, over 200 people marched through Humboldt Park, a large Puerto Rican community in Chicago, in a "Desfile del Pueblo." The demonstration was held on the same day as an official Puerto Rican Day Parade downtown, and was part of a "Día de la Reafirmación Nacional Puertorriquena" that has been held each year since the Humboldt Park rebellion in 1977. The march was dedicated to Rafael Cruz and Julio Osorio, two young Puerto Ricans who were killed by the police during that rebellion. The march, in which the RSL participated, stretched over a half-mile and was warmly greeted and supported by the community.

Many of the marchers this year were there in support of the people now on trial in Chicago for bombings that the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) has taken responsibility for. There have been several hearings and trials so far. At each one, the accused have declared they are fighters for the Puerto Rican nation, they are at war with the U.S., and demand to be treated as prisoners of war.

On May 22 over 100 supporters of the prisoners of war demonstrated outside the courtroom where a trial was being held. On May 25, nearly 400 people attended a fundraising dinner for the POWs, at which the featured speaker was Lolita Lebron, who spent 25 years in U.S. prisons because she refused to repent for "crimes" carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence.

Sentencing of the POWs occurs on June 16, and there will be another demonstration at the courthouse then.

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Abortion Rights March June 28

The Los Angeles branch of the RSL will be participating in a demonstration on June 28 outside the annual Right-to-Life convention being held in Anaheim, California. The demonstration has been called by the June 28 Abortion Rights Committee and is being sponsored by over 100 groups from all over the country. The RSL is one of the sponsors.

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UAW Convention

(Continued from page 9)
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Georgia Ellis, an Essex Wire (Indiana) worker who was involved in a bitter strike for union recognition in 1978, also got people together. She explained how she and other

women worked for \$3.49 an hour doing the same thing that Ford workers do. She explained how the big companies subcontract work to her shop and lay off workers making \$11 an hour. Benny Lenard, a Black autoworker from Chicago who was so badly beaten by police that he needed 50 days of hospitalization, was there to organize against the cops. His struggle has been supported and covered by the Torch/La Antorchita.

Groups of workers around these militants, the ISTC, along with delegates and rank and file activists, many of whom are supporters of left organizations including the RSL, joined forces at a job-security demonstration. The

demands of the demonstration were: Stop Plant Closings, Guaranteed SUB, No Forced Overtime, Voluntary Inverse Seniority During Layoffs, and a Short Workweek with No Cut in Pay. This demonstration drew 150 people.

The problems facing autoworkers are severe and a part of the general crisis of capitalism. They have to be met with militancy, organization and a political understanding of capitalism in decay. What needs to be built is a revolutionary caucus in the UAW that can organize U.S. workers to join with our brothers and sisters around the world to fight to overthrow the whole system. It will be built out of the struggles that were barely reflected at the UAW convention and out of the response of the hundreds of thousands of angry autoworkers who had no real representation in Anaheim, California. □

South Korea

(Continued from page 11)

to avoid violence and "end dictatorship through the pressure of public opinion."

Economic crisis background to uprising

The May uprisings stemmed from a deep-rooted economic and political crisis in South Korea. In 1979 the economy began to decline, and in the first quarter of 1980 went into recession for the first time in 18 years. Prices shot up at a 40 percent annual rate, while unemployment jumped 42 percent. Dictator Park Chung Hee, who had ruled South Korea with an iron hand since 1961, began to lose his grip over the country. By October 1979, strikes and anti-government demonstrations were breaking out in Seoul and other cities.

On October 26, Park was assassinated by Kim Jae Kyu,

the head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Park's successor, President Choi Kyu Hah, promised a return to civilian rule in a bid for popular support. But on December 12 the most reactionary faction among the generals, led by Chon, staged a palace coup in an effort to maintain military rule. They jailed or dismissed 40 generals who supported Choi's promises of reform. Chon himself gradually emerged as the effective ruler of the country, although Choi remained as nominal head of the government.

At the same time, workers all over South Korea used Park's death and the resulting infighting among the generals as an opportunity to organize militant strike action. The number of strikes and slowdowns increased from 105 in 1979 to 719 in the first four months of 1980. Steelworkers, electrical workers and miners all struck for higher wages. Thirty-four textile companies were forced to cut the work-

day from 12 to eight hours following a sit-in strike by women workers. Meanwhile, students stepped up their demands for an end to military rule, culminating in three days of militant demonstrations in Seoul from May 1 to May 3. It was these strikes and demonstrations that led to the full-scale uprising of May 13.

General Chon is now trying to solidify his control over the country. He has dismissed the National Assembly and appointed a "Special Committee for National Security Measures" to administer martial law. He has also ordered troops to conduct house-to-house searches in Kwangju and other cities to round up militants active in the rebellions. Chon's victory represents a serious setback for the people of South Korea. But it was not a devastating defeat. U.S. imperialism grows weaker every day. South Korean capitalism is in crisis, while the ruling class is divided over how to stabilize its rule. Finally, the fighting spirit of the South Korean workers and students has not been crushed. The struggle will continue. □

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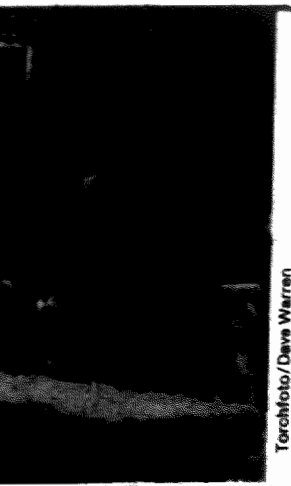
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Torchphoto/Dave Warren

Desfile Chicago

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brook. The nuclear plant to employ 5,000 con- on workers, now the er is down to 500. This be due in part to the e publicity gained by d past demonstrations. r former construction r who attended the dem- tion said construction alted and only a "con- ent" area was now being

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The Right-to-Lifers are working to pass an amendment to the Constitution, which would make abortion a crime equal to murder. Right-to-Lifers have been behind the firebombings and attacks on abortion clinics in a number of cities.

The anti-abortion movement is part of the growing right wing. These people are against every social and welfare program. They are for a stronger military. Their platform opposes publicly funded childcare, as well as most forms of contraception, gay and lesbian rights, sex education in the schools, and the Equal Rights Amendment. They have ties to anti-gay organizations, anti-union Right-to-Work committees and New Right political groups.

"Come Out Against the Right" is the main slogan for the march. The coalition also stands for full reproductive rights, including the right to free, safe and legal abortion; safe, effective contraception; comprehensive sex education; and no forced sterilizations. In addition, it advocates free, publicly funded childcare facilities and support for lesbian and gay rights.

The demonstration begins at noon, June 28, at Stoddard Park, near Katella and 9th Street. For more information, call (213) 254-2863 or the RSL at (213) 895-0345.

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