

COAL STRIKE CONTINUES

ANGRY MINERS SMASH CONTRACT SELLOUT

BY PAUL ALDRIDGE

On February 12 the bargaining council of the United Mine Workers (UMW) overwhelmingly rejected the proposed settlement of the nine-week-old miners' strike. Ignoring objections from UMW President Arnold Miller, the council voted to continue the longest strike in the union's history.

Two days earlier, the bargaining council had voted 33-3 to reject the contract sellout. However, that vote wasn't official, because Miller and his vice president, Sam Church, never even showed up at the meeting. Several hundred angry miners had come from Ohio and West Virginia to make sure that the proposed contract was turned down. Miller and Church didn't have the guts

(Continued on page 14)



Militant miners have battled scabs, cops and company gun thugs throughout the strike.

Undocumented Worker Speaks Out:

The following is an interview with an undocumented worker in Los Angeles. His name has been changed for obvious reasons.

Torch: What does it mean to be an undocumented worker?

Eduardo: What does it mean? It means you have to put up with a lot of things that you don't like if you are in this country. It means that you have to come take the job that they offer you, because you don't have any choice.

"The Problem Is Capitalism"

Torch: Undocumented workers don't have any legal rights whatsoever, or hardly any, in this country, correct?

Eduardo: Undocumented workers don't have any rights at all. If they are unemployed, they don't have the right to collect money, don't have the right to welfare, don't have the right to anything.

Torch: What about Immigration?

Eduardo: You have to be very careful where you go, because you can be picked up by La Migra. You don't have any safe place. Even in the factory you can be picked up, or on the street, it doesn't matter. And you don't have any security. If you are

picked up you are sent to a place where they keep all the undocumented workers, and after that you are sent out immediately to the border and Tijuana. They don't even give you the right to call to your house.

Torch: What happens during a raid on a factory?

Eduardo: Before, Immigration was the only force that was there to pick up the workers. Now we are seeing that it is not only the Immigration, but the police. Whenever they raid a factory, they surround the whole building and they hold workers, treating them like they were criminals.

Torch: How do the local bosses and La Migra work

together?

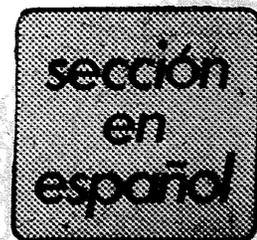
Eduardo: We have to see that the government is a weapon of the capitalists, of the bosses. The way they work is that whenever they see Friday, or whatever day it is that they pay the workers,

(Continued on page 17)

International Women's Day

**WOMAN
BE
FREE!**

see
page 12



our readers write...

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

"A modern day type of slavery"

Dear Torch,

On about the 1st of October my wife and I were looking for an apartment to accommodate our needs. We finally found something that appealed to us at the S. Hekemian Agency. We were told we could have an apartment that was available immediately. My wife called and made arrangements to see the apartment. . . . When I arrived at Summit Manor I was told the apartment was already rented, but I could fill out an application and would be able to get the next available apartment.

My wife and I called the Super numerous times and were told there was a possibility of a vacancy on November 1. But each time was told he had not received a written notice from the tenant, so he could not give us a definite answer, but to keep calling back.

We did keep calling until we decided to call the Agency, who was telling us there was a vacancy, and find out how they knew about the vacancies at Summit Manor. They told us the Super notified them of all vacancies. That's when we thought we were being discriminated against and contacted the Fair Housing Department. They in turn sent a tester over with about the same qualifications as ours the next day. The tester was offered an apartment available November 15. My wife was told to call that same day by Fair Housing, and as usual was told there were no vacancies. That's when we found out we had a case against Hekemian.

At this time in life, some of us may feel the world has changed. But if you look around you with open mind and eyes you will see that we have a modern day type of slavery.

Yes the white man still swings his whip, but in a more dignified and loop-holed way. He does this with words and his legalized so-called democracy.

There are some pretty decent white people who do respect a Black man's ground. But as always the majority rules. There may be a government that says all men are created equal, but who is to say how equal a Black man is to a white man, but the white man.

The Black race goes no further than the white man is willing to let him go. And if he

goes further it's because he had to expose his situation to a higher authority who must negotiate your despair with the white man.

I never felt that I was prejudiced towards anyone, but now I see that this is not a land of the free, at least not for minorities. Too many Black people have died building up this white Empire to have their offsprings treated so unfairly. And we are supposed to be equal.

Right now and probably for the rest of my life, I will have this hatred for the white man. I am very discontented working for him, but I must do what I have to do to survive. Even if it means building a better life for him. We (meaning Blacks) are all victims of a circumstance which we can't control, and will never control it if we don't wake up and see the light.
GEPJ

Reply: "We're all victims"

We're glad you wrote in about the housing discrimination that's still going on in this so-called democratic society. It's a shame that working and poor people have to fight all kinds of oppression everyday. You're right that many Black people died in building up this country. In fact, capitalism in this country was founded on the slavery of Black people. To this day, Black people face some of the most severe discrimination under this capitalist society. Unfortunately, many working class whites join in the oppression of Blacks. They buy the lies about Black people that the ruling class spreads. They think that having a white skin makes them better and gives them a stake in the system. In fact, working class whites are not much better off. While some whites have better jobs and houses, most white workers face the same conditions Black people do everyday.

The ruling class uses these divisions to keep us fighting each other—so that we don't unite and fight together for what we need. You're right that we're all victims of a circumstance we can't control

Repression in Ghana

Dear Comrades,

I have received several items from you. I perceive that I am culpable of not writing for a long time. . . . I have recently been overcrowded by school assignments. . . . (You) asked me to get you some information, printed or otherwise, concerning the riots which were waged against the Acheampong regime. In fact, as it is a military regime, no one was able to publish it in the papers and the only newspaper which took the trouble to do so was banned at that interim period. However, it is impossible to get that. Yes, opposition to the government has grown to a climax but everyone is afraid to express openly his opposition. . . . You are in hot water if you tend to criticize the government. The public were asked to express their ideologies concerning the clumsy "Union government" (a government of

army and civilian personnel—Ed.), but woe betide the one who criticized the proposed "Union government." Illiteracy is smouldering in the country. Those foolish illiterates are the lackeys of the "Union government." If the "Union government" wins the impending referendum I am aware the

students will wage a rigorous demonstration and this will certainly threaten Acheampong and followers. He was obviously astonished at the last riot. Will write more later to brief you on what is really happening in the country. Artificial shortages of commodities—super-inflationary state of Ghana! Acheampong is ruining the state!!!

Revolutionary greetings,
A comrade in Ghana
(West Africa)

I WONDER HOW SUNLIGHT FEELS,
LOCKED, AS I AM DEEPLY IN WHAT
IS CONSIDERED THE PRISON HOLE,
SEGREGATION, ISOLATION, SPECIAL HOUSING
UNITS,
NAMES THAT ARE NOW USED
TO DESCRIBE LAWFUL HELL,
AS SCREAMS REFLECT THE FREEDOM
OF TORTURED BEATEN BODIES;
LIKE AS I SIT NOW WRITING
THIS POEM,
SOME BLACK INMATE IS BEING BEATEN
IN THE NEXT GALLERY,
AND HIS SHOUTS REFLECT HIS AGONY
COMBINED WITH THAT OF OTHERS,
WHERE DAYS ARE SPENT DENIED
MEDICAL AND DENTAL TREATMENTS,
ALONG WITH LAW LIBRARY PRIVILEGES,
AS LONG AS YOU STAY CONFINED
TO THIS HOLE OF DARKNESS,
WHERE SUNLIGHT IS SEEN IN SEPARATED
CRACK-LIKE SPHERES.
I WONDER HOW SUNLIGHT
WOULD FEEL AGAIN, BUT HAVE I EVER FELT IT?
AND WILL I EVER?

—CF
ATTICA

From a gay reader

Dear Torch,

I will be moving as of December 26, so here is my new address. While I'm at it, I would like to say that while I do not consider myself a Trotskyist, I am very impressed by the high level of both your paper and your activism. I am Gay and I have yet to see a left group relate as consistently to the Gay struggle as you seem to do.

Yours in struggle,
Curtis P.
Baltimore, MD

Don't give up! Fight back!

Dear Torch,

If you are a smart person and see for yourself how the capitalist system treats us these days, you might want to do something about it. Well let me tell you something. I am a member of the RSL and I notice what the capitalist system does to the poor working class. The poor working class goes out to look for a job. If that poor working class person gets a job he will make a little bit of money. The big boss will pocket most of that money. We the working class have to fight and stop the big capitalist bosses from getting over on us. The bosses don't do a damn thing but

force you to work. They put you to do the hard jobs while they're resting. If the boss doesn't like the way you work he will fire you. Then you are forced to go live on welfare and welfare doesn't provide enough money so you can live. We have to build a movement against these things. We have to show them that their little stupid tricks will no longer last. We have to make a socialist revolution. When we make a socialist revolution people will know how a happy life is really lived. Fight back! Don't give up!

Frankie Sanchez
Bronx, New York

In this issue . . .

- 3 Thousands freeze in heatless apartments
Capitalist courts defend Nazis
- 4 "Gay rights" order: Few real gains
Humphrey: Ghost from liberalism's past
- 5 Native American women fight racism
Free Skyhorse & Mohawk
Marroquin released on bail
- 6 Keepers try to ban the Torch
- 7 Ten prisoners indicted for rebellion
- 8 Why Marxists support national liberation
- 10 Mexico: Workers & peasants fight gov't
- 11 General strike in Tunisia
Revolutionary prisoners in Jamaica write
- 12 Woman be free
- 15 Layoffs mount in auto

FEATURES

- 2 our readers write
- 6 Break the Chains
Suicides? . . . Rastafarian brother framed . . . Body Politic . . . prisoner briefs
- 9 World in Revolution
Nicaragua . . . Britain . . . Ethiopia . . . Indonesia
- 14 Labor Briefs
Puerto Rico strikes . . . Arizona farmworkers
- 16 Editorial
State capitalists fight bloody border war

Thousands Freeze in Heatless Apartments

BY ADELE LOHMAN

In one of the coldest winters New York City has ever known, thousands of apartment buildings have no heat. People wear sweaters and coats in the house, trying to keep from freezing. There's no hot water to take a shower. When the pipes freeze, there's no water at all. Old people stay in their beds, too cold to even fix a bite to eat. Families spend all their waking hours sitting around the kitchen stove.

A gas oven going full-blast all day, with all the windows shut, can burn up all the oxygen in a room. People can suffocate. It's dangerous, and it also runs up the gas bill.

This winter Con Ed (the gas and light company) is really cracking down on people who get behind in their bills. You get a few days' notice; then they come to your door to collect (and charge a \$5 collection fee). If you're not home or you can't pay, they shut off your gas and lights, even though they know your building has no heat.

To get it turned back on, you have to pay the back bill, the current bill, the collection fee, a reconnection fee and an additional deposit equal to your bill. Most working people can't get that much money to-

gether, so they wind up sitting in a cold apartment with candles for light.

In the Bronx two kids burned to death in a fire caused by candles. In Manhattan a woman died in a heatless apartment because Con Ed refused to turn her gas and lights on. She tried to keep warm by burning Sterno and charcoal briquets in an open pan, and the fumes killed her.

Hospitals also report more people dying from pneumonia this winter than ever before—over 500 in January alone—mostly old people and young children.

The city has a special phone number for heat complaints. When you call up, the clerk wants your name and address and your landlord's name and

phone number, so they can contact him. But in places like the South Bronx, people don't know their landlord's name and phone number. They send their rent to a Post Office Box. The landlord can't be reached in his nice, warm house. Every week, Central Complaints has about 15,000 cases that can't be solved by calling the landlord—15,000 buildings where the tenants go on freezing day after day, sometimes for months.

And it'll get worse. Most working-class housing is over 50 years old. The pipes and boilers can't last much longer. Who's going to fix or replace them? Not the landlord—he's in business to make money. He wants higher rents and lower costs. He can't raise the rents, because low-income and welfare tenants can't pay any more. But inflation keeps raising his costs. So he buys

less fuel, and his tenants get heatless days. He stops making repairs, but he still collects rent. As oil prices keep rising and the boiler keeps breaking down, he stops giving any heat. The tenants stop paying rent, and he abandons the building.

The landlord takes his money and leaves, but the tenants stay there. City Hall cries about how many tax dollars they lose on abandoned buildings, but they don't give a shit about the people who live there. Even if the city takes over a building, they don't fix it up; nothing changes.

"Capitalism is like an old building"

Nothing is going to change unless we organize to change it. The capitalists don't want to build new housing for work-



Landlords get rich while Black children live in shacks.

ers because there isn't enough profit in it. And they won't build any unless we fight for it. Areas like the South Bronx have to be rebuilt from scratch because the buildings are falling down.

Capitalism is like an old

building. It's falling apart and can't be fixed. We have to tear it down. When we build a new system that is run by the workers, we'll have decent housing and all the other things we need to live like human beings. □

CAPITALIST COURTS DEFEND NAZIS

Acting under instructions from the U.S. Supreme Court, the Illinois Supreme Court recently issued two important decisions. Together they give the Nazis the right to march in Skokie, Illinois.

The first court decision ruled that the Nazis can display the hated swastika on the streets of this largely Jewish suburb of Chicago. The second decision authorized a Nazi march from a Jewish community center to the Skokie village hall.

Recognizing that the march could lead to violence, the court warned Skokie residents that the "burden" was on them to "avoid the offensive symbol if they can do so without unreasonable inconvenience."

Many of the Jews living in Skokie are survivors of Auschwitz, Dachau, and other death camps set up by the Nazis during World War II to wipe out the Jewish people. They came here to get away from the ghettos and the persecution they faced in Europe. Now the courts are telling them they had better stay indoors, when the Nazis decide to take over their streets.

And in Houston and St. Louis . . .

The Nazi legal victories in Skokie are not isolated. They are part of what is becoming a national pattern. On January 18, a federal court lifted a lower court ban on recorded telephone messages by a Nazi group based in Houston, Texas. The messages read in part: "We are calling for an all-white war against Jews and other non-whites. We are beginning a battle by offering a \$5,000

prize for every non-white killed during an attack on a white person."

In Florissant, a suburb of St. Louis, a federal court ordered the local government to allow the Nazis to hold public gatherings.

These decisions are a setback to the anti-Nazi struggle. Workers, however, should not think that the way to fight these rulings is to pass new laws to ban the Nazis.

No laws will stop these racists from organizing.

The capitalists will only pass such laws to stop workers from fighting the Nazis. As the anti-fascist struggle grows, the capitalists will try to convince workers to put their faith in the courts and the cops to take care of the Nazis. By organizing for these laws, we only strengthen the illusion that the capitalists have any intention of oppos-

ing the Nazis.

The capitalist government isn't going to enforce any law that keeps the Nazis from spreading their filth. The Nazis are the ace-in-the-hole of dying capitalism. The capitalists are going to need them in the future to hold their system together.

Even now, the deepening social crisis is making the ruling class nervous about the possibility of revolts in the unions, the ghettos, and the rest of the working class. As working and oppressed people begin to struggle against the worsening conditions of capitalist society, sections of the ruling class will openly turn to the Nazis. They will use the fascists to break strikes and unions; to terrorize Black, Latin and white working-class communities, and to smash up revolutionary groups.

There is another reason not

to support efforts to outlaw the Nazis. Under the cover of banning the Nazis, these laws are aimed at "political extremists." The ruling class will not suppress the Nazis with these laws, but they will turn them against revolutionary organizations. These same laws will be used to cripple and crush any resistance to the bosses' rule. We can't afford to willingly hand them this weapon.

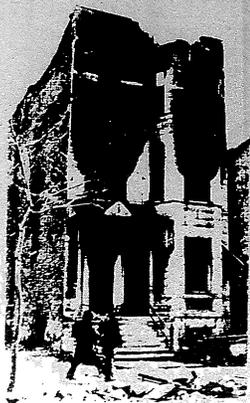
Nazis must be destroyed

History has shown us that the Nazis' brutality against working and oppressed people has no limits. If given the chance, they will set up gas chambers and slave labor camps right here in the U.S. As far as we are concerned, the Nazis have no rights of any kind.

There is only one way to deal with Nazis. They must be destroyed. The working class must crush their movement before it becomes powerful.

The immediate task is to drive them off the streets of Skokie, Detroit, St. Louis, Houston and any other place where they raise their ugly heads. The unions and every working class community must be mobilized for this fight.

The struggle must go further than this, however. Victories against the Nazis will be temporary and short-lived unless the working class uses these victories to prepare itself for the socialist revolution. The crisis of capitalist society will continue to give birth to Nazi and Nazi-like movements until the system is overthrown.



Jews gassed by Nazis, 1945.

NEW YORK CITY:

Koch's "Gay Rights" Order: Few Real Gains

On January 23, New York Mayor Ed Koch signed an executive order banning discrimination in hiring for "mayoral agencies" on the basis of "sexual orientation." This order is the first significant concession of any city or state government to gays' rights since Anita Bryant's anti-gay crusade got a gay rights law repealed in Dade County, Florida. But it is only a concession—and a small one at that.

In the first place, the larger groups of public employees in New York City are not affected. For example, transit workers and teachers are not protected by the order. Secondly, the promise to hire gays in the agencies that are covered will not mean much due to the freeze on hiring by the city. And lastly, not many gays will feel safe in coming out on the job knowing that the executive order can be revoked at the drop of a hat.

Already, the order has sparked a right-wing, anti-gay reaction. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association lawyers are "looking into the legality of the order." Richard Vizzini, the head of the Uniformed Firefighters' Association (UFA), is calling for the construction of separate showers, bathrooms, and living quarters for gay people. The UFA has also threatened to get the order nullified by putting it up for public referendum.

Defend gay rights

This reaction points to the danger of an organized anti-gay crusade in New York City that could eliminate much more than the small gains in Koch's executive order. The struggle for gay rights would be pushed back even further than it was after the defeat in Dade County. Most of all,

unless the anti-gay forces are fought now the struggle for more significant rights for gays will get more and more difficult.

A big obstacle to building a strong movement that can defend gay rights is the illusions created by Koch's order. Like all politicians, Koch has to come through on some of his campaign promises to keep himself looking good. But what he really wants is for gay people to trust Democratic Party politicians like himself to protect their rights. He is saying that people don't have to fight for their own liberation. As the anti-gay reaction grows, Koch will tell people: "Stay home. Don't go out and raise hell. I'll take care of everything."

This is suicide. There is no reason to believe that Koch and his gang will do any more to defend gays now than they

less of how few and how weak the gains may be. At the same time, no one should have any illusions about what it will take to achieve real gay liberation.

Compared to what we really need, this order is nothing. It doesn't mean true social equality. It doesn't mean that we can express our sexuality openly and freely.

The only way this will ever happen is if we recognize the fact that we have to rely on ourselves to win this liberation.

One of the main slogans that the gay movement built itself on was: "Out of the closets and into the streets." We have to make this slogan a living reality. We have to organize mass demonstrations to fight for the rights of gay people. We have to win the most militant fighters in the working class to take the struggle for gay liberation to their brothers and sisters in the trade unions.

The struggle for gay liberation is one and the same with the fight for the liberation of the entire working class. It is the struggle of all working and oppressed people to determine their own sexuality—a freedom unknown and impossible under capitalism. It is the struggle for socialist revolution. □

did in the past. Gay rights bills have come before the New York City Council at least five times. Each time they have either been ignored or dropped like a hot potato.

The truth is that neither the Democrats nor any of the other capitalist politicians give a damn about the fight for gay liberation. They are nowhere to be found when gay people get busted on one or another "morals" charge. They have nothing to say when the press uses "kiddie porn" to attack homosexuals. They have nothing to say about the shameless waste of human happiness and lives that gay oppression means.

For the sake of votes and offices, they may go along with a weak executive order, or even a weak gay rights law. But will they continue to stand up if a strong anti-gay movement develops in New York City?

All working and oppressed people must support and defend any gains that come from the executive order—regard-

HUBERT HUMPHREY: A Ghost From Liberalism's Past

BY PAUL BENJAMIN

Hubert Humphrey, a Democratic Party leader for over 30 years, died of cancer on January 13. Democratic and Republican Party politicians joined in praising him as the people's "Happy Warrior." They turned his funeral into a pep rally praising the so-called "progress" of U.S. capitalism.

The real Hubert Humphrey spent his life trying to cover up capitalist oppression in the U.S. and all over the world. The bourgeois liberals like Humphrey want us to believe that capitalism works in the

interests of all people. So they pretend to protect the rights of the working class. They claim to support freedom for the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. And they pose as defenders of Black people and other oppressed people in the U.S.

By going over Humphrey's career, we can see just how he and other liberal capitalist politicians lie to and betray the working class.

Hatchet man for Democratic Party

Humphrey began his political career in the mid-1940s in Minnesota. At that time, the largest political party in Minnesota was the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP). This was a militant-sounding reform party in which Communist Party supporters and other leftists played a large role.

Humphrey made his name by destroying the left wing of the FLP. He engineered a merger between the FLP and the Democratic Party. Then he used blacklists, gangster squads and redbaiting smears to drive out the radicals.

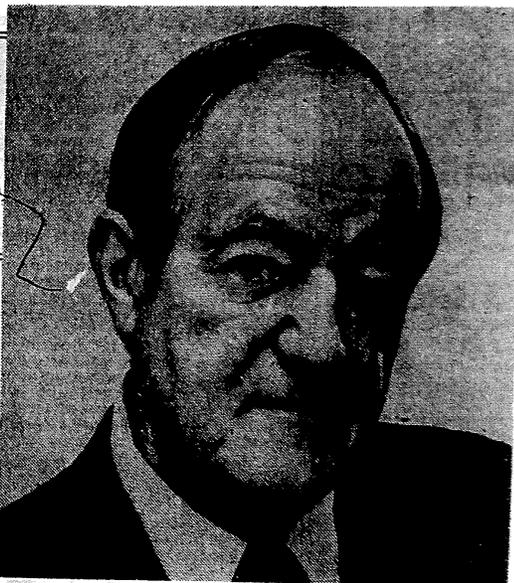
In 1948, Humphrey was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he became a national leader of the ruling class anti-communist campaign. At this time, leftist militants in the trade unions were driven out of their jobs and union offices. Thousands of everyday people were victimized for even being

suspected of having sympathy for the left. Joe McCarthy, a Senator from Wisconsin, built a national reputation by leading these witch-hunts.

Humphrey and the liberals teamed up to support McCarthy's anti-communist hysteria. Robert Kennedy, the brother of President John Kennedy, was McCarthy's right-hand man. Humphrey himself sponsored a law to set up concentration camps for the victims of the witch-hunts. He and Kennedy tried to outlaw the Communist Party altogether by passing the Communist Control Act in 1954. These actions expose the lie behind Humphrey's reputation as a defender of civil liberties.

Humphrey's claim to support freedom for the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Middle East is part of the same lie. He was an all-out supporter of the U.S. imperialist efforts to crush the national liberation movements in the Third World.

As U.S. vice-president, Humphrey supported the U.S. invasion of Southeast Asia and called it "... our great adventure and a wonderful one it is." He said the U.S. was fighting for democracy in Vietnam while he showered blessings on a series of U.S.-supported military dictators. He claimed to defend the masses in Southeast Asia, but cheered the napalming and bombing which slaughtered millions of unarmed civilians.



Humphrey on Vietnam:

"... our great adventure and a wonderful one it is."

Finally, Humphrey pretended to work for the improvement of living conditions for workers and oppressed people in the U.S. In particular, the capitalist politicians praise his campaigns on behalf of Black people and the civil rights movement. But again, this is nothing more than capitalist propaganda.

Throughout most of his career Humphrey was a loyal supporter of the racist Southern Democrats in his own party. This alliance allowed him to play a leading role in the Senate and build his reputation as a liberal reformer.

For instance, in 1949 Humphrey offered a bill for federal aid to education. The NAACP asked him to include a ban on federal aid to segregated schools. Humphrey

turned them down cold, because it would cost him Southern Democratic support for his bill. He justified this sellout by crying: "I hate segregation, but I love education more."

The real reason for his refusal was something else entirely. The liberals used reforms, like aid to education, to keep the working class, especially the better-off white workers, loyal to the capitalists. To get these reforms through Congress, they formed an alliance with the Southern Democrats. As payment for this support, they allowed the Southern Democrats to block civil rights legislation and keep legal segregation alive in the South. Black people paid the price for

(Continued on page 7)



Humphrey & antiwar pickets.

Native American Women Fight Racist Schools



Jeanne Baum turns herself in while supporters watch.

BY FRANK HOPKINS

On February 5, Jeanne Baum, a Blackfoot Indian woman, turned herself in to face charges of "child neglect." Her "crime" is allowing Siba, her 15-year-old daughter, to stay out of a racist Long Island, New York, school. Jeanne Baum, afflicted with multiple sclerosis and confined to a wheelchair, now faces loss of legal custody of Siba, as well as a jail sentence.

Schools teach racist lies

All of this began in September of 1975. One of Siba's "teachers" at Selden Junior High School was a virulent anti-Native American racist. Among other filth, this teacher claimed that Native Americans "are lazy" and "got what they deserved." By using racist lies this teacher tried to excuse the U.S.'s history of mass murder of the Indian people.

And the school authorities went right along with it. When Jeanne Baum tried to get some action taken against these "teachings" the school big-shots did nothing. So Siba and Jeanne decided that Siba would no longer go to school.

Then the state moved in. Just like the school authorities, the court stood 100 percent behind the anti-Indian racism being taught at Selden. On January 23, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court ruled that Siba would have to be returned to school for more "education." Jeanne Baum, however, made it clear that no matter what the state threatened her with, she wouldn't force Siba to return to the racist school system.

For its part, the state is ready to let loose with all kinds of hell. This after all is the very same government that is responsible for the genocidal wars waged against the Native American people. This is the same government that to this day tries to steal whatever land the Native American people still retain. This is the government that is responsible for frame-up trial after frame-up trial of Native

American militants. No wonder then that the state wants to beat down two Native American women who told the state where to get off.

The court's excuse is the charge that Jeanne is treating Siba like a pawn in her battle with the school authorities. But Siba is in full agreement with Jeanne. It isn't Jeanne Baum who forces Siba Baum to sit through classes where she is degraded. It isn't Jeanne Baum who pretends that Siba Baum isn't mature enough to decide what is a racist lie. And it isn't Jeanne Baum who pretends that Siba Baum can't make her own decisions. It is the capitalist state that treats young people in general like pawns.

Capitalism uses the schools to get young people to accept the rotten lives they will have

in this society. For capitalism, the schools are a very important, educational tool.

FREE SKYHORSE AND MOHAWK!

Stop the Frame-Up!

AS WE GO TO PRESS, February 11—300 people demonstrated in Los Angeles today in support of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk. The march was sponsored by over 20 organizations, including the LA Revolutionary Socialist League. The RSL contingent handed out a leaflet in English and Spanish at the demonstration. The leaflet explained:

"Native American people have survived the fiercest capitalist attacks during the last 100 years, and they have fought back with courage and strength. Today, they are under attack again. . . . The Revolutionary Socialist League believes that the oppression of Native American people, and of all the oppressed, will end only under a socialist society created by a workers' revolution in this country and around the world."

The schools teach all kinds of sexist, racist and anti-working class garbage.

The schools put young people into competition with one another. In many cases the schools get young people to police each other. In this "get over" atmosphere the schools use "peer pressure" that is created by the schools themselves to force young people to conform to the rotten roles that they will have to play in capitalist society.

And to get people to accept this, young people are never told their real history. Black people are never told the true history of Black people. Women are never taught that women have done far more than be "good housewives." Young people are never taught that history has been made by the masses of oppressed people. And Native American youths are taught that the Indian people "got what they deserved." This is what treating young people like pawns is really all about—taking decent young human beings and destroying their sense of humanity.

Some young people just give in under this kind of

pressure. Some young people begin to accept their oppression and become willing to oppress others. Then society is ready to use these people—all their lives. Society uses up all their energy and then spits them out. Before these young people ever get to live their lives, they become casualties of the capitalist system. They not only never see freedom, but are taught never to even think about it. Not only do they never feel love and respect, but they are forced to pretend that nothing is missing. And not only do they never fight their oppression, they convince themselves that oppression is really okay.

This is why it is so important for all working and oppressed people to support the struggle of Jeanne and Siba Baum. It is right to tell the oppressive schools to go to hell. It is right to stand up against the state and fight for the truth and equality. It is right to fight for freedom and humanity.

Send contributions to: the Jeanne Baum Defense Committee, in care of A. Stein, 400 Central Park West, New York, NY 10025.

doing a one-year stretch for aiding and abetting a felony. Broussard got the best deal of all—all charges against her were dropped.

Despite the threats and deals, however, the prosecution has not been able to turn them into reliable witnesses. Redshirt had to be arrested when he took the witness stand drunk. After he sobered up, Redshirt repeated his earlier story about Skyhorse and Mohawk stabbing the taxi driver. Under cross examination by Skyhorse and Mohawk, who are defending themselves, Redshirt backed off somewhat from his story. He admitted that he wasn't sure exactly what happened the night of the murder, including whether he himself had stabbed the driver!

EagleStaff was charged with contempt of court when she took the stand. Fearful of getting the prosecution's lies crossed up, she simply refused to answer questions under cross examination.

Support AIM militants

The stench of injustice from the trial has become so intense that Amnesty International has decided to look into it. Apart from the kangaroo court proceedings, Amnesty International is responding to the beatings and other mistreatment Skyhorse and Mohawk have gotten while being held in custody.

This racist frame-up of our American Indian Movement brothers must be stopped. **Free Skyhorse and Mohawk! Free all Native American political prisoners!**

Send letters of support and donations to: Skyhorse-Mohawk Offense/Defense Committee, PO Box 30036, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90030; call (213)383-1297.

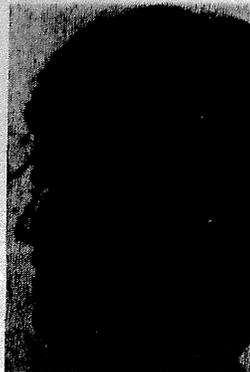
Marroquín Released On Bail

Under pressure from public protests, the U.S. government is delaying its attempt to deport Hector Marroquín. Marroquín has been released from jail on \$10,000 bond. And the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has postponed his deportation hearing indefinitely.

Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP-U.S.), is a political refugee. After the Mexican government framed him on a murder charge in 1974, he fled Mexico for the U.S. U.S. government agents arrested Marroquín in September 1977 for "illegal entry." So far, the government has not answered his request for political asylum here.

Deportation could mean death

The Mexican government wants to get Marroquín because of his political activities in the Mexican student movement. If the U.S. government succeeds in handing him over to the Mexican police, he faces prison, torture and possible death. Two students ac-



Hector Marroquín.

used with Marroquín have been murdered by the Mexican police. A third was tortured and hasn't been heard from since his arrest.

Marroquín must go free! The campaign to stop his deportation must continue! The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLAP) asks that messages protesting travel restrictions on Marroquín and demanding political asylum be sent to: Leonel Castillo, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.



KEEPERS TRY TO BAN THE TORCH!

Suicides?

Billy Jean Dunigan, a prisoner at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women, hung herself on January 14. Her plastic mattress cover was her noose. At the time, she was being held in observation in the New York prison. According to observation rules, women are supposed to be under surveillance 24 hours a day. But the screams of other locked-in women brought no response from the guards.

Scott Caldwell, a prisoner in the long-term unit at the Marion Federal Prison in Illinois, died on December 31. Once again the administrators of Marion are taking no responsibility for a prisoner's death. They are claiming he hung himself.

Whether prisoners hang themselves or get murdered by guards, it is still murder. The capitalists turn the prisons in this country into torture chambers. They need this terror to keep their system together. This is one more reason why we have to tear down capitalism and its prisons.

Rastafarian brother framed

Four Black men, driving in Brooklyn, New York, were stopped by the police. They weren't violating any law, but all four were Rastafarians—and all wore dreadlocks. While the police searched and questioned them, one brother shot at the pigs. He escaped, but the others were arrested for possession of a weapon.

When the three came to court, another Rasta, Maverick Clark, came to show support to his brothers. While waiting for the hearing to begin, a plain-clothes cop asked to talk to Clark and then accused him of being the man who had escaped. The cop picked Clark because he too wore dreadlocks.

Now Clark is locked up. The arresting cop is "50 percent sure" it was Clark who fired the shots, even though he admits he didn't even see Clark in the car. The trial judge has already given Clark a preview of justice in action with his opening statement: "It bothers me... that police put their lives on the line because scum like you and friends... shoot at police... and if you think I am prejudiced... the answer is yes... but that has nothing to do with the conduct of the trial or the work of the jury." Not much!

Body Politic: "They're trying to silence us."

"They're trying to silence us. They're trying to close down our press... But we're not going to be shut down. We're going to fight and we're going to win."

These are the words of David Gibson, speaking for the **Body Politic** at a Toronto demonstration on January 14. Since the police raided the **Body Politic's** offices on December 30, the defense of the important gay newspaper has grown swiftly. The **Body Politic Free the Press Fund** collected \$3,000 within two weeks.

In Canada and the U.S., demonstrations have been held against the raid and the charges made against the **Body Politic**. On Saturday, January 14, the largest gay liberation demonstration ever held in Toronto denounced the attack on the **Body Politic** and the harassment of young gays. Eight hundred people were on the streets.

The state pretended like it was "defending" young people in its attack on the **Body Politic**. The cops' excuse for the bust was that the **Body Politic** ran an article called "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." The article described sexual relationships between men and male youths.

But the night before the demonstration, the state made it clear that it wasn't interested in protecting young people. The cops busted two gay youths who were leafletting for the demonstration. The pigs harassed and insulted them.

When the state wants to harass gay people, it pretends like it is defending young people. But when young people are gay, the state drops all the pretensions and comes down on them.

This just proves that the charges against the **Body Politic** are all bullshit. This shows the state is only trying to protect its "right" to oppress all people.

Prisoner briefs...

The Wilmington Ten will have to continue their fight for freedom. Governor Hunt of North Carolina made this clear in his statement on January 23 in response to demands that the Ten be freed.

Hunt said: "The jury made the right decision... I cannot and I will not pardon these defendants." Combining this fine sense of "justice" with an attempt to placate the supporters of the Ten, the Governor slightly reduced the sentences of the nine people still in prison.

On January 27, American Indian Movement member Leonard Peltier was found innocent of "attempted murder." The trumped-up charges resulted from a 1972 fight with two cops at a Milwaukee restaurant.

The cops, Ronald Hlavinka and Jim Eccles, admitted during the course of the trial that they had been drinking at the time. Two witnesses stated that the cops were beating Peltier.

To stop the beating, Peltier pulled a gun. Peltier knew the gun didn't even work, but he figured it would put an end to the cops' attack.

For this the state tried to charge Peltier with attempted murder. But the jury wouldn't go for it. However, Peltier remains in prison on a previous charge.

Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez are free! The two Filipina nurses had been convicted on trumped-up charges of murdering patients at an Ann Arbor VA hospital. But when Narciso and Perez won a new trial on December 20, the state decided it had had enough. On February 1, the U.S. prosecutor announced that all charges were being dropped.

—ME & FH

Numerous state and federal prisons around the country have banned the **Torch-La Antorcha** in recent months. This is a blatant attack on the basic democratic rights of prisoners. Among the prisons denying prisoners the paper are: Somers (Connecticut), Auburn (New York), Attica (New York), Marion (Illinois) and Folsom (California).

The keepers fear the struggles of revolutionary prisoners and the contribution the **Torch-La Antorcha** can make to the development of these struggles. This was made completely clear this month when Clinton Correctional Facility in New York banned our correspondence with a particular prisoner for six months.

In letters to the **Torch-La Antorcha**, prisoners described this repression and their efforts to fight it. We are reprinting sections from three of these letters. The first is from a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) at Rosharon, Texas. The second is from a prisoner at Clinton. The third is from a prisoner at the Federal Correctional Institution, Petersburg, Virginia, where the keepers have "requested" that we

comrades read it. The brother in question took the paper to school with him and left it on a desk for a moment while he stepped out of the room. Upon returning to the class the teacher informed him that one of the agents of the Beast had confiscated it. The comrade then went to inquire whether or not this was so and why.

The pig told my comrade that the paper is not allowed in the institution, never was allowed in the institution, and never will be allowed in the institution. The pig then filed a report against the brother. About a half-hour after this occurred I came over to the school building, and the comrade told me about what went down. So I explained to him that at first I didn't receive any of the paper because they were being detoured but that I thought everything was 'cool' since the third **Torch** came through without any static. So, naively, we went to try to reason with the unreasonable; and I also received a report for possession of contraband.

"We're both scheduled to appear at 'kikkourt' tomorrow. I can imagine the results. The mail room claims that they have no record of my

stop sending the paper to all our prisoner subscribers there. This amounts to a blanket ban on the **Torch-La Antorcha**.

Rosharon

"Today January 25, 1978, your paper **Torch** was denied to a large number of inmates, by prison officials, at the Unit level....

"What do you intend to do about the **Torch** being denied to inmates in TDC? I am willing to file suit in our behalf, but need to know if your paper would help me with the litigation....

"The Assistant Warden who denied the issue in question is in no way an expert in political science, but yet he is allowed to censor all publications, and allowed to deny any publication he so desires. This has to stop, and I'm asking for your help."

Clinton

"...the Media Review Committee denied me the right to have the first two editions you sent.... But check this out: I did receive the January-February edition of the **Torch** on the 18th. I finished reading it last night and this morning I brought it out to let one of the

receiving a paper, so it looks like another trainride on the 'railroad.' But it's no big thing. The most we'll probably get is 14 days locked in the cell. My main concern is the fact that the paper is being denied me."

Petersburg

"Revolutionary greetings in the name of the universal struggle.

"I am writing to let you know that the officials here have declared the **Torch** unfit for our mental consumption. This shows the righteousness of the **Torch**. Anyhow the struggle continues, for where there is oppression there is resistance. Keep on keeping on."

PRISONERS! HELP US FIGHT THE BANNINGS!

In order to fight this we need to know where the **Torch** has been withheld, and how often. If you have had trouble getting the paper, please send us the details, including copies of all official notices. United, we can stop the bannings!

Ten Prisoners Indicted for Napanoch Rebellion

The following report was written by a comrade in the August 8th Brigade. We are printing the report to build support for the brothers indicted for "rebellion-related crimes." The struggle against the racist prison keepers is a key part of the fight for the liberation of all working and oppressed people.

Ten brothers out of 150 inmates, authorities said, participated in the takeover of a prison, Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York, barricading themselves in a housing block, B-3, with 11 hostages on August 8, 1977. The 10 have been indicted by an Ulster County Grand Jury. In a report handed up to County Judge Raymond J. Mino, the grand jurors indicted the brothers for crimes that run the gamut from first degree rioting and first degree attempted coercion and assault, to first degree unlawful imprisonment. Originally, 50 inmates were arrested in the 12-hour siege. Of the 10 brothers indicted, eight are Latin and two are Black.

Six years after Attica, the State moved swiftly after the rebellion at Napanoch prison to attempt to isolate and silence the prisoners accused of participating in the August 8 takeover. Forty-three brothers are being held in various forms of solitary confinement (the box, hole, plastic cell, etc.) all over the state, with charges which are indictable felonies, and which can extend their prison time if found guilty.

The prisoners remain determined to continue to expose the racist oppression and conditions which motivated the rebellion and have

formed the August 8th Brigade for their campaign.

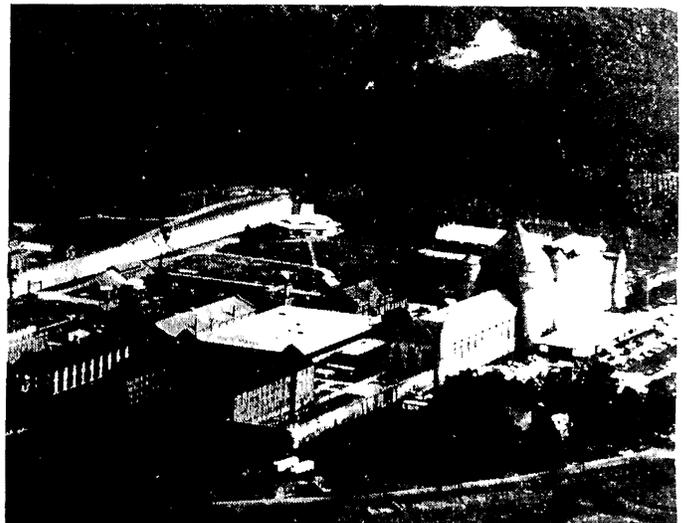
After receiving no redress from any other quarter (including complaints from the Liaison and Grievance Committee, letters to the Warden and the Commission of Correctional Services, aborted state investigations, petitions, complaints from prisoners' organizations, and costly state and federal civil litigation), the rebellion demonstrated that the State has continued to foster the intolerable prison conditions which set the Attica rebellion into motion six years ago. In fact, the State has encouraged and covered up for open organizing by the Ku Klux Klan in those six years.

The Napanoch takeover occurred over many of the demands raised by the Attica brothers. It came after several months of particularly intensive harassment and brutalizing of Puerto Rican prisoners (Latin population) by two guards suspected of Klan affiliation or sympathies, Sergeants Budd and Sluka.

Finally on August 8, 1977, prisoners seized several wings at Eastern—the mess hall, hospital and 14 hostages (three hostages were released on good faith)! They demanded:

- 1) Removal of two sergeants now at Napanoch, Budd and Sluka.
- 2) A passage of the legislation bill, "Good Time," which would cut minimum sentence for good behavior.
- 3) A decent prison diet and mess hall conditions.
- 4) Amnesty for all involved (no reprisals).

What happened to those brothers



Eastern Correctional Facility at Napanoch, N.Y.

charged and indicted for the alleged crimes of the rebellion? The administration had to create the impression that it was "violent prisoners," not intolerable conditions and organized white supremacy, that were responsible for the uprising. Superintendent Jack (the Czar) Czarnetzky publicly pushed for further repression in bringing charges against the 43 brothers, especially those who had played leading roles in Latin and Black prison organizations. Most of the 43 were immediately shipped to Sing Sing and then scattered to prisons throughout the State: Clinton, Attica, Auburn, Comstock, Elmira, and Green Haven.

Although at that time the Ulster County Grand Jury had not delivered any formal indictments, Jack (the Czar) Czarnetzky made calls to the superintendents of the above mentioned facilities and had at least 10 brothers thrown into solitary confinement. In Clinton prison, some brothers were beaten by cowardly pigs.

The institution hearings were all informal in order to allow the administration to find them all "guilty." The brothers were punished with up to six months in the "Box" and the loss of one year good time. The State is not even maintaining a pretense of legality, being so confident that they will be able to cover up the truth of the rebellion.

KKK burns cross

White supremacist organizing among prison guards takes many forms. On the night of the rebellion, a cross was burned on a hill above the prison. The Ku Klux Klan had another victory in Napanoch, but not without a fight!

When Governor Carey refused to negotiate with the Napanoch prisoners, he demonstrated that he is aligned with Nelson Rockefeller, who murdered 43 in Attica prison (10 were guards!).

Since the Attica rebellion brought home the message to New York State that the struggle for Blacks and all

Latin liberation is here to stay and will be waged from within the prison walls as well as from without, all State authorities have intensified their capacity to crush its manifestations. From the special Corrections Emergency Response Teams (Robots in Orange), with their sophisticated arms, to the reorganization of prisons into more manageable "Behavior Modification" units like the brutal segregation Unit 14 at Clinton and Attica's dehumanizing strip cells or plastic cells, the State will move on prisoners who fight back.

"United we will win!"

The Napanoch August 8th Brigade has called for the formation of a coalition which will defend the prisoners charged with alleged rebellion-related crimes and continue to confront the conditions which caused the takeover. A call will be issued soon to organizations and individuals who can contribute to this defense and agitation campaign. In addition, it is necessary to let Governor Carey, Commissioner Ward, Inspector General McCarthy and Superintendent Czarnetzky know that the cover-up is a well-known fact and that the racist offensive of the Ku Klux Klan and its sympathizers will continue to be exposed.

Some of the groups involved thus far are: The Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence, The Attica Committee to Free Dacajeweah, Solidarity with Sisters Inside, the Frank Khali Abny Defense Committee. People will be needed in the courtrooms!

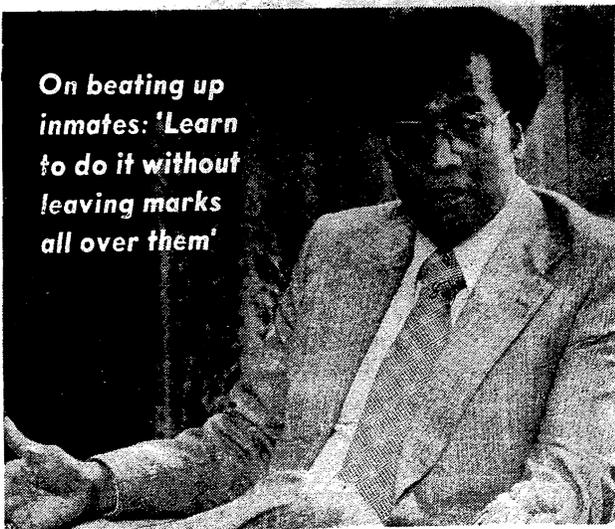
We issue this release in solidarity with the prisoners at Napanoch and the worldwide fight against white supremacy. We demand total amnesty for all prisoners involved in the takeover! Attica is All of US!!! United We Will Win!!!

Send letters of support and contributions to: Box 411, Times Plaza Station, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

FC
August 8th Brigade

THE ENFORCER

On beating up inmates: 'Learn to do it without leaving marks all over them'



Gerald Brown (pictured above) is the new chief of operations in the New York City Corrections Department. Brown was chosen because of his "excellent record" as an enforcer of capitalist justice.

Why Marxists Support National Liberation Struggles



Eritrean guerrillas (left) fight for independence from Ethiopia; Angolan MPLA (right) fought U.S.-S. African puppets.

Marxists fight for the world socialist revolution. We believe that the only solution to the problems of today's world is socialism—an international society created and controlled by the international working class and its allies.

To achieve this goal, the working class and all oppressed people must unite across all frontiers. We therefore stand opposed to the division of the workers along national, ethnic and racial lines.

At the same time, we support the struggles of oppressed people for national liberation. This includes the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination, that is, the right to separate from other nations and form independent states.

On the face of it, support for national liberation appears to contradict the call for international working-class unity. But as we shall see, it is precisely through supporting the right of oppressed people to self-determination that Marxists work to build the unity of workers and oppressed peoples.

Workers and oppressed divided

Today, the workers and oppressed people are extremely disunited. Among other things, they are divided along racial, national and ethnic lines. These divisions are the result of the uneven nature of historical development. Different regions develop at different rates and in different ways. Different peoples develop different cultures and values.

These divisions existed before capitalism developed. But capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage of development, intensifies these national and racial divisions. It uses them to systematically oppress the smaller and weaker nationalities.

Imperialism turns the whole world into its plundering ground. It particularly oppresses the so-called underdeveloped countries which are looted through foreign investment, unequal trade relations, and financial dealings on the part of the big imperialist powers. As a result, these countries find their economies stunted and dis-

torted. They become economically, politically and culturally dominated by the imperialist powers.

But the imperialists do more than this. They utilize national divisions to maintain their rule. They set the oppressed nations against each other, so that they are divided and can't fight back. They also set up some nations as relatively privileged powers to help them oppress other nationalities. For example, in Latin America, which itself is oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Brazil serves as a policeman for the U.S. to keep the rest of the continent in line.

In these and other ways, imperialism by its very nature intensifies national oppression, particularly grinding down the smaller nationalities.

To win true liberation for all oppressed peoples, world capitalism must be overthrown and replaced with international socialism. As long as imperialism exists, oppressed nations cannot achieve real freedom. Even if they win political independence, they will be oppressed, dominated and controlled by the great imperialist powers. They will be tied to these plunderers by the invisible chains of trade, investment and finance.

Only socialism, which replaces the dog-eat-dog/devil-take-the-hindmost nature of capitalism with cooperation and solidarity, can provide true freedom for the oppressed peoples of the world.

There are millions of people around the world who are taking up arms to fight against national, racial and ethnic oppression. Since only the socialist revolution can eliminate this oppression, these people have an objective interest in supporting the struggle for socialism. In other words, these people are potential allies of the revolutionary workers.

The vast majority are peasants who have only recently awakened to political consciousness. They are not class conscious. They don't understand that to end their national oppression they must overthrow capitalism. They don't see the need for a socialist revolution.

The question for revolutionaries is—how to win these people to the struggle for socialism? How to get them to see that they must ally with and follow the revolutionary workers?

By themselves, all the speeches and articles in the world won't be enough to change the consciousness of these people. They must be shown through their experiences that only the struggle for socialism can free them. They must be shown in action that, to win their freedom, they must follow the revolutionary proletariat.

To prove this to the masses of oppressed nationalities, revolutionaries must support the struggles of



"If the proletariat of any one nation gives the slightest support to the privileges of 'its' national bourgeoisie, this will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of the other nation; it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie." V.I. Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"

oppressed peoples for national liberation. We must demonstrate, as concretely as possible, that we are the most determined fighters against national oppression and for the right of self-determination. This means supporting the struggles and aspirations of oppressed people, regardless of who is leading them.

This task has two sides. First, revolutionaries must convince the working class of the oppressor nations that it is

in their interest to break from "their" bourgeoisies and support the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. We must explain to the workers in these countries that by supporting the imperialist policies of "their own" capitalists, they only strengthen their oppressors and forge heavier chains for themselves.

Revolutionaries must convince the workers of the oppressor nations that their fight against their "own" bourgeoisies will be strengthened by an alliance with the masses of the oppressed nations. If this alliance is to be built, the workers of the oppressor nations must prove that they do not support the expansionist aims of the imperialists.

Within the oppressed nations, revolutionaries must convince workers that they must fight for the leadership of the non-socialist and non-proletarian masses. In the struggle for national liberation, the masses start out following the leadership of non-proletarian, non-socialist forces. In most cases, these movements are led by middle class nationalists and Stalinists.

Despite their socialist words and promises, these forces do not fight to overthrow capitalism. They cannot and will not lead the masses to true national liberation. At best, they can secure formal political independence, which as we have seen does not mean the end of national oppression.

It is therefore crucial for the working class within the oppressed nation to fight to expose these middle-class leaders and to win the masses over to their side. They must show that the middle-class misleaders do not fight. In fact, for the freedom of the masses

(Continued from previous page)

eliminating the most visible oppressor—the imperialists or some other oppressor nation—will bring about the freedom they are seeking.

The aims of the middle-class nationalists and Stalinists are different. To them, national oppression means that they are cut out of the action. When they fight, they fight for their right to be the ruling class of their society. "Why should the imperialists run our country and make all the profits?" they say. "It is our country and we should run it."

In other words, the middle-class-led national liberation movements are objectively divided by opposing class interests. Revolutionary workers can use this contradiction to expose the misleaders and win the allegiance of the oppressed people.

The Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917 is a good example of how this works out in practice. Russia under the Tsars was a semi-feudal empire. The dominant nationality was the Great Russians, but over half of its population consisted of oppressed nationalities. Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Jews, Uzbeks, and hundreds of others, were ruled by the Russian state. Their territories were taxed and plundered to support the Russian Empire. Their languages and cultures were ruthlessly suppressed.

In many ways and for many years, these oppressed peoples fought for political rights and freedom from the barbaric Russian state. The Poles, for

democratic rights to all peoples within the Russian Empire. But despite its promises, it refused to free the oppressed nationalities. Instead, it tried to hold together the old Russian Empire for exploitation by the Russian capitalists.

Under Lenin's leadership, the Bolshevik Party made the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination a central part of its agitation. Throughout 1917, the people of Russia stepped up their revolutionary struggle. Workers took over the factories. The peasants took over the land. And the oppressed nationalities fought for their freedom from Russian rule. Of all the significant parties in Russia, only the Bolsheviks championed the full rights of the oppressed peoples. As a result, more and more of the oppressed peoples turned against the Provisional Government and looked to the Bolsheviks. This undermined the bourgeois government and helped clear the way for the Bolshevik seizure of power in October.

No support to middle-class leaders

In many situations, however, the revolutionary workers' movement will not be strong enough to win the allegiance of the masses of the oppressed nationalities. They may remain under the influence of middle-class nationalists and Stalinists for a considerable period of time.

In these circumstances, it is still in the interest of the workers to support these movements. Without politically supporting the pro-capitalist leaders, the workers must fight alongside the oppressed masses, where this is possible, and give whatever material aid they can.

This will accomplish two major goals:

1) They can help the oppressed nations win political independence. This will weaken the imperialist powers, and give the masses confidence and experience in struggle. It will also give the masses the opportunity to see the true nature of their middle-class leaders. Before independence, the conflicting class interests were hidden within the nationalist struggle against the oppressor nation. After independence, these contradictions explode in the struggle of the workers and peasants against their "own" capitalist rulers.

2) The workers, slowly but surely, can win the confidence of the oppressed peoples. Through the course of the struggle, the workers will prove in action that they stand with the oppressed people in the fight for freedom. They will demonstrate concretely the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

"We are internationalists"

Throughout the struggle for national liberation, Marxists do not give any ground to nationalism. We are not nationalists. We are internationalists. We fight against nationalist ideology, which strives to unite the masses with their "own" rulers rather than fight against them. We do not glorify the national liberation struggles. We explain clearly that political independence under capitalism will be limited and distorted.

Above all, we strive to build unity of the workers throughout the world. Our goal is to build an international revolutionary party, uniting revolutionary workers across the globe, and capable of providing leadership for the worldwide socialist revolution. By combining support for national liberation struggles with the fight to unite the workers across all national boundaries, we can forge an alliance of the workers and oppressed masses. We can overthrow imperialism and win real freedom—socialism—for the oppressed nations and for all people. □



General strike in Nicaragua shakes Somoza regime

A massive general strike in Nicaragua has shaken the foundations of President Anastasio Somoza's brutal regime. On January 23, strikers shut down 90 percent of Nicaraguan industry and commerce. Militant anti-government demonstrations swept over Nicaragua's major cities. The strike was called by the Democratic Liberal Union (DLU), a coalition of conservative politicians, liberals and Communist Party supporters who oppose Somoza's government. The DLU succeeded in controlling the strike and preventing an insurrection against the government. As a result, the strike ended on February 7 with Somoza still in power.

The political crisis in Nicaragua began after Somoza's thugs murdered Joaquin Chamorro, a well-known DLU leader. For two days after his death, mass rebellions against Somoza exploded in Managua, the national capital, and other Nicaraguan cities. The capitalist opposition leaders stepped in to get rid of Somoza before the mass movement got out of hand. They called the general strike hoping they could pressure Somoza into resigning.

But the DLU leaders reared the anger of the working class even more than they hated Somoza. They refused to arm the workers for an assault on the government. Somoza remained in control of the only armed force in the country, the national radio, and the government offices. Although the general strike paralyzed the economy, Somoza held on to the government machinery and was able to survive.

The general strike showed the lengths to which the capitalist politicians will go to control the working-class movement, and keep it within a capitalist framework. It shows that they will never allow the basis of capitalist power—the state apparatus—to fall into the workers' hands.

This is why the workers must break with the capitalist politicians and organize their own revolutionary party. Only a revolutionary workers' party can lead the struggle to smash the capitalist state and win real freedom for the oppressed masses in Nicaragua.

Britain: Labor leaders betray workers

Workers in Britain are losing their fight to smash Prime Minister Callaghan's 10 percent limit on wage increases. In January, firefighters were forced to give up their struggle for a 30 percent wage hike after striking for over two months. On February 8, the British miners' union announced it would abandon its claim for a 90 percent raise and settle within the government's wage limits.

Last fall British workers were more than ready to take on the government. Their militancy forced British trade union leaders to criticize the 10 percent limit. But when the workers went on strike the bureaucrats sold them out. The firefighters' leaders urged their membership not to strike. The national Trades Union Congress voted against organizing a mass campaign to support the firefighters.

Now the miners' leaders are using the firefighters' defeat as an excuse for caving in to the government. The labor bosses are giving Callaghan a free hand to step up his attacks on the working class.

Ethiopia launches new offensive in the Ogaden

On February 6, Ethiopian troops launched an all-out offensive against Somali forces, to retake the Ogaden region. The Ethiopians are backed by Russian and Cuban advisers, and seem to have Cuban air support.

The people of the Ogaden are Somalis, but the imperialists handed the region over to Ethiopia around the turn of the century. The Ogaden Somalis resisted the Ethiopian takeover. In fact, the region was not finally subdued until the 1950s.

Since 1960, when Somalia became independent, the Somalis of the Ogaden have tried to leave Ethiopia and join Somalia. Last year, when the Ethiopian military government was tied down in its war against Eritrea, the people of the Ogaden rose up. With Somalia's help, they drove the Ethiopians out.

The upheavals in East Africa have upset past imperialist alliances. U.S. imperialism used to be the main power behind Ethiopia's fake-socialist regime. Russian imperialism was the main backer of Somalia's state-capitalist government, which the Russians called "Marxist-Leninist." Last year the roles switched. Now Ethiopia enjoys Russia's "Marxist-Leninist" franchise, and is receiving arms for its grab for the Ogaden. The U.S. is backing Somalia, but has not made any major military commitment.

Though the sides change, the imperialists' hostility to self-determination for all oppressed peoples remains.

Student demonstrations hit Indonesian dictatorship

On January 21, 2,000 Indonesian students demonstrated in Jakarta against President Suharto's dictatorial regime. The demonstration followed a series of student protests against corruption in the government.

Suharto sent troops, armored cars and helicopters to break up the demonstration. Over 160 students were hauled into jail. Since then students have shut down universities in Jakarta to protest the arrests. Suharto has surrounded the schools with troops. He has also banned seven Jakarta newspapers which publicized the demonstrations.

The government wants to isolate the students from the oppressed masses in Indonesia. In 1974, student demonstrations set off mass rebellions against Suharto's rule.

Suharto took power in 1965; after a bloodbath in which over 300,000 Indonesians were slaughtered. The latest demonstrations prove he hasn't been able to stamp out opposition to his hated regime.



Mozambican rebel soldier.

example, rose in violent rebellion against the Tsarist regime in 1830 and 1863.

Lenin recognized the revolutionary potential of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities. He developed a strategy to link these struggles to the workers' struggle for power. The cornerstone of his strategy was support for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities.

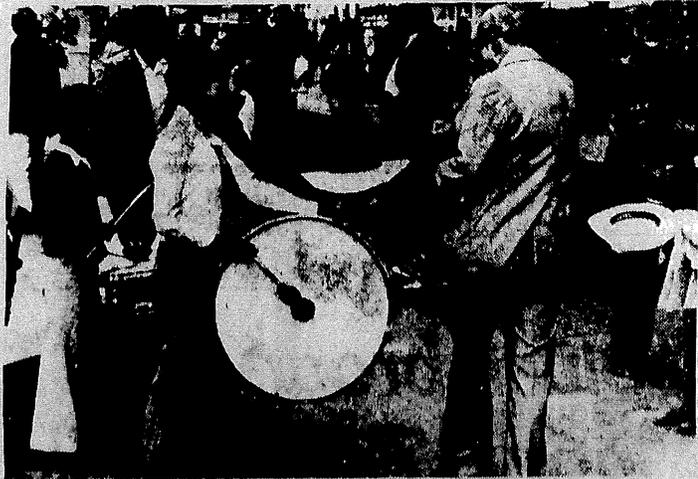
Lenin waged a fierce struggle within the revolutionary movement in Russia. He argued that the revolutionary party must come out clearly for the rights of the oppressed nationalities, up to and including their right to separate from Russia and set up independent states. The revolutionary workers of Russia, he said, must not in any way support the oppressive policies of the Tsarist regime.

Only this strategy would enable the revolutionary party to win the masses of oppressed nationalities to the side of the workers. This would build the maximum unity in the struggle to overthrow the Tsar and establish socialism.

In 1917, Lenin's strategy proved to be correct. In February, the Tsar was overthrown and was replaced by a bourgeois Provisional Government. This government promised to grant

MEXICO:

Workers & Peasants Fight Government Repression



Street musicians beg for handouts in Mexico City.

BY ALBERTO SUAREZ

Mexico is going through one of its worst economic crises and Mexican workers, peasants, and oppressed are being made to pay for the crisis. The living standards of these groups, which never were something to envy, are being reduced drastically by capitalism and U.S. imperialism.

The struggle of the workers and peasants has never stopped. They have fought heroically, and shed a lot of blood. And yet they have not won what is rightfully theirs. The struggle is very difficult but it is not impossible. Most of all, the oppressed masses of Mexico need the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Almost a decade ago, on October 2, 1968, 400 comrades were massacred in the Plaza de Tlatelolco, Mexico City, while they were holding a massive demonstration of students, workers, and peasants. Tanks, helicopters, grenades, machine guns and halcones (civilian armed goons paid by the government) were used to put down this movement of the masses, which shook the very foundations of the ruling class.

And today, Alfonso Corona del Rosal, who organized the halcones under the sponsorship of ex-president Luis Echeverría (then minister of the interior) is now a close advisor to President José López Portillo. Raúl Mendiola Cerecero, in charge of police operations at that time, is back in the police force. It is clear that the ruling class is again using open repression as its primary answer to the struggle of the oppressed.

Why do Mexico's peasants, workers, and oppressed have to die to defend their rights and their lives? The cause is capitalism and imperialism.

Mexico is close to bankruptcy. Its foreign debt is more than \$30 billion. Imperialism, through the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), has forced the Mexican government to adopt an austerity program so that it will be able to get more loans and get rid of the enormous foreign debt. The IMF has imposed these conditions: 1) Reduce social spending and increase subsidies to the capitalists; 2)

government jobs must not increase more than 2 percent a year; and 3) wage increases are to be kept to a minimum while prices are free to rise. And this comes after a severe devaluation of the Mexican peso.

Here are some of the results:

- 1) The unemployment and underemployment rate is 50 percent.
- 2) Inflation is running at 30 percent.
- 3) Starvation has set in. The price controls on the basic foods such as milk, tortillas, etc., were lifted after merchants withheld some of them.
- 4) Millions of peasants are moving to the cities looking for jobs. But there are no jobs there.
- 5) Other millions have gone to the U.S., even without documents, to find jobs.

Oil and gas sold to U.S. imperialists

Another factor in the crisis is oil and gas. It is here that the Mexican bourgeoisie and the imperialists have cooperated most clearly. It is called the policy of "entreguismo" (handing over). The government is trying to pay the huge foreign debt by selling the recently discovered oil and gas to the U.S. This is selling a non-renewable natural resource instead of using it for the welfare of the Mexican masses.



Squatters in Mexico City slum are demanding government services.

If this were not bad enough, the new head of PEMEX (the government oil and gas monopoly), Jorge Díaz Serrano, a contractor with strong connections with Mexico's capitalists and with U.S. imperialism, is proceeding on a program to all but destroy PEMEX.

The workers' struggle has been forceful—bravery has not been lacking. Networks of caucuses of many tendencies have appeared in a lot of unions. In some instances, the workers have ousted the charros (union bureaucrats). There has been bloodshed.

One of the most combative caucuses is the Committees of Struggle of the health workers' union. This committee is presently engaged in a battle to take control of the union from the "charros" and defend the workers' rights.

A 10 percent ceiling has been imposed on wage increases; this is peanuts compared to the inflation rate. Many workers have gone on strike and obtained increases up to 17 percent. The army and the police have been used to drown the strikes in blood.

The most important battle so far has been the strike of the University of Mexico workers and professors. The strike involved about 20,000 workers. The leadership of the union was openly affiliated with the Partido Comunista de Mexico (PCM—Communist Party of Mexico). The strikers were able to muster demonstrations of 100,000 and 150,000 people. The bourgeois press rightfully billed it as a major confrontation. The strike was constantly rebaited. Finally, it was brutally broken by 12,000 armed police. The strike leaders were jailed. Even so, a few days later, the government felt compelled to sign a contract exactly as the workers had demanded. The jailed strikers were released.

Although there have been no major land seizures by the peasants, as there were in 1976, the peasants' struggles have by no means stopped. The struggles have centered around defending the land already taken, defending the "ejidos" against the encroachment by the landlords, and obtaining credit and machinery. (The ejidos are a system of communal land use based on the traditional land tenure of the Indian communities.) The government announced that land distribution has ceased except for the land of the ejidos.

The left has grown tremendously. At the same time, urban guerrilla activity

has increased in the past few months. The actions of the urban guerrillas consist of propagandizing, expropriating banks, kidnapping ruling class figures, and attacking the repressive forces.

The government has implemented a "program of political reform." It is supposed to give the left some representation in congress. Three-fourths of congressional seats will go to the government party, the rest will go to the left parties. The Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Party of the Revolutionary Institutions), the ruling party, has established another party made up of its own members and called it the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party). The government's reform program also stipulates that only parties that have engaged in political activity for four years may qualify for registration, to keep out the Partido Mexicano de Los Trabajadores, a fast-growing left-wing party founded three years ago.

The specter of 1968 once again haunted the ruling class February of last year in the state of Oaxaca. The Coalition of Workers, Peasants and Students won the election for governor. The PRI imposed its own candidate, Manuel Zárate Aquino, through the most open rigging. Zárate Aquino is not merely a cruel, despotic individ-



Mexican President José López Portillo.

ual, he was the overseer for the reactionary Monterrey group of capitalists. This group, based in northern Mexico, far from Oaxaca, had decided to invest heavily in that state because it has one of the lowest living standards in Mexico. They were acting as imperialists in their own country.

The workers, peasants, and students fought back against this brutality and exploitation. Even armed self-defense brigades were formed. On February 22, six persons were killed in Juchitán when police fired into a demonstration to free jailed students. Massive protest demonstrations followed. The governor was forced to resign, and the army came in to install a military governor. The struggle started again on December 23 when five bombs exploded in Oaxaca city.

Revolutionary party urgently needed

The oppressed people of Mexico are willing to risk even death in their struggle. Here there is no question of apathy holding back the struggle. What is urgently lacking is a revolutionary party, with a revolutionary program, the program of the RML (Jamaica) and the RSL (U.S.): Reformist and centrist leaderships abound. But why should the lives of the oppressed be sacrificed for crumbs and illusions?

Young Workers Spark General Strike in Tunisia

On January 26, workers in Tunisia walked off their jobs in a general strike against President Habib Bourguiba's government. They demanded higher wages and political freedom in Tunisia. The general strike sparked a full-scale rebellion against Bourguiba's hated 21-year-old regime.

Militant anti-government demonstrations broke out in five of the country's largest cities. In Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, workers shut down the city and set fire to the headquarters of the ruling Neo-Destour Party.

Prime Minister Hedi Nourla sent in troops and tanks after police failed to suppress the demonstrations. Over 100 workers were killed in pitched battles with the army.

On January 28, Nourla stepped up the repression by jailing hundreds of trade union militants. He also ordered the arrest of Habib Achour, head of the General Union of Tunisian Workers, and eight other trade union leaders. They were accused of plotting to overthrow the government.

Reports from Tunisia indicate that many of the demonstrators were young workers and students. Over half of the population of Tunisia is under 21. For the past year, working-class youth have taken the lead in the struggle against capitalist oppression in Tunisia.

Tunisian economy crumbling

The young workers are rebelling because the society they live in is falling apart. For years Tunisian capitalism has faced a deficit in its balance of trade running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Recently its main trading partners in Western Europe have limited Tunisian imports because of their own economic problems. Now the economy is crumbling, and one out of four workers is unemployed.

In January 1977, Nourla's government launched a series of attacks against the working class to shore up the economy. Among these measures was a five-year freeze on wages.

But workers and militant youth fought back against the capitalist offensive. In February 1977, elementary, high school and university students struck against the government's policies. Last fall, workers began a series of strikes and demonstrations leading up to the recent general strike.

The workers' upsurge has created a full-scale political crisis for the ruling class. The Neo-Destour Party, the only legal political party in Tunisia, is splitting apart under pressure of the class

struggle.

Labor bureaucrats like Achour have broken with the government. Achour himself was a top party leader who helped engineer the austerity programs which sparked the wave of workers' rebellions. Now he is trying to head off the workers by pretending to support their demands. In January he resigned his leadership posts in the ruling party and called for the general strike.

Repressive tactics undermine gov't

A large section of the party leadership also thinks Nourla's repressive tactics will bring down the government and are refusing to support him. In the past three months,

eight cabinet ministers have either resigned or been fired from their posts.

Finally, the top leaders of the party are fighting each other for control of the government. President Bourguiba is 74 years old and reported to be dying. His illness has left a vacuum of power in the party leadership. While the workers attack the foundations of capitalist rule in Tunisia, the politicians are maneuvering to see who will take over after Bourguiba's death.

At this time, it's impossible to predict the exact future of the struggle in Tunisia. Two things are clear. First, the working class will not roll over and play dead. New struggles are bound to break out in the near future.

Second, some "leftist" politicians will try to climb back



Workers march during Tunisian general strike.

into power on the backs of the working class. Already a few former ministers and other exiled party leaders have claimed to support the workers' demands for major economic and political reforms.

The workers cannot afford to trust the capitalist politicians. They only want to use

the working class to put themselves in power. Instead, workers must build their own revolutionary party to organize the masses and smash capitalist rule in Tunisia. The backbone of such a party will be the militant youth, who are playing a leading role in the class struggle today. □

Revolutionary Prisoners in Jamaica Write:

"Am committed to the revolution"

Comrades:

I am committed to the revolution; am incarcerated serving a sentence of life imprisonment and I'm active in the struggle here behind bars.

Last week the first copy of Torch entered this prison and I am very interested in getting consistent copies. I understand that copies are given to prisoners free and would like to be placed on the mailing list for regular supplies of Torch and any such literature as you might have for distribution. Thanks.

Luta continua!
MH

"Fight the enemies to their graves"

Hail comrades, brothers and sisters from the beloved and undying Revolutionary Socialist League,

In our calm and tenderly persuasive, we would like to extend our profound solidarity with all oppressed people who have given to be the sacrifice of imprisonment.

For too long now, we the youths of the Jamaican prisons, have been ignored, neglected and also left alone to shoulder the relentless burden of persecution without it ever being brought to the attention of the world.

Therefore, being incarcerated brothers, isolated and degraded in this captive society, we felt it our utmost responsibility to denounce the attempt to keep human beings in the fetters and shackles of backwardness. This diabolical

perpetuation, against we the progressive youths, is one of common experience.

Our determination to echo verbally against this immoral condition, which we as prison-

ers prove that we are all comrades struggling against the same enemy and fighting for the implementation of one cause, which is to destroy prison society, then continue

contribution to us.

Let us be determined to challenge the cause of freedom and willing to fight the enemies to their dying grave. We are your comrades in captive, echoing the words of freedom, freedom for all, freedom from this brutal prison wall.

From yours truly,
LW

"Build the international movement"

Dear Esteemed Comrades,

Having read an issue of the Attica Magazine published by the RSL in combination with the brothers in prison, we must extend our revolutionary solidarity and respect to the comrades of RSL. This is the sort of cooperation necessary between inmates and dedicated comrades on the outside to bolster the Revolutionary Socialist struggle against antiquated and brutal prison institutions.

Solidarity and cooperation internationally would also be another way of strengthening the movement not only in prison but against the whole imperfect society. We must work to build the sort of international revolutionary movement and cooperation that will give the big brother and almighty power of the western hemisphere problems to concentrate its reactionary forces in any single area. Our international cooperation is to support and get involved in the movement all over this area.

Comradely love,
JT



ers have been forced to live under, must be internationally consolidated with all progressive movement.

This is very important, for to expose the inhuman epoch that exists in prison, is to further let our brothers and sisters be aware of the cruelty which threatens our existence as incarcerated youths. Therefore, we consider it our duty to open an eloquent dialogue with our comrades from the RSL in response to the dedicated activity carried out by the Revolutionary Socialist League to awaken the consciousness of all oppressed people throughout the world, and then shine the light upon the corrupted and imperfect system of prison. To us, this

to promulgate triumph of the world revolutionary movement.

We may seem to be scattered far apart from each other, with the force of aggression aggravating against us to divert our progressiveness, and turn us mentally backward. But comrades, this doesn't stop us from building international solidarity. Therefore, let us expound our revolutionary activity and continue the fight for the freedom of all oppressed people.

Seeing that we have been imprisoned, we would like some books and informative articles to study, because these are very scarce materials, which would be deeply appreciated from you as a



BY SUSAN EDMUNDS

March 8, 1978—International Women's Day. A day set aside by the revolutionary movement in 1910 to recognize and honor the struggles of women against oppression.

But recognizing and honoring is not enough. Thousands upon thousands of years of women's slavery and the oppression is still there, it's still the same. We don't have to be called slaves to be in chains.

If you're born a woman in this society that's one strike against you right from the start. If you're also Black or Latin, if you're poor or working-class, well that's strikes two and three. And if you choose to be gay—to love and have sex with your sisters and not men—then that's not "playing by the rules" and you're thrown out of the game.

Women's oppression starts right in the cradle. It affects every aspect of a woman's life—our whole lives through.

Women's oppression is woman always being defined in relation to man. You're good-looking, a good mother, a good wife, a good housekeeper, a good lay—all for the man.

Women's oppression is Christianity, which says that God created man—Adam—and then took one of his ribs and gave him woman—Eve. Woman is part of man, and put on this earth for man.

Women's oppression is Judaism, where the man's daily prayer is: "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast not created me a woman."

Women's oppression is the little girl trained to be mamma's helper, while your brothers go out and play. It's being athletic and active and getting called a "tomboy."

Women's oppression is a young girl already learning to be attractive and seductive. It's your father, your uncle and their friends getting their rocks off "playing" with little girls.

Women's oppression is the fear and shame you feel the first time you menstruate. Menstruation is "a female problem," "that time of the month," the "plague."

Women's oppression is not learning about your own sexuality. It's learning that you're not supposed to enjoy sex—that's only for the man. It's never having an orgasm or even knowing what an orgasm is. It's being told that lesbianism is sick and perverted, and no real woman would do that.

Women's oppression is growing up and learning—knowing—that one of your only chances for survival is to find a husband who will be a good provider. And then you have to be dependent on the "good will" of your husband to get

money for food, for clothes, for anything for yourself. You can take care of the kids, clean the house, cook, shop, do the laundry, and still be at your husband's mercy for every cent you get.

Women's oppression is doing all those things and working some shit job eight or 10 hours a day. It's needing your husband's "permission" to even have the job. It's your husband's pride being hurt when you work, even when your family needs the money.

Women's oppression is getting doors slammed in your face when you go for a job. It's getting some of the lowest-paying jobs around. It's raising a family with no man in the house, and not getting a job because the boss says that you'll be taking it away from some man.

Women's oppression is having to be a "domestic," cleaning up after other people's shit 'cause you can't get any other job. It's getting hired by big industry 'cause of hiring quotas and then getting fired before probation is up. It's being humiliated by the come-ons of male supervisors, and knowing you can be fired for not putting out.

Women's oppression is the woman

who can't find a job (or is on layoff) and turns tricks to feed herself or her family. It's the 15-year-old woman who runs away and is easy game for the pimps. It's getting the shit kicked out of you by the pimp anytime he feels like it, or if you get "uppity."

Women's oppression is the whole double standard that says it's cool for men to "fool around" but not for women. It's getting called "tramp," "loose," and "whore." It's the woman who gets beat on by her husband or lover for looking at another man, when she knows damn well that he's always got something going on the side.

Women's oppression is getting beat up constantly by your husband. It's being brought up "to think that you 'deserve it'." It's taking the abuse because you don't know you can leave, or having to stay out of economic necessity.

Women's oppression is living in fear of sadists and rapists. It's never having been trained in self-defense. It's the woman who is told by the pigs that "you asked for it" when you get raped. It's being tried for murder when you kill in self-defense. It's hating the rapist so much that you want to go kill him. It's being abused and raped by the guards when you're in prison, and having almost no way of fighting back.

Women's oppression is not wanting children and being told that that makes you less of a woman. It's trying to find contraception that really works and won't mess with your body. It's getting pregnant when you don't want to be and being told that abortion is immoral. It's being too poor to even afford an abortion. It's having to use a coat hanger, or quinine or lye in the hope that you'll abort—and sometimes dying.

Women's oppression is wanting children, but always worrying about how you're going to feed and clothe them. It's worrying about what to do with your children when you go off to work—and sometimes not getting a job because you can't afford childcare. It's being on welfare and having to scrape to keep body and soul together. It's Welfare snooping into your personal life, making sure you don't have men around.

Women's oppression is having your children taken away from you because you're gay. And it's losing your children, sometimes forever, when you're in prison.

Women's oppression is devoting your whole life to your husband and children, and then having your husband split because he's gotten bored, he feels tied down. It's having your children grow up and feeling all empty

inside 'cause you've got nothing else in your life. It's the woman on her deathbed feeling her whole life has been a waste.

But women's oppression is not just women. It's also the young boy who gets hit when he cries, and grows up not being able to cry. It's the boy who's not athletic, or is interested in anything whatever, and gets called a "sissy." It's the man who is so cut off from his feelings, his emotions, that he never experiences the joy of feeling deeply about anyone or anything.

Women's oppression is the man who is so warped and twisted by society that he thinks it's okay to rape a woman. It's the man who gets treated like shit at his job, who is so angry and frustrated and has so much hate in his heart that he comes home and beats his wife.

The oppression makes women confident and insecure. You're always worried that you won't be attractive enough to "catch" a man. And the more you're worried that a more attractive woman will come along and "steal your man." It breeds jealousy and competition among women. It holds back any feeling of unity—sisterhood—in a common struggle against a common oppression.

And if you set up a life apart from men—a man—or if you're gay well

MARCH 8: IN

then you're a "butch," a "dyke." you're sick.

You're damned if you do and damned if you don't.

And that's the heart of women's oppression in this society. You're always told to be something you can't be, and then told it's wrong if you are. You're torn a million different ways. You're supposed to be feminine and helpless—and at the same time be strong enough to hold a family together and work. You're supposed to help "your man"—but never, ever expect the respect and acknowledgment for what you do. The whole society places value on success and achievement—but you're never supposed to succeed or achieve anything on your own. You're only supposed to feel good about "your man's" achievements, and your children's.

You've heard the expression: "Behind every good man there's a good woman"? Well you're supposed to be that good woman but remain a shadow, invisible. You're never supposed to do anything directly—but then you're called catty, sneaky and devious. And if you don't have a man—you're even more invisible.

It's like being in a box and on every wall there's a sign saying: "The door is on the next wall." So you go from wall to wall, but there's no door. And what happens to a lot of women is that after a while you start banging your head against the walls.

You can't live up to a certain standard because there is no one standard. You can't find the door out.

And then you're labelled "sick," you're "mentally ill." You're "too emotional." You "can't handle yourself."

Women aren't crazy

But the problem isn't that women are sick or crazy. The problem isn't that our bodies are different than men's or that we're naturally cut out only for certain tasks in this world. The heart of the problem isn't even that men are fucked up—though a lot of men add to the oppression of women.

The real problem is that the system—capitalism—is crazy. Everything

Dear Torch,

I Lissa Patino on January 8, 1978, made a report on a rape, kidnaping and robbery. Number 78400270. The two police officers (from central division) Lopez and Espinoza, took the report very uncooperative, very rude. They took me from the spot the crime was committed to the hospital. I requested fingerprints of my car, robbery report, kidnaping report, but the police officers refused.

Monday the 9th, I talked to investigator Jones who was also very uncooperative. I requested an investigation in the neighborhood of 11th and Bixel St. close to the Convention Center. I recognized one of the suspects in the area Sunday night. I called the police and they arrived but since one of the suspects had a rifle, the police called for more help—in the meantime the suspects got away.

Thursday the 12th, after searching by myself I asked a couple of little boys if they knew who lived in the area and it was then that I was able to locate one of the suspects. He was apprehended and booked.

Friday the 13th, I requested a female investigator but I was refused. Then I refused Mr. Jones (a private investigator)—after that I never heard from them that day.

Saturday the 14th I continued the search with no results.

Sunday the 15th I went back to the neighborhood and located two more suspects. Both were apprehended and booked.

On Monday the 16th I called to see about an investigator and requested a woman but still they gave me a man. His name was Mr. Bill Alexander, who asked me to meet him with the District Attorney, Mr. Jhon De Lavigne, who after hearing my story stated he believed me but a jury of 12 people would not.

On the 17th I called Senator Richard Alatorre's office who in turn called Mr. Jhon De Lavigne and requested him to help me in this matter. He assured them that he would.

On the 17th at 4 p.m. all suspects were free. I am very angry. Rape has increased 13 percent, 11 girls have been murdered and I am begging you to do something now.

Lissa Patino

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gets turned upside down. We're all people, human beings. We all have needs, and feelings, and the potential to be better people than we are. But these things don't count for shit in this society

The system isn't set up for people—everything is for profits. People aren't individuals—human beings. People are cogs in the profit-making machine. We're slotted in the machine, and that's what defines us. It defines who we are and what our life is supposed to be

Just look all around you.

You're not a **person**—you're a **worker** first. You're an autoworker, a garment worker, a steelworker, an office worker. You're supposed to spend your whole life busting ass at some job. You're whole life is just getting by

You're not a **person**—you're **Black**, or **Latin**, or **Asian**, or **Native American** first. You're slotted for the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs. You're discriminated against at every turn. You're the slave in a white-dominated society.

You're not a **person**—you're a **woman** first. You're supposed to be the child-maker, the child-rearer. You do the household chores for no pay. You're supposed to be the slave in the family, dependent on a man.

You're not a **person**—you're **unem-**



ployed, or old, or gay first. You're the marginals. You might as well not exist for all society cares.

And if you're none of the above—if you're white, and male, and straight, and a capitalist—then your slot, your

definition, is a lot bigger. You reap the benefits of everyone else's labor. You have access to education, and learning and culture. You can become a "smart" person, a "cultured" person. And even if you're a complete idiot, you still get

collectively decide what gets produced and how. The masses of people will be freed from hunger and want and fear. But socialism also means much more.

By ending the basis of oppression—the system where people exist only for profits—we'll be freeing people to be themselves. People won't be defined by things they can't control. People will be individuals, free to develop to their full potential. Everyone—young or old, male or female, Black or white, straight or gay, whatever—will be treated with respect and kindness and decency just because they're human beings.

For women, socialism will mean the freedom from having to rely on men to survive. It will mean no discrimination in any part of society. It will mean being able to do productive work that you can feel good about and take pride in. Children and housework will become the collective responsibility of all people, not "women's work." Women will be able to decide not to have children, and not be considered sick. It will mean the freedom to be who and what you are, and who and what you want to be, without society sticking labels on you or putting you in a box. It will mean the freedom to love and have sex with one man, or many men, or one woman, or many women, or both men and women.

We'll all be human beings

By destroying the boxes that all women live in, we'll also be destroying the boxes men have to live in. Men won't have to be tough and cool when they don't feel tough and cool. Men will feel they can feel things, they can cry, when they want.

People won't be men first, and what they're supposed to be, or women first, and what we're supposed to be. We'll all be **human** beings.

And that's what International Women's Day is really about

H 8: INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

WOMAN BE FREE!

|| treated with respect. Your life is easy, because of your money and power

As long as people are defined and slotted by things we don't control—our age, the color of our skin, our job, our sex—there's going to be oppression. We're going to be forced to be something, and then get treated accordingly. We're going to get shoved into boxes with no doors.

But things don't have to be this way. We don't have to have a society where people are slotted and become objects instead of people. We don't have to be cogs in a machine. **We don't have to be oppressed.**

We can be free! But we're going to have to fight for it. We're going to have to get rid of this sick, inhuman society—rip it apart, smash it to smithereens. We're going to have to fight for socialism.

True women's liberation isn't just a part of the fight for socialism, it's **one and the same** as the fight for socialism. Without socialism, there can be no true liberation of women. **But at the same time there will be no true socialism if women are not truly free and equal.**

Socialism means that the working class and oppressed people rule all of society in our own interests. We will



ANGRY MINERS

(Continued from page 1)
to face them. They claimed that they had been intimidated by "a small and irresponsible group of miners."

The truth is that Miller knew he didn't have a chance of convincing the bargaining council or the miners to accept the settlement. Already, widespread opposition to the contract has sparked a growing movement to recall Miller. Over 12,000 of the 14,000 signatures needed to force a new presidential election have been collected. The recall and the contract rejection reflect the anger and militancy of the union's rank and file.

UMW miners have waged an all-out war against scab coal, the cops and company gun thugs. Hundreds of miners have been arrested. Three miners have been killed. At this point, they are not about to accept a beating at the bargaining table.

Miners battle Alabama troopers

A few days before Miller announced the settlement, 1,000 miners fought a pitched battle with 200 state troopers in Oakman, Alabama. The fight started when miners stopped the reopening of a non-union mine. Seven scabs were holed up in a house a few miles from the mine. The miners refused to let them leave.

Finally, in a pre-dawn raid on February 3, 200 state troopers using tear gas and helicopters rescued the scabs. During the raid, 15 cop cars were damaged. Miners riddled several cars with bullets and smashed the windshields out of several more. The helicopter pilots reported that they too were fired at.

This is just one recent example of the kind of struggle the miners have been waging. When the strike started on December 6, few people believed the miners had a prayer of defeating the coal bosses. Now, the miners have shown what militant struggle and solidarity can accomplish. Coal shortages in the midwest and the East, brought on by the strike, have greatly strengthened the miners' bargaining power.

Contract sells out right to strike

However, this is only part of the story. While the miners have been risking their lives to build the kind of strike that could force real concessions from the coal bosses, Miller has been busy stabbing them in the back. Since day one, Miller has worked hand-in-hand with the bosses to break the back of the militant miners' movement.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the terms of the proposed settlement between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). As one miner said, the only thing "left to put in there is the ball and chain." Basically, the settlement is an attempt to bribe the miners into giving up the right to strike.

The right to strike is a question of life and death for the miners. There have been over 5,000 wildcats in the last three years. The vast majority of these strikes were over health and safety issues. There is no way to tell how many lives have been saved as a result.

The new contract says that any miner who leads a wildcat strike, pickets at a mine other than his own, or tries to get other miners to strike would be immediately fired. Anyone who refuses to scab and honors an unauthorized picket line would be suspended for up to 30 days and fined \$20 a day for the first 10 days; then all medical benefits would be cut off. In effect, the contract gives the bosses a

free hand to drive militants out of the mines.

But more importantly, it leaves miners with no defense against the deadly working conditions. The current grievance procedure is a tool the bosses use to avoid dealing with threats to miners' safety. Under the last contract, 5,700 grievances were filed and only 116 decisions were returned. The miners responded to this situation by wildcatting. The contract would take this weapon away.

Miners' anger has also centered on the proposals for controlling absenteeism. The contract allows the coal bosses to suspend a miner for one unauthorized absence. After three suspensions, the miner would be fired. To clear his record, he would have to work 120 days without one unauthorized absence. Again, the miners are reduced to little more than slaves.

And what kind of price have the bosses and bureaucrats placed on the life of a miner? What will the miners get in return? There is a \$20 a day wage increase spread over three years with a \$200 bonus in the first check after the strike is settled. The increase was granted in return for giving up the cost-of-living escalator won in the last contract.

The bosses have also pledged to guarantee the health and pension funds, both of which are near bankrupt. The catch is that the new health plan would include deductibles paid for by the miners. Instead of cradle-



State troopers move caravan of scab coal.

to-grave coverage under the previously independent fund, the miners are left with a standard health insurance plan and reduced coverage.

In response to the demand for pension parity for miners retiring before the end of 1975 with those retiring after 1975, the bosses are offering a \$50 a month increase. This leaves 81,500 pensioners over \$300 short of full parity. Under the new contract, they will receive only \$275 a month, instead of the up to \$600 paid to recent retirees.

As well, the union negotiators agreed to optional Sunday mining for the first time in the history of the

union. And the bosses have the right to use pay incentives to boost productivity.

Even though the gains in money and benefits exceed the average settlements in most recent contracts, the proposal stinks.

As a retired miner from West Virginia said: "A coal miner, he's been a slave as much as the Black man used to be. It's been true all my time." The proposed contract strengthens these chains of slavery. The elimination of the right to strike is certain death for the miners' movement.

The contract rejection means that support for the miners from the rest of the labor movement is more critical than ever. The strike is going to force major power cutbacks in many states in the eastern and midwestern parts of the country. If the strike lasts into March, which is almost certain, there will be mandatory power cutbacks in Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Michigan. As of this writing, "energy emergencies" have been declared in Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. The governors of several states are demanding that Carter step in and end the strike.

Carter claims that he doesn't want to get involved. But as the power shortages become more intense and force plant closings, layoffs and other hardships, his attitude will change. Under the Taft-Hartley Act, Carter has the power to order an 80-day, back-to-work injunction. This would mean that the miners would lose the advantage of the cold weather. Another "solution" being talked about is using federal troops to protect the shipment of scab coal to ease critical shortages.

Defend the miners

In either case, the bosses are going to try to make their strike-breaking schemes acceptable by whipping up hostility to the miners. They will try to turn workers' anger over layoffs resulting from power shortages against the miners. To defeat this, the entire working class must rally to the defense of the miners.

Carter is hesitant to take any action, because there is little chance that the miners will let their strike be broken without a fight. Carter wants to avoid the bloody battle it would take to force the miners back to work without a contract. Demonstrations against government intervention in the strike can play an important role in a victory for the miners.

The miners have proven that they are ready to give up their lives to defend the strike. On the same day that militants were fighting scabs in Alabama, John Hull, a UMW member, was killed in a gun battle with scabs in southeastern Indiana. All workers must follow the militant example set by the miners. Across the country, working-class militants must organize support for the miners' strike. □

LABOR BRIEFS

In order to increase our coverage of the miners' strike, "Labor in Struggle" will not appear this issue. The full column will return next month.

Major strikes rock Puerto Rico

Strikes by Puerto Rican electrical workers and bus drivers are developing into a major showdown with the island's U.S.-dominated colonial government. Governor Romero is threatening to use force to break the strikes.

Since late December, 6,200 members of the Electrical and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER) have been engaged in a bitter struggle with the government agency which controls all the island's electrical generating power. The UTIER is demanding a wage increase of 89 cents an hour.

Government agents have started blackouts by blowing up power lines, in an attempt to turn public opinion against the union. Shots have been fired at the home of the UTIER president, and the government attempted to frame him on an illegal arms charge.

On January 10 the UTIER strike was strengthened by a walkout of 1,300 members of the United Workers of the Metropolitan Bus Authority. To win their demand for an immediate 79 cents an hour pay hike, the bus drivers and mechanics have crippled public transportation in San Juan.

Romero has placed the National Guard on alert, but mass support has so far prevented him from using them to break the strikes. Thousands of workers and students have demonstrated in San Juan in solidarity with the two unions. The UTIER and other Puerto Rican unions have requested support from the U.S. labor movement against the growing anti-labor repression in Puerto Rico. Workers in this country must respond to this appeal and organize to prevent U.S. imperialism from smashing these strikes.

Arizona farmworkers suffer setback

The strike of 3,000 Mexican farmworkers against Arizona onion growers has suffered a major setback. In December, Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers union (UFW) took responsibility for leading the strike. Three weeks later, it became clear that there would be no cheap organizing victory and the UFW bureaucracy changed its mind. On January 14, the UFW withdrew its organizers and its badly needed financial support from the strike.

The UFW pull-out has forced the local farmworkers' leadership to fold the three-month-long strike at most ranches. The workers, many of whom are in the country illegally, are out of money and can't continue a mass strike without assistance. While some workers are still striking, most are returning to the fields until more strike funds can be saved.

The Arizona farmworkers must not let this betrayal by the UFW's leadership stop them from continuing to seek support from the labor movement. However, they cannot rely on sellout bureaucrats like Chavez.

Why did unemployment "drop" in December? The government revised the "seasonal adjustment" factor used to calculate the unemployment statistics. With this new scheme, fewer jobless workers were counted. The resulting "drop" allowed the government to cut off unemployment benefits for nearly 300,000 workers in 41 states.

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10,000 Jobs Threatened; Layoffs Mount in Auto

Mass layoffs threaten auto-workers across the country. New car sales are down and the bosses are cutting back production. The U.S. Department of Commerce predicts that 10,000 autoworkers will be hit by layoffs in 1978.

In mid-November, auto sales started to drop. Sales were seven percent lower in December and January than in 1976. Already, 1.7 million new cars are sitting on the lots waiting for buyers.

To make sure that they don't get stuck with cars that they can't sell, the auto bosses are closing plants and laying off workers. Over 9,000 autoworkers were stripped of their jobs during the last months of 1977. Hundreds of thousands of autoworkers are on short hours. Every major auto company is planning further outbacks in the months ahead.

The bosses claim that the downturn and the layoffs are temporary. This is pure propaganda. The auto bosses don't know if sales will pick up. But one thing is certain. Auto is showing signs of the sickness that is infecting the whole U.S. economy.

The current economic recovery is based on consumer spending. A healthy, expanding economy depends on increased investment by the capitalists. New plants must be built, new machinery

bought, and new jobs created. But U.S. capitalists are investing only half of what they did last year and that wasn't near enough. In other words, the economy is getting weaker, not stronger.

If auto sales remain low, it will have a severe effect on the rest of the economy. New car sales are a big part of the money spent by consumers. A crisis in the auto industry can

lead to another recession.

Autoworkers who were around during the last recession know what this means. In Detroit, in particular, the 1974-75 recession hit like a depression. Over 150,000 autoworkers were laid off. Many were off the job for over a year. Thousands of sisters and brothers were never called back to work.

The Supplemental Unem-

ployment Benefits fund was supposed to guarantee 95 percent of the wages of laid-off workers with at least a year's seniority. The fund went broke and thousands were forced to make do on unemployment checks. A new round of heavy layoffs will drive the fund under almost immediately.

During the last layoffs, many workers left the plants looking forward to a much needed "vacation." As the weeks turned into months, the seriousness of the layoffs hit home, but there was no organized way to fight back.

To avoid the same thing happening again, the fight against the layoffs must begin now, while the majority of younger workers are still in the plants. It is in the plants that workers have the most power. We are tied together by production and we can stop production. Once out on the street, we lose much of this advantage.

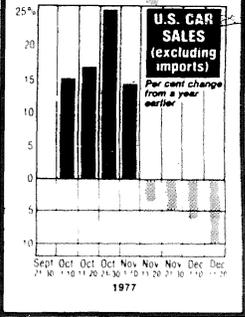
Some militants understand the need to fight back. As the layoffs spread, more and more workers will understand what is going on. Will it be too late? Not if militants start organizing those workers who want to fight, now.

Beginning in the plants, militants must look for allies. But the fight cannot be limited to the plants. There are many unemployed workers who know that they will never get a job the way things are today. If autoworkers show that they are ready to unite with unemployed workers and fight for their needs, an alliance can be built.

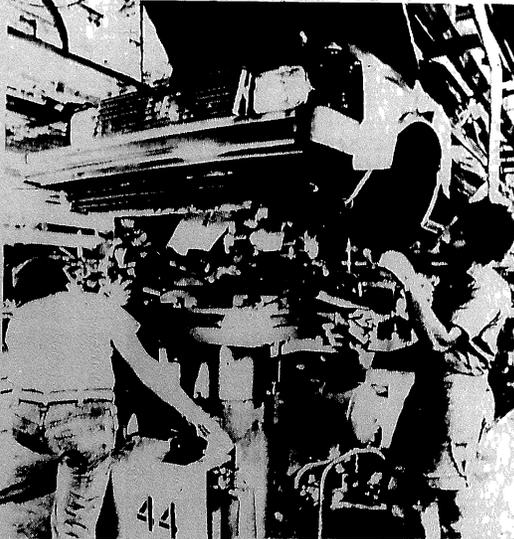
To accomplish this, autoworkers need a program which speaks to the needs of those without jobs as well as those facing layoff. One part is the

A-FAST SLIDE

After a good start, new car sales have taken a nose dive — and the decline seems to be accelerating.



Graph shows drop in car sales.



Auto workers must unite with unemployed in fight for jobs.

fight for the shorter work week—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. If production is cut back, the work that is left must be divided among everybody who wants to work with no cut in pay—no layoffs! This shifts the cost of the crisis into the lap of the bosses where it belongs.

Coupled with the shorter work week, a program of public works paid for by the capitalists is necessary. Under union control and at union wages, unemployed youth and workers can be given jobs rebuilding the cities.

A militant movement fighting for jobs for all can provide a framework for the struggle against the layoffs once they are unleashed. There is no "such thing as "job security" as long as the bosses are calling the shots. Whatever security we have must be fought for. And the fight must begin now.

(Continued from page 4)

this alliance time and time again during the economic boom of the '50s.

In 1955, Humphrey announced that he would not organize to stop a Southern filibuster against civil rights proposals. In 1956 he helped Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson, the Senate Majority Leader, keep the civil rights issue off the Senate floor. The only civil rights bill to become law was a 1953 act which simply set up a do-nothing commission to "investigate" segregation practices in the South.

Black leaders criticize liberals

In the meantime, the Black movement had turned to mass action to win its demands. Demonstrations broke out all over the South. Black leaders began to criticize the liberals for their racist maneuvers. By the early '60s, the ruling class could no longer ignore the civil rights struggle.

As usual, the liberals tried to buy off this movement and bring it back under the control of the ruling class. Humphrey masterminded the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which formally guaranteed voting rights and an end to discrimination against Black people in the South.

But in 1965, when Black people demanded jobs and decent housing—the basic necessities of a decent life—

HUBERT HUMPHREY

Humphrey complained that they expected too much from the government. When they asked for new laws to fight racism later that year, he declared: "We have about as much civil rights on our statutes as we can get right now."

And when Black people defied the ruling class and continued their struggle, Humphrey made it clear where he stood. In 1968 he warned Black militants that the government would "break their backs" if they continued to fight.

By this time a new generation of young militants had seen through the liberals' phony promises. Mass opposition to the war in Southeast Asia was growing fast. Black rebellions had swept through most big cities across the country.

These movements grew in opposition to the liberal reform strategy. The defeat in Southeast Asia was proof that U.S. imperialism was no longer able to run the world as it pleased. It meant that the liberals were losing the imperialist super-profits they needed to buy off the workers. Humphrey and his cronies were less able to fool people into believing capitalism could answer their needs.

This crisis, resulting from the decline of U.S. imperialism, split the Democratic Party and cost Humphrey the 1968 Presidential race. After the election, he was an embarrassment to Democrats who wanted to forget their previous support for the Vietnam War. An old Democratic Party machine politician, he was also unpopular with the new generation of voters.

By 1976, Jimmy Carter was calling Humphrey a "has-been" politician. His old cronies tossed him out of the

Democratic Party Senate leadership.

Now these same politicians are trying to make Humphrey into a saint. They realize that Humphrey's phony promises were the best capitalism had to offer. They can't admit his policies no longer work because this would mean admitting that capitalism itself is rotten.

In fact, Humphrey's death drove another nail into the coffin of the liberal strategy, which helped prop up U.S. capitalism for the past 30



Hue, Vietnam, 1968, after U.S. bombing.

years. The liberals still hope they can trick workers into believing that capitalism can provide jobs and a decent living. But as the economy continues to crumble, militant workers will be able to see that they are lying. Already many of the gains won by workers, Black people, women and other oppressed groups in the past have been wiped out.

The reason is that capitalism can survive only by driving the workers even further into starvation and misery. The working class can escape this trap only by smashing the capitalists and building a new socialist society.

Right now the revolutionary forces in the U.S. are still small. But as the ruling-class attacks increase, we will have the chance to break increasing numbers of workers from their traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party liberals.

Expose the liberals

We can do this by fighting for the needs of the workers which the liberals ignore. As the workers' struggle grows, more and more liberals will be forced into open opposition to these struggles. Workers will see for themselves that the liberals serve only the interests of the ruling class. By exposing the liberals, we can open the way for organizing a revolutionary workers' party in the U.S.

EDITORIALS

VIETNAM VS. KAMPUCHEA

State Capitalists Fight Bloody Border War

Less than four years after their joint victory over U.S. imperialism, Vietnam and Kampuchea (known in the West as Cambodia) are at war with each other. Both governments are denouncing each other for starting the war. And both sides have charged the other's troops with burning villages, raping women, slaughtering children and other atrocities against civilians.

Exactly who started the fighting is not clear. But on December 26, the Vietnamese army entered Kampuchea. In the heavy fighting that followed, tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. After three weeks, the Vietnamese troops halted their offensive, having gained control of the area known as the "Parrot's Beak" and other chunks of Kampuchean territory.

As of this writing, the Vietnamese government is proposing a conference to work out a settlement. It also claims to want to maintain the borders established in 1974. Despite its weak position, the Kampuchean regime has resisted negotiations. It claims that present-day Vietnam includes territory that is historically Kampuchean, but was given to Vietnam when the French colonialists established their rule.

The war between Vietnam and Kampuchea has left many radicals and leftists confused and demoralized. In the 1960s and early '70s, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were major symbols in the world struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. The people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia proved that the U.S. giant could be beaten. Now the victory of the masses seems to be turning to ashes.

The present border war is a continuation of a conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea that goes back before the French colonized the area in the last century. Before the French came, the Vietnamese ruling classes had been expanding into neighboring lands for more than 800 years. Many of these lands had been under Kampuchean rule (although not always inhabited by ethnic Kampuchians). Much of what is

The answer to this important question is that the regimes that have been established in Southeast Asia are not socialist or proletarian at all.

Socialism is a social system that is based on the collective and democratic rule of the working class and its allies. It can only be created by revolutions centered in the working class.

The regimes in Southeast Asia are state capitalist. They did not come to power through socialist revolutions. The workers of Southeast Asia did not rise up, seize the banks, factories, transport, communications, and other vital parts of the economy. They didn't set up workers' councils and do the other things that a true socialist revolution involves.

The national liberation movements were mass movements based not among the workers, but among the peasants. They were led by middle-class nationalist elements under the leadership of local Stalinist (so-called Communist) parties. These parties utilized revolutionary Marxist words to mobilize mass support for their nationalist goals.

The Stalinist leaders didn't organize

expense of other countries. The result is competition between countries, even if competition has been partially suppressed within a country, as under state capitalism.

Each capitalist country tries to expand at the expense of the others. This is no less true of economically underdeveloped countries than of industrialized countries. In general, the industrialized countries have the ability to expand and conquer and the underdeveloped don't. But when given the opportunity, the more powerful underdeveloped countries play an expansionist and imperialist role in relation to their weaker neighbors.

Like all capitalist regimes, the new state-capitalist governments in Vietnam and Kampuchea are expansionist. The middle-class nationalist rulers are fighting to extend their power and influence at the expense of their neighbors. And Vietnam, with a large population and superior resources, is overpowering Kampuchea.

Vietnam's recent invasion of Kampuchea is just the latest in a series of attempts to extend Vietnamese control. Even while fighting the U.S., the Viet-

conquest of Kampuchea would lose them a lot of international support. Moreover, like the Vietnamese, the Kampuchians are experts in guerrilla war. The Vietnamese could get bogged down in a long and costly conflict. For these reasons, the Vietnamese are trying to use economic, political and diplomatic means to establish their control over Kampuchea.

The Kampuchians understand that world opinion and the threat of a long guerrilla struggle will restrain the Vietnamese. Taking advantage of this, they are trying to use guerrilla tactics to reopen the question of the unfair boundaries inherited from the colonial period.

Who started shooting first is not important. In the present situation, revolutionaries should defend Kampuchea against the expansionism of Vietnam. Despite the fact that the Kampuchean Stalinists have resorted to various barbarous measures to consolidate their rule, revolutionaries should defend Kampuchea's right to exist as an independent state. We should also support Kampuchea's demands for

"Revolutionaries should defend Kampuchea against the expansionism of Vietnam. Despite the fact that the Kampuchean Stalinists have resorted to various barbarous measures to consolidate their rule, revolutionaries should defend Kampuchea's right to exist as an independent state"



Map shows area invaded by Vietnam.

the workers for socialism. In fact, they feared that the workers would oppose their nationalist, pro-capitalist strategy. When the workers rose up—as they did in Saigon in 1945 to prevent the return of the French colonial forces—the Stalinists crushed the uprising to push through a rotten deal with the imperialists. Moreover, when the Stalinist-led armies marched into Saigon and other major cities in 1975, they used the peasant armies to keep the workers in line. The workers were told to stay at work, maintain production and by all means do not strike, do not rise up, do not arm yourselves. The working class—the moving force of a socialist revolution—was completely frozen out of the national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia.

When they took power, the Stalinist-led liberation movements did not overthrow capitalism. They kicked out the U.S. imperialists, the old landlords and big capitalists and their flunkies in the old regime. But they did not put the workers and peasants in charge of production.

Instead, they turned most of the property into state property and put it under their own class control. The Stalinist leaders and their nationalist supporters became a new capitalist class, a state-capitalist bourgeoisie. The result has been a victory over U.S. imperialism, formal political independence and national unity, land reform and some improvements in the lives of the people—but not socialism, or anything close to it.

Capitalism, in all its forms, is based on accumulation—accumulation of the surplus value produced by the workers and accumulation in one country at the

expense of other countries. The result is competition between countries, even if competition has been partially suppressed within a country, as under state capitalism.

Pushed by the expansionist drive of capitalism, the Vietnamese ruling class is trying to become the dominant power in what used to be French Indochina. It is merely following in the footsteps of Vietnam's past ruling classes. It has already absorbed Laos into its "sphere of influence." And it wants to dominate Kampuchea as well.

The Vietnamese rulers could easily overpower the Kampuchians militarily. But the costs would be too high. The

moderate adjustments in the countries' borders to overcome the effects of French colonialism.

It is time to draw the lesson of the struggle in Southeast Asia. The people of Southeast Asia kicked out Western imperialism and its agents. This was a victory for them and for the people all over the world. But they did not overthrow capitalism. Capitalism remains in a new form—state capitalism. And as long as capitalism lasts, the people of Southeast Asia will be exploited, oppressed and subjected to the same old capitalist crap. Their task is to recognize what has happened and to begin to fight for true liberation, the socialist revolution. □

New York RSL forum

"VIETNAMESE-CAMBODIAN WAR: The Revolutionary Socialist Analysis"

Speaker: Wayne Gordon

Saturday, March 4 7:30 p.m.

Washington Square
Methodist Church
135 West 4th Street
(In the "Parlor")

now southern Vietnam, including the rich Mekong Delta, was part of Kampuchea as recently as 200 years ago. There are still more than half a million Kampuchians living in Vietnam today.

When the French colonized the area they redrew boundaries. To secure their colonial rule, they placed more chunks of Kampuchean territory inside Vietnam. As a result, the conflicts among the Kampuchians and Vietnamese were continued under colonial rule. During the national liberation struggle these rivalries took a back seat to the struggle against the common enemy.

Now that U.S. imperialism has been driven out of Vietnam and Kampuchea, the old conflicts are re-emerging in full force.

The Communist parties of Kampuchea and Vietnam claim to be socialist. Shouldn't socialist regimes be able to resolve boundary disputes without resorting to war?

RSL Directory

**NATIONAL OFFICE PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036**

**CHICAGO PO Box 8062
Chicago, IL 60680**

**DETROIT PO Box 639
Detroit, MI 48221**

**NEW YORK PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036**

**LOS ANGELES PO Box 327
Hollywood, CA 90028**

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Revolutionary Socialist League

Editorial Board:
Paul Aldridge
Susan Edmunds
Circulation Manager: Bill
Production Manager: Mary
Production Staff: Margaret
Lee Ramo

Address all correspondence to:
Torch/La Antorcha
PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036

Subscription rates:
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)
Prisoners Free
6 issues (introductory) \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
Supporting (one year) \$5.00
Libraries and institutions \$5.00
(Foreign)
12 issues (seamail) \$4.50
12 issues (airmail, unsealed) \$10.00

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(Continued from page 1)

they know, and the day before they call immigration. Once they call immigration, immigration takes everybody and they do not get their paycheck. Now, many of these workers are able to come back, and they can pick up their checks. But that money they get is not even enough to pay the person that brought them back. So anyway, even if that person is able to come back, that person cannot keep the money. He has to give it to somebody else. And if he doesn't come back, then the boss keeps the money. So either way, the worker is the one that is exploited.

TORCH: Why did you come to the U.S.?

EDUARDO: That's a good question. I came here for the same reasons that everybody comes. Because there are no jobs in my country, and we don't have any way to feed our families. That's why we come to the United States, because in this country we can have a job.

TORCH: What do people go through to get across the border?

EDUARDO: You have to find somebody who can get you across. To that person, the people call them coyotes, you have to pay him \$200. Or even more. That's the only way that you can do it. You have to cross the border at night, and always running and hiding from immigration.

TORCH: And you're at the mercy of the coyotes. You pay them, and then they can turn you over, or let you get caught, and then you have to do it again?

EDUARDO: Well, most of them, you don't pay to them until they get you here. So they bring you here, because only when you are here you can pay to them, not before. But so many times people are caught by La Migra, by the border patrol, they try once, they try twice, you know maybe five or six times and they are hauled back.

And many times if you are caught by La Migra, the border patrol, you are beaten. Everybody has a different story, but I have met people who have told me that many times immigration they beat them, and do all sorts of things to them.

TORCH: Are there an equal number of men undocumented workers and women undocumented workers in the United States, or do more men come, or what?

EDUARDO: Well, I think there are more men than women undocumented workers. Because men, they first come to the United States. And once they are established here, they have a job, and they think they can support a family, then they bring them.

TORCH: The women may fare worse than the men in some ways.

EDUARDO: Most of them, they don't have a choice in the kind of jobs they get. They only have jobs as sewing machine operators. You can see every factory, thousands of machines, most of them are women. And sometimes they don't even get enough money to get by. Sometimes they get \$30, \$60, they never know how

much they're going to get. It's not a salary where they say "next week I'm going to get this and this."

TORCH: Is there any unity between Chicanos and undocumented workers?

EDUARDO: I am an undocumented worker. I know my own people, and I know Chicanos too. But up to now I have not seen any unity between Chicanos and undocumented workers. Chicanos, the large organizations, fight for rights for undocumented workers. They are opposing the amnesty plan of Carter, but they have never done any work with undocumented workers, for them to unite. They just do it separately. And

the right to have rights just like any other person. Because we create the wealth in this country. And we are not going to ask for anything, we are going to demand, because we are the ones that are working, and we have the power.

TORCH: Do you think the women undocumented workers might be harder to organize politically than the men?

EDUARDO: I think there is this difference between the men and women. If you start talking to a woman in the street, she's going to see you suspiciously maybe you're for something else, not helping her, you know. And that's why it's not easy to do it. But I

ing?
EDUARDO: There has to be a unity. We have to unite, because things are getting worse and worse. And if we are not going to unite, I don't see which is the way we are going to survive. So it's not a matter of wanting to unite, it's a necessity. We have to do it if we're going to have a better society, better for everybody. That's the only way.

TORCH: More than that, though, what's your strategy? In the long run, how are we going to solve this thing?

EDUARDO: We have seen that the system cannot be reformed. We have to make drastic changes. The system has lived for the period of time

to prepare ourselves for the revolution? What should we be doing?

EDUARDO: What we need now is a revolutionary party that can lead the workers to victory. We have to educate workers and tell them what our strategy is, and what we can do. We need a revolutionary party so that we can lead the workers.

TORCH: What about the groups on the left in the United States today, that is, what you know of them?

EDUARDO: I have heard of many groups, but I have not found one that I think can give the solution to the problem, that can lead the workers to a victory. I have not seen any group that is interested in the rights of undocumented workers. And if those groups do not go to the most oppressed, they're not going to lead the revolution.

I have mentioned those groups that are not interested in the most oppressed. Now I want to mention the one that has shown interest, and has seen the necessity of uniting the most oppressed. I have come in contact with the Revolutionary Socialist League, and I have found that the RSL is interested in the problems and is willing to unite with us. And I still don't know who is going to lead the revolution, but we are going to offer our program to the workers, and they will know who to choose, either the Revolutionary Socialist League, or the other, reformist groups. They will see who it is that they want.

TORCH: What's your opinion of the Torch?

EDUARDO: The first time I saw the Torch, I was interested because it is a paper that is very interested in the working class in South Africa that are fighting for their liberation, and because it is a paper that I can take it, and I can read it, and I can say that I understand it. It is a newspaper that belongs to the workers because it is in the language of the workers.

TORCH: Do you have anything else that you want to say to the readers of the Torch?

EDUARDO: I just want to say to the readers of the Torch that we are fighting, that undocumented workers are fighting against the system, and that they have to support our fight if they don't want to be next. That together, we can fight for a better society. We can fight for the overthrow of the actual system, and that we can overcome whatever obstacles may be in the way, if we unite. Unity. That is the solution.

Undocumented Worker Speaks Out:



undocumented workers, they don't have any unity.

TORCH: You mentioned Carter's amnesty plan. What do you think of that?

EDUARDO: For me, and for everybody, for every Latin worker in this country, it is a plan that divides the working class. It's going to militarize the border, so it's a plan that divides the working class, and should not be supported by anyone, because that amnesty plan doesn't help at all.

TORCH: What do you think Carter's trying to do with it in addition to dividing the workers?

EDUARDO: He is trying to blame a section of the working class, the most oppressed, because he knows that undocumented workers are not the cause for unemployment in this country. He knows that every worker that comes to this country comes to take the jobs that are low-paying, and that are dangerous. He's trying to do that because the real responsibility for this is the system. The capitalist system cannot provide any jobs with decent wages. So he is trying to say that this group is responsible for that when the real problem is capitalism.

TORCH: How would we go about organizing to defend undocumented workers?

EDUARDO: The first thing that we can do is try to talk to them, try to unite them. Because even though we are undocumented workers, we don't have the consciousness of unity. We have never been united, and everybody tries to do what he wants to do by himself. And another thing, if we don't have the class consciousness, we won't be able to do anything.

The second step would be, after we unite, to demand of the government that we have

think that if we can relate with women, and if we have women in our organization, they can do the job, and later we can show them that we are fighting for the same things they are fighting for, no other interests.

TORCH: If you were talking to other workers in this country, people who were born here, or whatever, why would you tell them to defend the undocumented workers?

EDUARDO: We have to see that undocumented workers are workers, and the citizens of the United States are workers too. So we belong to the same working class. So whatever the Carter administration, or whoever it is, whatever capitalist is doing it, whatever attacks they are now directing against undocumented workers, the same attacks will be against citizens in the future. Today, they are doing it to undocumented workers. Tomorrow, they will be doing it to Blacks. Next will be the whites. That's why we should unite in support to each other.

TORCH: Do you see some possibilities of unity develop-

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