

Reconstruct  
the  
Fourth  
International!

# TORCH

L.I.L. Newspaper  
of the  
Revolutionary  
Socialist League  
OF WISCONSIN  
JUL 18 1978

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 7/25¢

JULY 15-AUGUST 14, 1978

## SMASH RACIST BAKKE RULING!

*Fight for Jobs and  
Decent Education for All!*

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

With a sharp slap in the face of all working and oppressed people, the U.S. Supreme Court on June 28 handed down its decision in favor of Allan Bakke.

The court agreed with Bakke's racist claim that, as a white man, he was the victim of "reverse discrimination" when the medical school of the University of California at Davis turned down his application for admission.

By a vote of 5-4, the highest court of capitalist "justice" struck down the quota system used at Davis. This system set aside 16 out of 100 places for qualified Black, Latin, Asian and women students who may not

have gotten top scores on graduate tests.

The court ruled that this and similar quotas are illegal under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because they deny the "right" of white men to compete for all the available openings.

*sección  
en  
español*



Thousands demonstrated against Bakke decision in San Francisco, June 28.

Because of this decision, Allan Bakke—a 38-year-old engineer for the government space program who had been turned down by 11 other medical schools—will be able to enter the Davis medical school in the fall.

The court also ruled that affirmative action (the policy of providing openings in education and employment for the victims of racial and sexual discrimination) is legal, just so long as it doesn't involve the use of quotas.

Instead of quotas, the judges said that race, sex and ethnic background could be taken into account as one  
(Continued on page 16)

## Chicago Cops Protect The Nazis

CHICAGO, July 10—Twenty-two Nazis held a rally yesterday in the Marquette Park section of this city. Despite the 1,500 cops mobilized to protect them, the Nazis had to limit their rally to a half hour. Over 2,000 anti-Nazi militants turned out to demonstrate against the Nazis and to try to prevent them from rallying.

The Nazis, members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party led by Frank Collin, had waged a two-year battle to get a permit to hold a rally in Marquette Park. Finally, they cut a deal with the courts to call off a planned march in Skokie, a largely Jewish suburb of Chicago, in return for the Marquette Park permit. Marquette Park, where

the Nazis have their headquarters, is a white community with a history of racist attacks on Black people. The Nazis hope to use Marquette Park as a rallying ground.

To celebrate the Marquette Park permit and bond for the July 9 action, the Nazis called a "victory rally" in downtown Chicago on June 24, at 4:30 in the afternoon. Instead of a victory rally, the Nazis were dealt a humiliating defeat by thousands of angry demonstrators. Hours before the planned starting time, several thousand anti-Nazi militants massed at the rally site. Their main chant was "Death to the Nazis!"

The Nazis had to delay  
(Continued on page 5)



RSL and Black and White Defense Committee lead anti-Nazi chanting, Chicago, June 24

**INTERVIEW WITH  
NICARAGUAN  
REVOLUTIONARIES  
P-12**

# our readers write...

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

## Gay prisoner writes

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:  
I am a gay federal prisoner who was sent to federal prison in Sept. of '73. I came to federal prison for car theft, with only five years. I now have a total of life and 42 years. It began in Sept. '73, when I was 20 years old, in Springfield federal hospital. I tried to run off because I didn't steal that car I was

caught, and charged for attempted escape and I received two more years added on to my five-year term. That made a total of seven years.

From Springfield I was transferred to El Reno, Oklahoma, where I ended up getting a life term for stabbing another inmate who pulled a homemade knife on me, with plans of having me forced into having sex with him and his friends. But out of fear, I took his knife away and stabbed him to death.

By me being gay and without any family to turn to, I was railroaded into pleading guilty and Judge Dale Cook gave me a life term.

From El Reno I went to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, a federal max prison, and I was forced to either be a weak gay and let them use me for a fu-fu bag or fight for my rights. I again stabbed another so-called ass-taker. He also died, and as always, gays are wrong for defending

themselves—and I received a 35-year term!

Now I'm at Leavenworth, Kansas, max prison in the hole for fighting. Your gay brother, RB

## From Ghana

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:  
I came across your fortnightly magazine the "Torch" some few weeks ago and I found it to be very interesting. I will therefore be very grateful if you will kindly add me to your list of subscribers from all over the world.

I hope to hear from you very soon. Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,  
Name Withheld  
Ghana, West Africa

## On tactics for the anti-Nazi struggle

Comrades of the RSL:  
In the May 15-June 14 issue (vol. 5, no. 5) of the Torch, you give an analysis of the events in Italy relating to Moro and the Red Brigades. The analysis is a basically sound, Marxist one, and in particular, stresses the flaw of substitutionism, which the Red Brigades in fact practice. No argument at all here.

Yet, in the same issue, you "applaud the action of the PLP (Progressive Labor Party)" in their attack on a Nazi meeting, (i.e., carried out solely by PLP without other working-class support).

In the interests of consistency,

could you explain why you don't consider that "substitutionism"? I'm sure other Torch readers would also appreciate any clarification or defense of this position. Revolutionary regards, ME, New York

Reply:

M.E. refers to a brief article in the May 15 issue of the Torch, in which we praised the Progressive Labor Party's invasion of the Nazi office in Chicago's Marquette Park on April 7. Among other things we said, "...this is an example of the kind of action necessary to smash the Nazis. In spite of our many political differences with PLP, we applaud their action."

If by "substitutionism" M.E. means that PLP doesn't try to organize the workers, we don't agree. Only a couple of weeks ago, PLP worked hard to organize a big contingent of workers to march against the Klan in Jamesburg, New Jersey.

If M.E. is saying that PLP generally refuses to join in united fronts with other working-class organizations, we would agree with him.

In the anti-Nazi, anti-Klan fight, the PLP leadership has often refused to participate in such united fronts, most recently during the June 24 anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago. This left its forces ineffectively on the sidelines that day, while other organizations—including the RSL—harassed the cops and tried to get at the Nazis.

The invasion of the Nazi office in Chicago itself might have been more effective if PLP had called on other working-class organizations to join the action. There might have been fewer PLP casualties (at least one PLP supporter was hospitalized), and more casualties on the part of the Nazis.

The PLP, in other words, often puts its narrow organizational "interests" ahead of the need to organize and mobilize the workers. This is a typical example of organizational sectarianism.

However, there is also a very positive side to what PLP does in the anti-Nazi fight—a side which stands in stark contrast to the approach of groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP). PLP refuses to rely on the capitalist cops and courts to stop the Nazis

and the Klan. They don't call on the working class to "demand that the criminal responsible for (the terrorist attacks) be arrested, prosecuted and locked away," as the SWP recently did. PLP understands that the bourgeois state will never stop the Nazis. At a time when much of the left is putting forward a legalistic and class-collaborationist strategy, PLP's militant approach is no small thing.

Moreover, unlike the SWP, the CP, the Spartacist League, and most Maoist groups, PLP takes on the Nazis and the Klan in the streets. It sees the need to smash these racist parasites. However much we may disagree with PLP on a whole range of things, we solidarily ourselves with PLP on these questions. This is why we printed the article as we did.

## "I would like to join you"

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

I am a federal prisoner here at Memphis, Tennessee. I received your latest copy of the Torch. While reading it, I was very impressed by your efforts to put a stop to the Nazi organization here in the U.S.

I understand that your organization, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee are joining together in a revolutionary move to stop any future marches by the Nazis. I would like to know more

about your progress if anymore information is available.

I would also like to know more about the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee. Upon my release I would very much like to join you in this necessary struggle. I go to the board in August, so it could be soon. If not then, I'll give you a rain check. I deeply appreciate your paper. Thank you.

Sincerely,  
Name Withheld

The police, however, are trying to stick him with a phony armed robbery rap. A 15-year-old youth claims that George and two other men robbed him at gunpoint of \$202. That's it for the evidence against George. There are no other witnesses. The police can't produce the gun that was supposedly used or the money that was supposedly stolen. Further, George was visiting friends at the same time this person says the robbery was supposedly to be taking place.

Some of us in the neighborhood are pulling together a defense committee. We are not going to let the government railroad George into prison. We are going to take his case to the community for support. Funds are a big problem because lawyers are expensive. We would also like letters and telegrams of support from individuals, unions, and community groups. Please send money and letters to George White, c/o Torch. When we get a regular address, we'll let you know.

In struggle,  
C. Hayes

## Torch Subscription Rates Go Up

When the Postal bosses hiked mailing costs again last month, we had a tough decision to make. Could we cover the increased mailing costs of the Torch/La Antorcha? Or would we have to raise our subscription rates?

Unfortunately, our finances do not permit us to subsidize the newspaper any more than we were already. Even before the recent postage increases, the \$3 for a one-year sub didn't cover mailing costs. At the new rates, it costs us \$4.92 just to mail out a one-year sub of the Torch/La Antorcha. Because of this, as of July 15, 1978, the price of a one-year subscription goes up to \$5. Information about other rates can be found in the subscription blank on page 17.

Where possible, we encourage readers of the Torch/La Antorcha to take out supporting subs. The extra contribution will help us to continue our policy of mailing free subs to hundreds of prisoners across the country.

We are sorry that we have to raise our subscription prices, but we have no other choice. We would like to thank our subscribers in advance for your continued support.

## In this issue . . .

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 3 Tax revolt sweeps country<br>Phony figures hide real inflation rate | 14 Conflict builds in Southeast Asia<br>New clashes in Lebanon |
| 4 Brooklyn cops murder Black leader<br>European women fight rape      | 15 Russian rulers frame dissidents                             |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 5 Over 400,000 march in Gay Pride demos                              | FEATURES  |
| 6 Protests at Green Haven hit repression<br>To our readers in prison | 2 our readers write   |
| 7 Free the August 8th Brigade<br>America—You lied to us              | 6 Break the Chains<br>Jawaad S. Bilal... Strip-searches...<br>Gay prisoner framed... In brief |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 8 What is socialism?   | 8 Labor in Struggle<br>Pennsylvania miners... Postal<br>deadline... Romeo 17... NYC transit |
| 9 Labor law reform stalled   | 15 World in Revolution<br>Mexico... Ghana... Spain  |
| 10 Capitalism causes cancer<br>Anti-nuke forces rally at Seabrook        |   |
| 11 U.S imperialism: Old dog, new tricks<br>Anti-apartheid movement grows |   |
| 12 Interview with Nicaraguan revolutionaries                             |   |

## TAX REVOLT SWEEPS COUNTRY:

# A Losing Proposition For the Working Class



By PAUL BENJAMIN

A wave of tax revolts is sweeping over the country. On June 6, California voters passed Proposition 13, which will slash state property taxes by 57 percent. Now citizens' groups and politicians in 30 states are coming out with their own schemes to cut local spending.

In Nebraska, Massachusetts, Arizona and Oregon, petitions or laws to cut property taxes are in the works. In a dozen other states, taxpayers are demanding laws to limit state taxation or spending. New Jersey, Colorado and Tennessee have already passed such measures.

Support for these campaigns comes mainly from sections of the middle class and the better-off sections of the white working class. These people are trapped by

the deepening economic crisis in the U.S. For example, inflation is now over 9 percent with no decline in sight. In some states this, plus land speculation, is sending property taxes skyrocketing. As a result, many taxpayers can barely afford the payments required to keep their homes.

Faced with declining incomes and rising prices, many frustrated taxpayers are looking for a way to survive. This has allowed leaders of the tax revolt to claim that they are leading a rebellion of the "little people" against government spending.

But the real organizers of the tax revolt are right-wing businessmen and politicians who want to use widespread resentment against high taxes to attack the trade unions, the Black and Latin communities, and other oppressed groups. For in-

stance, Howard Jarvis, who initiated Proposition 13, is an arch-conservative retired businessman who has close ties to the John Birch Society. The National Tax Limitation Committee, which is organizing petitions to cut taxes and spending in 15 states, is led by Lewis Uhler. Uhler is a former aide to right-wing Republican leader Ronald Reagan.

## Bosses back tax revolt

Much of the ruling class not only supports the tax revolt, but is working hard to extend it. William Miller, head of the Federal Reserve Board, welcomed Proposition 13 as a warning to the federal government to slash spending. President Carter is threatening to veto spending bills passed by Congress. Congress itself cut over \$1 billion from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which runs most government social service programs.

This campaign represents a victory for the openly racist anti-labor wing of the U.S. ruling class. They and other sections of the capitalist class have decided that the liberal policies which dominated U.S. politics in the 1960s don't work any more.

## Struggle won concessions

About 10 years ago the Black revolt against racism in the U.S. was at its height. Black people across the country organized, marched, and struck to win their rights and decent living conditions. Black youth in the inner cities across the country rose in rebellions against the miserable living conditions in the ghettos. The ruling class tried to buy off these movements through government.

(Continued on page 17)

## PHONY FIGURES HIDE REAL INFLATION RATE

By ADELE LOHMAN

Since the beginning of this year inflation has gotten a lot worse. Supermarket hamburger, the cheap kind that shrinks to nothing when you cook it, is \$1.39 a pound. Plain American cheese is a luxury at \$1.99 a pound. In the first three months of 1978 prices went up four percent, according to the government's Consumer Price Index (CPI). April food prices were up 2.4 percent from March; beef, 6.6 percent; fruits and vegetables, 9.7 percent.

### Who are they kidding?

But the CPI only shows a 5.3 percent increase since this time last year. And the government says the official inflation rate for 1978 is now 9.3 percent. They're trying to tell us that things that cost a dollar last year only went up a nickel and will only go up a dime this year. Who are they kidding?

Unfortunately, these official government figures aren't just something they print in the papers. The CPI affects the incomes of over 50 million people. Increases in Social Security and all federal pensions depend on it; so do school lunch budgets and food stamps.

Union contracts covering 8.5 million workers have escalator clauses tied to the Consumer Price Index. Under these clauses—workers get a cost-of-living wage increase if the CPI goes up a certain number of points. Even then the workers get screwed by all kinds of fancy formulas like a one percent increase if the CPI goes up three percent

A cost-of-living increase equal to the rise in the index still wouldn't keep up with inflation. Even the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) admits that their Consumer Price Index doesn't measure the cost of living. It's only a price index.

The BLS makes surveys to find out what goods and services the so-called average family buys. From this they make up a list called a "market basket," which includes food, clothing, shelter, med-

***We say: "Make the bosses pay!" It's their system and their inflation —let them pay the bills. Why should the ruling class eat steak and lobster while the workers live on beans?!***

ical care, etc. Prices for all items on this list are checked regularly. The CPI is a record of how the cost of this "market basket" changes.

According to the Consumer Price Index, workers spend 39.8 percent of their income on housing (including utilities), 20.4 percent on food and 7 percent on clothing—a total of 67.2 percent. If these figures were true, a family with \$200 weekly earnings would have \$65 left after they pay for food, clothing and shelter. But the capitalists' figures are based on gross pay. Out of that worker's

\$200 earnings about one-third is deducted in taxes. In real life that family would be lucky to wind up with ten bucks to spare. The government's figures are pure bullshit!

### Bosses want workers to pay for inflation

The Bureau of Labor Statistics says: "Each 1-percent change in the index may trigger a \$1 billion change in income payments." In other words, each time the CPI goes up one percent, the bosses have to pay \$1 billion more to the workers. That's why the ruling class needs a bunch of phony statistics. They don't want to pay increases based on the real inflation rate. They don't want to raise welfare payments, or Social Security or food stamps. They want to make the working class pay for inflation.

We say: "Make the bosses pay!" It's their system and their inflation—let them pay the bills. Why should the ruling class eat steak and lobster while the workers live on beans?!

Workers need a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) that would make up for past inflation and match rising prices penny for penny. Price committees of workers and housewives should check out what things cost in the stores, how much workers pay for housing and other necessities. That way the working class could fight for a COLA based on our own figures in contract struggles, for welfare, Social Security, etc.

All workers, union and non-union, employed and unemployed, have to fight

together for a decent living standard. The non-union and unemployed workers are used by the bosses as a club against organized labor to keep down wages. So it's in the interest of unionized workers to unite with all workers against the bosses' inflation.

Workers in the big unions have a lot of power if they go on strike, they can shut all the major industry and services in this country down tight. They have the power to beat the ruling class's attacks on the living standards of the working class.

A united working class can win concessions from the ruling class. And it can do more. A united working class can overthrow the whole rotten capitalist system. □



Middle-class homeowners in LA support Proposition 13.

By FRANK HOPKINS

Over 1,000 demonstrators marched on New York's City Hall on June 19. The protest was aimed at a series of police and racist thug attacks in the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn, New York. In a little more than a week, two beatings and one murder took place in this predominantly Black community.

The events started on June 14, when the cops murdered 36-year-old Arthur Miller. Miller's younger brother, Samuel, was driving away from a building that he was working on. The cops stopped Samuel Miller, claiming his license was suspended. Arthur Miller ran up to the truck, shouting at the cops: "You're wrong." Within minutes, 50 cops were at the scene. Miller was handcuffed and then 20 cops beat, kicked and strangled him. Miller was dead before the cops got him to the hospital.

### Killed for being Black

Miller was well-known by the cops. He was part-owner of a construction company. He was also the founder of the Four Star Block Association (FSBA), a community organization that tried to get jobs for young people. The FSBA was government-funded through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). He was a respected community leader and had a reputation of being a go-between for the cops and the young people in the community. But the cops killed him anyway.

Different stories have come out about the possible motive for the killing. James Haynes, Miller's business partner, is sure that Miller was killed because he



Angry Brooklyn residents denounce cop murder of Arthur Williams.

wouldn't pay bribes to the cops in order to fix parking tickets. Another story is that Miller's death may somehow be linked to the CETA funds that the FSBA was getting.

Regardless of what the cops' reason was, they murdered Miller in broad daylight. Had Miller been white, the cops would've thought twice or more before they laid a hand on him. But since he was Black, the cops felt free to beat him to death.

Within 48 hours after Miller's death, another assault occurred. This time the attack was carried out by a neighborhood "Civilian Patrol." This patrol is dominated by some racist Hassidic Jewish

people. About 50 people from the patrol stopped 16-year-old Victor Rhodes on the street. They surrounded him. They knocked him to the ground. And they stomped on his face until he fell into a coma. When Rhodes got to the hospital, he still had heel marks around his ears.

But that wasn't the last of it. On June 22, another cop, Joseph Benedetto, beat up Charles King. King is a 56-year-old Black man who owns a liquor store. King got into an argument with the cop over a traffic ticket. The cop flicked a lit cigarette at King. King flicked it back at the cop. The pig pulled out

his club and started beating on King. Finally, the cop left after King started shouting.

### Community demands justice

These attacks sparked an angry response from the people of Crown Heights. A number of community meetings were held, denouncing the cops and the city bosses. Then on June 19, demonstrators marched to the office of the Brooklyn borough president and then to City Hall. They demanded justice for Miller and Rhodes. And they demanded that the racist 77th Precinct Police

Station be closed down.

The response of the city government has been the same as always—covering up for the cops. Mayor Koch is promising an investigation into the death of Arthur Miller. He is promising that there will be no whitewash. But people have heard these promises before. People in Crown Heights know that the investigations aren't going to protect them from further racist attacks. So, in order to discourage the racists, a patrol has been set up to defend the community against further attacks. This patrol could be a real step toward ending the racist terror in Crown Heights. But it depends on a couple of important steps being taken.

First, the patrols cannot work with the cops. People have already seen how concerned the cops are about the lives of people in the Crown Heights area. In fact, the patrols have to be prepared to defend against future attacks by the cops as well as other racists.

Secondly, militants can't allow the conservative community leaders to turn the patrols into "anti-crime" vigilante groups. If the patrols end up going after "youth crime," the community will be split. Then the cops and racists will be able to move right in again, pretending to be a big help in the fight against "youth crime." Youth face a lot of the police harassment in the community and they must be drawn into the patrols.

The main point is that people have to rely on themselves—not the cops, not the courts, and not the politicians. Militants must fight to build the patrols into militant, anti-racist defense squads. This is the first step in putting an end to the racist attacks. □

# Brooklyn Cops Murder Black Community Leader

## EUROPEAN WOMEN FIGHT RAPE



Militant women's movement is growing throughout Europe.

Thousands of women in France just ended a four-year battle to make sure that three rapists were brought to justice. They fought and they won.

In early May, the three rapists were jailed after the case had dragged through a

series of courts. Finally, they were tried before the Cours d'Assises, the court for serious crimes. It was the first time in French legal history that a rape case was heard in this court. Rape is a felony under French law, but the charges are usually reduced to assault and battery,

which is a misdemeanor.

Two Belgian women, Anne-Marie Tonglet and Aracelli Castellano, went to France on a camping trip in 1974. On the afternoon of September 21, they put up their tent outside of Morgiou, a fishing village in the south of France. Serge Petrilli, age 22, tried to bother them several times, but they chased him away. At 1 a.m., Petrilli came back with two buddies and broke into the women's tent. Tonglet hit one of the attackers with a hammer, but the three men overpowered the two women and raped them repeatedly for four hours.

The victims went to the police. The cops couldn't simply brush them off the way they usually do. These were foreign tourists, women of "good reputation." Tonglet is a professor of biology. Castellano takes care of newborn babies. Above all, they couldn't claim that the victims had invited their attackers or led them on. Tonglet and Castellano are lesbians. It was a clear case of rape.

Still, the courts dragged the case out. In May of this

year the rapists were finally brought before a criminal court in Aix-en-Provence. During the course of the trial, women spectators, journalists and lawyers as well as the two rape victims and their families were threatened and molested. For two days, mass demonstrations at the court demanded that the rapists be punished.

The verdict: Serge Petrilli was found guilty of rape and his two friends of attempted rape. Under French law rape only occurs when there is penetration and ejaculation. If a rapist can't go through with the whole brutal business, he's not guilty of rape!

### Society blames victim

It's hard for women to prove rape. Society—and therefore the law—assumes that the victim consented to have sex with her attacker.

A man beats up a woman and threatens to kill her if she fights back. So often she gives in. Then the cops and the courts say she agreed to have sex with him. If she succeeds in getting the rapist arrested, he'll only be charged with beating her up. That's how rape charges in France have always been reduced to assault and battery.

But that doesn't only happen in France.

In this sexist, capitalist society a woman is not a person, but an object, a thing that any man can take if he wants it. He can take a woman by force—rape her. Or he can marry her and make her his property, to use for his pleasure, or as a child-bearing machine or a workhorse.

### Women fight back

The struggle against rape is bringing out the fighting spirit of women in every country. In Spain they've got a slogan: "Contra la violacion—castracion." "Against rape—castration." At a rape trial in Madrid women yelled "castracion" in the court corridor. The rapist had attacked a 12-year-old girl. The women of Spain, just like their sisters in France, held mass demonstrations. Their signs read: "Macho—Your Violence Is Your Impotence!" and "The Night and the Streets Are Ours. Too Let's Take Them!"

Yes, they're ours. And our bodies are ours. Women and men, working-class brothers and sisters—let's take everything that is rightfully ours. We can do it if we all fight together. □

# Chicago Cops Protect the Nazis

(Continued from page 1)  
 their rally while the cops brought in hundreds of reinforcements. Chicago Police Chief O'Grady tried to get Collin to forget the whole thing. But when Collin refused, the cops put the tiny Nazi band in the back of a van and drove them to the rally site through an underground garage.  
 The Nazis emerged at 6 p.m., an hour and a half late.

continue the anti-Nazi offensive.  
 Unfortunately, on July 9 the balance of forces was not as favorable for the anti-Nazi fighters. This was mostly because the cops were much better organized to keep militants away from the Nazi rally. A contingent of 2,000 anti-Nazi demonstrators was scheduled to march from West Englewood, a Black neighborhood

Unlike the Nazis' marches in St. Louis and elsewhere, this time they had a fair amount of support from the crowd. Some were openly Nazi sympathizers, including the rival Nazi party from Cicero, Illinois. Others were whites from the neighborhood who agreed with the Nazis' anti-Black, anti-Jewish line. Over 50 youths were wearing White Power t-shirts with swastikas.

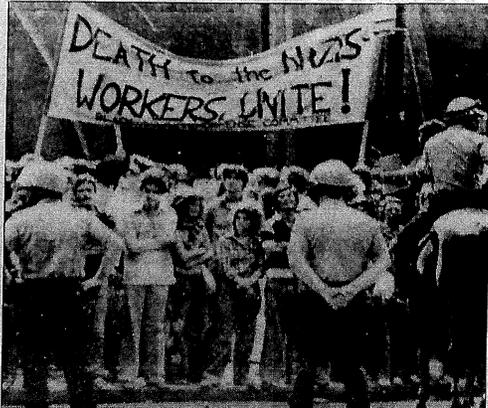
Few leftists managed to get around the police lines and make it into Marquette Park. The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee, however, split our forces into two groups. One joined the march that was stopped away from the park. The other contingent managed to get past the police lines and enter the park.

At the park, the RSL and BWDC joined with some supporters of other groups—including the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—to drown out the Nazi speakers with chants of "Death to the Nazis!" Militant Jews, including supporters of the JDL, also had a sizable presence in the park.

During the rally, arguments and shoving matches broke out between Nazi sympathizers and the anti-Nazi forces. Racist and anti-Semitic slurs were plentiful. The plain-clothes cops kept wading through the crowd and arrested over 60 people.



Anti-Nazi demonstrator shouts across cop lines, June 24.



Black and White Defense Committee banner at June 24 rally.

Many front-line demonstrators couldn't even see them through the wall of cops. As the Nazis fended off flying eggs with wooden shields, Collin told his followers that the Nazis in power would put "every one of these creatures in the gas chambers where they belong." But when some militants tried to break through police lines, the Nazis ran for cover. Their "victory" rally had lasted less than 10 minutes!

## Many groups participated

Many left and Jewish groups participated in the anti-Nazi demonstration. Although there was no central leadership, the largest single group was made up of members and supporters of the Jewish Defense League (JDL). The Progressive Labor Party and the International Committee Against Racism also led a large contingent, but they refused to work with the other groups and stayed away from challenging the cops.

The JDL and the contingent from the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee (BWDC) were the groups most determined to get at the Nazis.

The red-helmeted squads of the RSL and BWDC contingent were a focal point of the demonstration. The BWDC banner read: "Death to the Nazis—Workers Unite." Our contingent was in the front lines when the crowd charged the police.

When the demonstration ended, many of the militants were determined to go to Marquette Park on July 9 to

next to Marquette Park, to the site of the Nazi rally. But it was stopped by paddy wagons and rows of cops before it had gone 100 yards. This headed off an anti-Nazi force that could have forced the Nazis' out their rally short again.

But the cops weren't taking chances in any case. Over 1,000 cops, rows deep, shielded the Nazis from the crowd that gathered in Marquette Park itself. There were also about 400 plain-clothes cops circulating in the crowd.

A little over 1,000 people stood behind the police barricades. Almost all of them were white. Cops and racist youth from the neighborhood had barred Blacks from getting anywhere near the park.

Until the July 9 Marquette Park rally, the Chicago Nazis had been decisively defeated whenever they had tried to demonstrate. On March 11 in St. Louis, where the Nazis held their convention, thousands of working people drove them off the streets. At their supposed "victory" rally in Chicago on June 24 the Nazis ran for cover within minutes after showing their faces.

But the Chicago cops made sure that the Nazis' July 9 rally was a success. With help from the cops, and the capitalist state behind them, the Nazis were able to win a victory—although small—that anti-Nazi militants had denied them previously.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 The Chicago Sun-Times blew the story of what happened in Marquette Park. They named the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the group chanting "Death to the Nazis," instead of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

A supporter of the RSL called the SWP office and, without identifying herself, said that she thought what they had done was great. They were embarrassed and confused. The guy she talked to was in town for the first day, not quite sure of himself, but pretty sure that the SWP hadn't done that.

"Maybe you're thinking of the Revolutionary Socialist League," he said.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

## OVER 400,000 MARCH IN GAY PRIDE DEMOS

At the end of June, hundreds of thousands of people took part in Gay Pride Week marches in major cities across the country. The mobilizations took place in

the midst of a swelling right-wing offensive against gay rights. Gay rights laws have recently been overturned in St. Paul, Minnesota, Wichita, Kansas, and Eugene,

Oregon. In California, State Senator John Briggs is attempting to outlaw gays, or those who support gay rights, from teaching the Oklahoma legislature has already passed a similar bill.

The largest demonstration was held in San Francisco on June 25. Over 300,000 people turned out to demonstrate for gay rights and to oppose the anti-gay Briggs Initiative. One week later, 5,000 marched in the annual Los Angeles Gay Pride Week celebration, which was more militant than it had been for years.

## Leaders hold back struggle

In New York City, almost 75,000 people marched on June 25 for Lesbian and Gay Pride Day. Around 3,000 participated in the Chicago march the same day. There were also marches held in Boston, Denver, Houston, Detroit and other cities.

Despite the militancy of the demonstrations on the (Continued on page 17)



RSL contingent in Los Angeles Gay Pride march.



## Free Jawaad S. Bilal

A defense committee has been formed to organize support for Jawaad S. Bilal (a/k/a Vernon Lee Joe), a prisoner at the Virginia State Penitentiary in Richmond. Bilal is a victim of the frame-up system that passes for "justice" in the U.S. When Bilal was 16 years old, he got sentenced to 20 years on a trumped-up rape charge. The only identification the victim gave was that her attacker had a full head of hair. But that's enough to convict a Black man in Virginia.

While Bilal was doing time at South Hampton Farms, Virginia, there was an attempted prison break during which a guard was killed. Though he was not directly involved in the break, Bilal was framed on murder charges and sentenced to life.

Since then, Bilal was shipped to the Mecklenburg Correctional Center in Boydton, Virginia. Mecklenburg is a new special punishment unit for prisoners who are so-called discipline problems. Mecklenburg also has a reputation for being one of the worst institutions in the state in terms of brutality against prisoners. In March, Bilal was again framed—this time for conspiring with another prisoner to take a guard hostage as a protest against inhuman conditions at the prison. Bilal was again found guilty and was again transferred. He is now confined to maximum security at the state penitentiary.

Donations, requests for more information, and offers of support in the defense work should be sent to: Vernon Lee Joe Defense Committee, 820 Kilby Avenue, Suffolk, VA 23434.

## Court rules against strip searches

On April 22, prisoners at Great Meadow Correctional Facility in New York won a victory against strip searches. A district court in Manhattan ruled that the searches, which were performed routinely at the prison, should be restricted to cases where it can be shown that there is reason to believe the search is necessary. Prisoners at Great Meadow had been forced to go through these searches every time they had a visit!

The decision was the result of a suit filed by Michael X. Hurley, a prisoner at Great Meadow at the time. For refusing to submit to degrading strip searches, Hurley was beaten many times by prison guards while at Great Meadow, as well as when he was at Comstock and Auburn. Hurley told the *Torch/La Antorcha* that to cover its crimes, the state is planning to try him on eight counts of assault on prison guards. This could add 30 years to his current sentence.

Judge Robert Carter, who decided the case, described what the searches were like. Prisoners, he stated, "are required to open their mouths, wag their tongues, turn and show the bottoms of their feet and spread their toes." The judge didn't mention the fact that strip searches include an inspection of a prisoner's genitals and rectum.

In eight years of subjecting countless brothers to this form of harassment, the prison big shots had one bit of "contraband" to show for it—one marijuana cigarette!

A spokesperson for the Prisoners' Legal Services stated that they were going to try to get this decision extended throughout all New York prisons. The victory sets a precedent that other prisoners can use to fight to stop routine strip searches elsewhere.

**Stop the Strip Searches!**  
**Drop the Charges Against Michael X. Hurley!**

## Gay prisoner framed

Doyle (Blue) Turner, a prisoner at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, is being held in segregation. He was framed for "fighting with a guard." In fact, Turner is being harassed because he is a gay prisoner and one of the founding members of Men Against Sexism (MAS). This is the only gay rights organization within any prison in the United States.

In order to make an example of Turner, a guard, officer Mason, attacked him in early June. Thirty prisoners witnessed the attack. These prisoners all handed in statements to Men Against Sexism, stating that they saw what happened and that Turner fought in self-defense. The administrators of the prison have refused to honor these statements. Men Against Sexism has distributed leaflets requesting support for Doyle Turner. Letters of protest can be sent to: Governor Dixy Lee Ray, Olympia, WA 98504.

\*\*\*

**IN BRIEF . . .** On July 12, Joan Little pleaded guilty to escape charges and was sentenced to six months to two years in addition to her current seven-to-ten-year sentence. Little, fearing for her life, escaped from a North Carolina Correctional Center for Women last October, but she was recaptured in Brooklyn, New York, two months later . . .

On July 3, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a new ruling on the death penalty. As a result, the Ohio death penalty was ruled unconstitutional. This affects nearly 100 prisoners, including Carl Osborne, now on Ohio's death row.

—FH



Protest at Green Haven prison supported August 8th Brigade, demanded end to KKK attacks.

# Protests at Green Haven Hit Repression

On July 1, over 100 militants demonstrated in front of Green Haven Correctional Facility in Stormville, New York. Several organizations, including the Revolutionary Socialist League, joined forces in the Emergency Committee to Demand Rights for Green Haven Prisoners and sponsored the action. Raising clenched fists, the demonstrators chanted "Free the August 8th Brigade—Smash the KKK" and "The Guards and Klan Work Hand-in-Hand."

## Prisoners hold silent protest

While the demonstrators marched past stony-faced guards blocking the prison driveway, the prisoners staged a solidarity action inside the walls. They held a

silent lunch-time protest—nearly 100 percent effective—as part of the day's show of unity. This was the second silent lunch in as many months. The first protest followed the murder of Brother Musa. Prisoners filed into the mess hall but nobody said a word.

The demonstration was called to protest the growing repression at Green Haven. On May 3 a Latin prisoner, Pedro Juan Arroyo, died in the hospital of malnutrition. A week later, Musa Abdul Mu'Min, a Sunni Muslim, was burned to death in his cell by racist guards. Since then, members of the August 8th Brigade have been threatened by Klan guards.

## Sister speaks on women prisoners

After the march, a rally was held across from the main guard checkpoint. Individuals and speakers representing groups addressed the marchers. Diara, a sister active in prisoner work, spoke about struggles of women prisoners at Bedford Hills. She denounced the physical and sexual abuse directed at women

prisoners, especially by white racist male guards against Black and Latin women

## "There is a war . . ."

Rod Miller of the RSL also spoke at the rally. The *Times Herald Record* (a Middletown, New York, paper) quoted Miller: "There is a growing prisoner struggle across the country. There is a war between the ruling class and the oppressed poor." Pointing to the prison compound several hundred yards away, he said, "Those inmates are prisoners of that war."

Miller then read a message of solidarity issued by the August 8th Brigade. The message read in part:

"The struggles inside the prisons and those on the outside are one and the same. We are all fighting one common enemy. Together we will build a strong and powerful movement, united and determined to tear down the walls of oppression wherever they exist.

"The key to survival is unity. If we all unite, we will achieve where many have failed. Forward to victory!"

## To Our Readers in Prison:

The August 8th Brigade needs your support. The New York State prison keepers are trying to railroad the Brigade members on charges stemming from the rebellion at Napanoch prison last year.

The conditions that sparked the rebellion at Napanoch, including racist harassment and brutality by KKK guards, are similar to those in prisons across the country. The brothers who rose up at Napanoch were striking a blow for all prisoners. Now, the state has singled out 10 brothers to serve as examples.

We cannot let this happen. The *Torch/La Antorcha* asks all our prisoner readers—here and abroad—to write letters of solidarity to the Brigade. This is a concrete way of demonstrating that the brothers of the August 8th Brigade are not alone. Send letters to:

August 8th Brigade Defense Committee  
PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036

## Support the Prisoner Literature Fund

In the past year, the *Torch* has greatly expanded its coverage of prisoners' struggles. The number of prisoners who read the *Torch* and correspond with the Revolutionary Socialist League has also increased significantly. The RSL provides revolutionary literature to prisoners to the extent that we can. Also, large numbers of prisoners receive free subscriptions to the *Torch*.

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

Send contributions to: Prisoner Literature Fund, P.O. Box 562, New York, N.Y. 10036.

# FREE THE AUGUST 8th BRIGADE

The trials of the August 8th Brigade are scheduled to start soon. The Brigade and the Revolutionary Socialist League are stepping up their efforts to organize a militant defense. The August 8th Brigade Defense Committee has been formed to co-ordinate the struggle to free the 10 indicted brothers. To build this struggle, people need to know who the Brigade are and why they are being tried.

## Join the Fight!

4) Unconditional amnesty for all involved in the rebellion.

The rebellion ended when the prison officials agreed verbally to meet the prisoners' demands. But once the hostages were released, the prison keepers broke their promises. Troopers and guards retook the prison and attacked the prisoners, beating them and putting them in keep-lock. None of the demands were met.

Forty-three of the prisoners were selected at random and charged with various violations of prison regulations as a result of the rebellion. The 43 were shipped to Sing Sing prison where they were held in isolation, not even allowed to see their lawyers for a week. While at Sing Sing, these prisoners formed the August 8th Brigade. Charges against some of the 43 were dropped. Others spent time in the "box" and lost "good time." In the end, 10 brothers — the August 8th

Brigade—were indicted on felonies, including first degree riot, coercion and assault. If convicted, they will get 7-15 years added to their current sentences. The August 8th Brigade defense centers on these 10 prisoners: Andre Nieves; Eddie Pacheco, Hector Semidey; Enrique Suarez; Frank Abney; Felix Castro; Lorenzo Perez; Ronald Tacardon; Jacques Roberts; Luis Torres.

Since the rebellion, the Brigade has faced continuing harassment. After being held at Sing Sing, the 43 prisoners were transferred to Green Haven and the eight Latin prisoners were placed on his cell block! While at Green Haven, the Brigade's mail has been tampered with, visitors have been harassed and even denied entry on the whim of the guards. Brigade members are thrown into the "box" or keep lock for minor infractions. Their cells have been searched and personal possessions, stolen by the guards. One Brigade member, Hector Semidey, is being framed on a trumped up assault charge.

In March a court order forced the state to transfer the 10 indicted Brigade members to Green Haven so they could prepare their defense.



Sergeant Sluka, one of the racist KKK guards and a specific target of the rebellion, was also transferred to Green Haven and the eight Latin prisoners were placed on his cell block!

While at Green Haven, the Brigade's mail has been tampered with, visitors have been harassed and even denied entry on the whim of the guards. Brigade members are thrown into the "box" or keep lock for minor infractions. Their cells have been searched and personal possessions, stolen by the guards. One Brigade member, Hector Semidey, is being framed on a trumped up assault charge.

These attacks on the Brigade are part of the growing racist activities of KKK members and sympathizers who are guards at Green Haven over last month's Torch/La Antorcha riot details. The Klan has been organizing aggressively in New York prisons for several years. If there were any KKK members in the August 8th Brigade, they would be the first to be thrown into the "box" or keep lock for minor infractions. Their cells have been searched and personal possessions, stolen by the guards. One Brigade member, Hector Semidey, is being framed on a trumped up assault charge.

### Who is the Brigade?

On August 8, 1977 over 200 prisoners took control of the B-3 Block and other parts of the Eastern Correctional Facility at Napanoch, New York. The prisoners took 14 hostages and held the prison for 12 hours. The demands of the rebellion were:

- 1) An end to unsanitary mess hall conditions, and a decent diet.
- 2) Firing of suspected Klan members, sergeants Budd and Sluka.
- 3) Passage of the "good time" bill for parole reform.

## AMERICA— You Lied to Us!

The following was written by Hector "Scorpio" Semidey. Scorpio is a member of the August 8th Brigade. The Brigade, 10 Latin and Black prisoners, is currently awaiting trial on charges stemming from last year's rebellion at Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York.

\*\*\*\*\*

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
You told us if we came here many new things would change and improve our lives, cleaner air and fresher water. You told us of a "Heaven" where opportunity existed for everyone, where every man was an equal man. You told us to come and see this "Heaven" which was supposed to be better than Puerto Rico. You told us that eventually our island would become self-governing.

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
To my father, you promised him a job, where eight hours a day is enough! Where a union would protect his rights. Where taxes from his pay would supply good books for us his children. A protected neighborhood. The garbage collected five days a week. A house that was well-built. A place for his children to play. Television to entertain "mama" after the house cleaning was done. You promised my father Social Security, Pension Plan, union benefits, life insurance.

But instead you gave him: A list of unemployment agencies; An apartment held up by matches; Enough credit cards for a lifetime; Shit; Plenty of rats and roaches; Schools where human beings are dissected, injected and infected instead of frogs; A television and newspaper which controls and fools him every day before going to be a slave at work.

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
To my mother you promised: A sewing machine; A washing machine; A hair dryer machine; A rug cleaner machine; A blender machine and television. You told her if she changed her hair color, face color, fingernail polish, changed from dresses to skirts, from low shoes to high heels, that she would be accepted and invited to all the cocktail parties.

Instead you gave her: A bottle full of birth control pills; A list of welfare investigators to call up; A new book—"Cooking the American Way"—the only way—so

you said! A bag of rollers with no bobby pins; A dress with no seams; A winter coat with no warm lining. You gave her a bottle of "Puerto Rican Rum" and two packs of cigarettes to keep her satisfied.

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
To my brother you promised: If he went to "Vietnam" and killed lots of "gooks," that when he came back (if he ever did come back) that his family would receive more as citizens, that his G.I. Bill would be welcome by any "Real Estate Office" or any "University." He would now live a more decent and better life than the average person!

Instead you gave him: An unremovable bullet in his right leg; A needle full of dope in his left arm; A stick of pot in his pocket; A book in his reach entitled "How to still be a pusher and steal from your mother and never get caught;" The American flag sewn to his chest; Chains from his ankles leading him to the closest "Prison," where he will be left to die and rot.

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
To my sister you promised: Baby dolls to play with; A kindergarten where she could draw pictures of "Mommy" and "Daddy;" Children who would not realize their accent; A teacher who would look over and watch her experience life.

Instead you gave her: An unhappy christmas; A picture of her dead brother who died in your wars; A school that threw her art and ideas in the garbage pail; And a doll that died from lead poison!

**AMERICA YOU LIED TO US!!!**  
To me you promised: An education; A future and easier life than my parents; A house in the suburbs with my beautiful taina wife! A professional job. You gave me a grave on a grassy lawn. You promised "OPPORTUNITY"!!!

**INSTEAD I PROMISE YOU!!!** I will not accept your colonized values. I will not fight your wars, but mine against your imperialism! I will not buy your homes nor your cars. I will teach the ones you call failures. I will inform all my people, people of the Third World, of all your tricks and evils. I will not die in your prison or your slum, but on the battlefield fighting for the **INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO!**

**AMERICA YOU ARE A LIAR!**  
You have lied to all of us, my and our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters. To yourself and to your own children!!!

¡QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!  
¡QUE VIVA LA REVOLUCION!

### "We are freedom fighters"

The August 8th Brigade is a group of 10 prisoners who were arrested during a riot at the Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York, on August 8, 1977. The riot was a result of the prisoners' demands for better conditions and a more democratic prison. The August 8th Brigade is a group of prisoners who are currently awaiting trial on charges stemming from the riot. The August 8th Brigade is a group of prisoners who are currently awaiting trial on charges stemming from the riot. The August 8th Brigade is a group of prisoners who are currently awaiting trial on charges stemming from the riot.

August 8th Brigade  
Defense Committee, PO Box  
524, New York, NY 10036  
212 869-9239

# What Is Socialism?

The following is a reprint of a leaflet published by the Detroit Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee. It appeared in the Warren Stamping Organizer during a recent union election campaign.

Our present elections have raised important questions that workers are beginning to discuss. One of these is—What is socialism?—and what it is not. The Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee feels that lies have been spread about socialism because of fear that change is about to come in our union. The discussion of socialism should continue—not with lies—but with honest, open debate.

## What is socialism?

Socialism is workers taking control of society through a revolutionary struggle against the boss class. It is a workers' government, where workers control factories, banks, institutions and all government functions through workers' councils, democratically elected and run. A workers' government is only possible through workers organizing a mass revolutionary party that has the support of the majority of the working class and oppressed people.

Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. Russia, East Europe, China, Cuba, are not socialist countries. Workers did make a revolution in Russia, forming a workers' government in 1917. But the Russian workers lost power and a state-capitalist class took control by defeating the workers. Today, all these governments exploit and oppress the workers under the name of socialism or communism.

In the U.S., the ruling class uses the defeat of Russian workers—the repressive nature of all the so-called socialist governments—to scare workers into accepting the capitalist system as a lesser evil. By calling these countries socialist or communist, by hiding the history of workers' struggles all over the world, and by red-baiting (socialist-baiting), they hope they can maintain their control over us—their wage slaves.

As the economy gets worse and worse, workers are going to realize that it is us—the workers—against them—the bosses. Who is going to survive? Today it's 10 million unemployed and the government predicts a recession coming. Today 400 miners are murdered through unsafe working conditions during one three-year contract. Today 51 construction

workers fall to their deaths because their bosses cut costs. Today to save workers' lives we need to overthrow the mass murderers—



the capitalist class. It's us against them.

## Our unions—schools for class struggle

Our unions have a key role to play in our class struggle. Every strike, every defensive action to change our conditions for the better, gives us strength and experience—confidence that we can win against the bosses.

The present union leadership prevents us from using our unions for defense. These leaders fear workers organizing militant struggle more than they fear the attacks on us by management. They use red-baiting the same way the bosses do, to divide us, disunite us, and keep our

every gain. Every dime they make, they take from us. Tomorrow they will try to squeeze us bloodless. To defend ourselves we must organize ourselves on the shop floor and build a democratic union. That is the beginning. But to win the fight for what the working class needs, we will have to take up arms, build a workers' army, lead a workers' revolution that will bring us to power a workers' government, collective, cooperative, democratic, will do away with the boss class, its racism, sexism, oppression and dog-eat-dog mentality. Workers will decide democratically how workers will live, what society values, and what is produced. That is socialism.

## For a workers' government

A workers' government would provide jobs for all who need them by dividing up all the work among those who are available to do it. It would rebuild the cities providing jobs at decent union wages. Putting everyone to work at meaningful jobs would shorten the work week, giving workers time to develop full, creative and worthwhile lives. Culture, education, health and well-being in a cooperative society. That is socialism.

For more information write to: Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee, PO Box 302, Detroit, MI 48221.

unions undemocratic. Who benefits by workers fighting each other? **Management.** And if "reds" can be driven from our unions, make no mistake, so can Blacks, Jews, gays, and militant fighters.

## We must fight

History has proven that the capitalists will give us nothing. We have to fight for

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE



## Pennsylvania miners wildcat

Although the national coal strike has been over for several months, the struggle in the coal fields is not. At the end of May, the miners' roving pickets were at work again in Pennsylvania. On May 31 and June 1, 31 miners from United Mine Workers (UMW) union Local 1880, organized in roving pickets, brought out 7,500 miners in UMW District 2 to support 1880's local strike against the North Cambria Fuel Company and the E. P. Bender Company.

Local 1880 struck these companies two weeks earlier because they refused to sign an agreement under which they would continue paying pension money into the central UMW trust fund. North Cambria and E. P. Bender are demanding the right to set up individual company pension funds instead. They want to use these company pension funds as a club over the miners by tying the future of the funds to the profitability of the mines.

UMW President Arnold Miller was on the scene by June 2. Under pressure from Miller, and the rest of the International leadership, district and local bureaucrats gradually broke up the roving pickets and got most of the miners back to work within a week.

## PO strike deadline nears

On July 12, over 6,000 postal workers demonstrated in front of the U.S. Postal Service (USPS) headquarters in Washington, D.C. A Brooklyn postal clerk said: "The no-layoff clause, that's what I'm here about. I hear that the post office wants to lay off 100,000 workers."

Layoffs and wages are the main issues at stake in the negotiations going on in Washington between USPS management and postal unions representing 540,000 workers. The unions are demanding a 14 percent annual wage increase. This is double the amount the Carter Administration has ordered its negotiators to accept.

Management and the union leaders are reported to be a long way from reaching an agreement and the current union contract expires July 20. The union ranks are demanding a strike if no settlement is reached. Moe Biller and Vincent Sombrotto, the two top union officials from New York City locals, have openly threatened strike action.

## Reinstate Romeo 17!

The struggle to reinstate 17 fired workers at Ford's Romeo Tractor plant in Michigan continues. The 16 men and one woman were fired for their part in an 11-day wildcat in May at the Romeo plant. The wildcat broke out over speedup, management harassment, and a backlog of 900 grievances.

Rank-and-file militants of United Auto Workers Local 400 organized the Committee To Bring 'Em Back to coordinate the defense campaign. Four hundred workers showed up at a recent union meeting to demand a strike vote. The Romeo workers want a strike to get back the jobs of the 17 and to get action on the issues which sparked the wildcat. In the meantime, workers in many departments have organized production slowdowns to keep the pressure on management.

The Committee To Bring 'Em Back has been very successful in selling buttons to finance its organizing and give some help to their fired brothers and sister. Over 800 buttons were sold in the plant.

The Revolutionary Auto Workers Committee (RAC) has been spreading the word of the Romeo struggle to auto plants in Detroit, Chicago and New York. Locals 909 and 1200 in Detroit have sent letters of solidarity to the committee.

The International officers and the Local 400 officials are doing their best to sabotage the struggle. They have stalled on the strike vote which they promised within two weeks after the end of the wildcat. They have also kept the ranks in the dark about the state of negotiations with the company. The local president even failed to show for a meeting where 20 workers presented a petition of 1,000

signatures demanding that he call a strike vote as promised.

## NYC: Hacks sabotage strike vote

On July 6, New York City Transit Workers Union (TWU) members from the main bus and subway bargaining unit rejected the contract proposal offered by the union leadership. The vote was 10,825 against ratification to 8,506 in favor. This was in fact a strike vote. Earlier, TWU membership passed a "no contract, no work" motion unanimously.

Matthew Guinan and the other TWU bureaucrats, however, are trying to ignore and suppress the strike vote. They are taking the votes from five other smaller bargaining units and are lumping them all together for the final count. In this way, they came up with 12,049 for ratification, and 11,509 against.

Each of these bargaining units have separate contracts. Unlike the main bus and subway unit, which comes under State of New York management, some of these units negotiate with private transportation companies. Some of them got better contracts than the state-employed bus and subway workers.

The bus and subway workers are opposed to their particular contract on two counts. The wage package under the proposal will lead to a drop in real wages. It contains less than three percent a year in across-the-board new money. It also delays implementing a new cost-of-living formula until the contract is nearly expired. The rank and file is also against a provision allowing the state to hire up to 200 part-time workers to operate the subway change booths. Along with speedup and attrition, this proposal is a major attack on the job security of subway workers.

On July 7, a group representing 600 subway workers, the Revenue Collectors Benevolent Association, got a court injunction challenging the TWU officials' method of counting the ratification votes. As a result, the ballots and membership lists have been impounded by the court.

# UNION BUREAUCRATS BOMB OUT— Labor Law Reform Stalled

By PAUL ALDRIDGE

On June 22, the U.S. Senate voted to return the Labor Law Reform Bill (S.2467) to the Human Resources Committee. This vote was a major defeat for the leaders of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) union. The bill was the bureaucrats' main legislative priority for 1978.

The Labor Law Reform Bill is an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. This act set up the government's control of labor/management relations, including the National Labor Relations Board which supervises union elections and settles cases dealing with illegal employer practices. The new bill was supposed to speed up union organizing and strengthen penalties against labor law violators.

The bill was sponsored by senators Harrison A. Williams (D-NJ) and Jacob Javits (R-NY). President Carter and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia also added their endorsements. But supporters of the bill were unable to break a 19-day filibuster, which was organized by the opposition to prevent the bill from coming to a vote.

Leading the filibuster was Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) and Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah). Six separate votes were taken to end the filibuster. The last tally fell two votes short of the 60 votes necessary to stop the debate. Since S.2467 was sent back to committee, sponsors can't reintroduce it until after July 15. But it is unclear whether the bill will ever get out of committee. If it does, it will certainly be more watered down than the current version.

Although the present version of S.2467 includes a number of provisions that

*The bureaucrats are afraid that any movement of workers might get out of control and offend their liberal-capitalist friends.*

strengthen the ability of workers to combat anti-union bosses, it is not supportable. On the one hand, the bill would expand the rights of union organizers, increase the penalties against companies that refuse to bargain in good faith or fire union activists, and speed up union elections (see box for specifics). By themselves, these reforms would be useful in organizing unorganized workers

## Bill attacks miners

On the other hand, the bill opens wildcat strikes to new attacks by the capitalists and their courts in exchange for these concessions. S.2467, if it became law, would give the courts the green light to bust up any picket line that is not authorized by the official union leadership or any strike that violates the contract. In addition, it would subject any worker who refuses to scab on the picket line to legal penalties.

The main target of this section is the rank-and-file miners' movement. The miners have used roving or "stranger" pickets to spread wildcat strikes in the coalfields for years. The bosses have been unable to stop them. If the Labor Law Reform Bill were passed, it would make it that much easier for the coal bosses to attack the miners.

The willingness of the labor bureaucrats to stab the rank-and-file miners in the back is of a piece with the

approach they took to reforming the labor laws. From the very beginning, the hacks devoted their resources to drumming up support from the capitalist politicians and bosses. And to try to win their support, the bureaucrats tailored the bill to fit the interests of these enemies of the working class.

For example, in exchange for the support of President Carter, the sponsors of the bill deleted a provision which would have struck down section 14b of the Taft Hartley Act. Section 14b allows states to pass right-to-work, union-busting laws, which make the union shop illegal. Eliminating 14b would have opened the door to organizing thousands of unorganized workers in the South and Southwest, but it was traded away for Carter's support.

In general, the bill was weakened at each step in the law-making process. The version of the bill that passed the House of Representatives promised double back-pay for workers illegally fired for union activities. This was softened in the Senate to the present time-and-a-half minus interim earnings. Almost every section went through the mill in the bureaucrats' efforts to buy new support.

## Union hacks scared to mobilize ranks

The union bureaucrats got involved in this horse-trading because they refused to mobilize rank-and-file union members to support the bill. Facing no pressure from organized rank-and-file workers, the capitalist politicians held all the cards. As a result, they were able to dictate their terms for backing the bill.

The AFL-CIO spent \$2.5 million on ads, studies, and postcards to build their lobbying campaign. Not once did they even try to mobilize the rank and file to support the bill, other than to write their congressperson.

The main reason for this is that the bureaucrats are afraid that any movement of workers might get out of control and offend their liberal-capitalist friends. Doris Hardesty, the deputy chief of the AFL-CIO Labor Law Task Force, flatly rejected any kind of mass mobilization of the labor movement. She pointed to the 1975 March for Jobs in Washington, D.C. The demonstration was sponsored by the AFL-CIO, but it "got out of hand." During a speech by Senator

Hubert Humphrey, union members spilled out into the field and shouted down Humphrey. Hardesty said: "That's the kind of thing that deters us from that type of tactic."

In other words, the bureaucrats realize that any attempt to mobilize the union rank and file holds the danger of breaking outside the narrow confines of what is acceptable to the capitalists. Since these hacks are loyal to the capitalist system, they don't want a bunch of militants to start any real fight.

Instead, George Meany the president of the AFL-CIO, bought a half-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal*. The ad was entitled: "Open Letter to American Business Leaders." The main thrust was, "Since S.2467 doesn't really mean that much any way, why oppose it?"

Behind the defeat of S.2467 was a \$5 million campaign organized by the

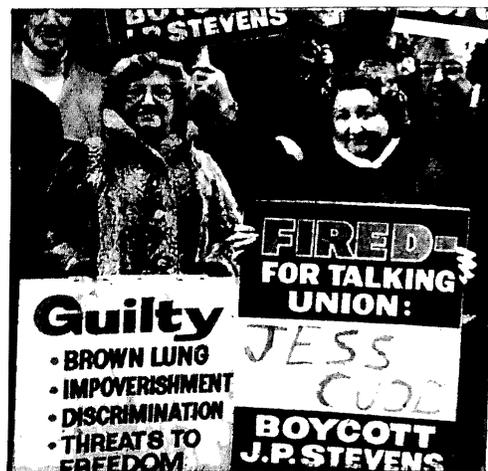
The defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill underlines the declining strength of the organized labor movement. This can be seen in two ways.

First the AFL-CIO is losing members. In the last two years, the union federation has lost over 500,000 members. At the same time, unions are losing more representation elections than they are winning. Last year only 46 percent of the union elections ended with a union victory.

Second, the defeat highlights the decline of the AFL-CIO's political clout. In the past the union bureaucrats were able to wheel and deal with the capitalist politicians. In return for votes they were able to win certain concessions. But this is changing. The defeat of S.2467 followed a defeat in March of the common situs picketing bill and a previous defeat of a union supported measure to tie increases in the minimum wage to the rise in the cost of living.

## Drive the bureaucrats out of unions

Instead of playing ball with the labor bureaucrats



Pickets demand unionization of J.P. Stevens Co., "U.S.'s worst labor law violator."

National Action Committee. The National Action Committee represents over 500 corporations and trade associations. The main line of its right-wing, anti-union campaign was to "weaken the stranglehold of Big Labor."

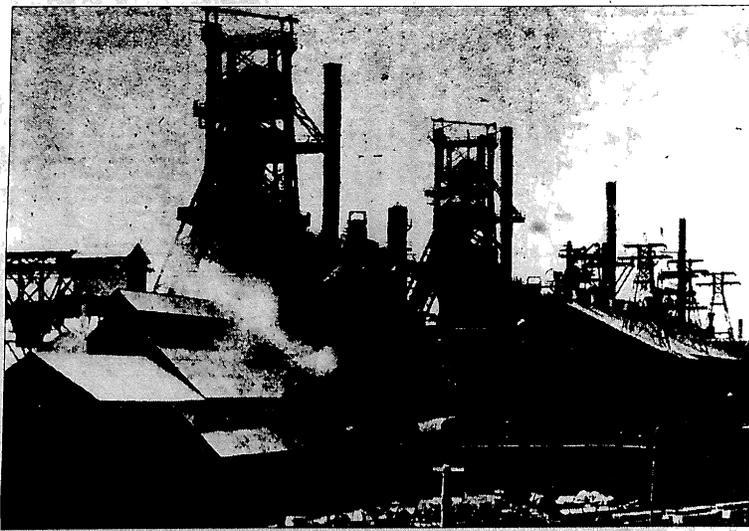
When the bill was defeated, Senate opposition leader Orrin claimed: "Small business has won the biggest victory in history." This is bull. In fact, the driving forces behind the defeat of S.2467 were the same huge monopolies that control the U.S. economy. In addition to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Right-to-Work Committee, and the National Association of Manufacturers, the Business Roundtable played a major role in defeating the bill. The Business Roundtable includes such "small businessmen" as General Electric's chairman, Reginald Jones, and Dupont's chief executive, Irving Shapiro. Citibank, Chase Manhattan Bank, Exxon and General Motors are also represented.

the politicians are increasingly looking to the right-wing forces. While the bureaucrats are afraid of mobilizing the rank and file of the union, the right-wing politicians are organizing support for their own causes. As U.S. capitalism sinks further into crisis and the right wing grows, the so-called friends of labor in Congress will become even less willing to support any concessions at all to the labor movement.

In order to win real gains, the labor movement must break from the bureaucrats' policy of relying on the capitalist politicians. Militant and revolutionary workers in the trade unions must fight to expose the collaboration of the union hacks and the capitalists. Further, the rank-and-file workers must organize to drive the bureaucrats out of the unions. These sellouts must be replaced with a revolutionary leadership which is ready to build a real fight based on what the working class needs — not what the capitalists are willing to give. □

Briefly outlined below are the major provisions of the Labor Law Reform Bill.

- Expansion of the National Labor Relations Board from five to seven members.
- Limited access for union organizers to recruit workers in non-work areas during non-work times on company property.
- Increased compensation for workers who are illegally fired for union activities. Victimized workers now receive straight back pay. Under the Reform Bill, workers would receive one and a half times their back pay minus whatever money was earned in the meantime.
- A 35-day limit on the time between notification for a union representation election and the actual voting. It now takes up to eight months for elections to be held.
- The bosses would have to repay workers for any money lost due to a refusal to bargain with the recognized union.
- Federal contracts would be taken away from companies that violate the labor laws. However, the contracts would be returned once the fines or damages are paid.
- Broadened court jurisdiction to stop wildcat strikes.
- Other minor sections limited the NLRB's ability to overturn union elections due to misinformation from the boss, expanded the options open to conscientious objectors to union membership, and enlarged the NLRB staff.



# Capitalism Causes Cancer

Over 400,000 people in the U.S. will die from cancer before the year is out. Cancer kills more people than any other single cause except heart attacks. At present rates, one out of every four people in the U.S. will get cancer at some point in their lives.

Cancer is a slow, painful and ugly way to die. With lung cancer, for example, you first notice a shortness of breath. You get tired and listless because your lungs are not able to supply your body with the oxygen it needs. As the cancer eats away at your lungs, you develop a painful cough and eventually start spitting up blood. You lose weight.

In the later stages of cancer, you are too weak to move about and become bed-

ridden. You can lose control of your bowel movements and your bladder. Breathing is almost too painful to bear. The cancer may spread through your bloodstream and attack other parts of your body, including your brain. By the time death approaches, it is a welcome relief.

## Cancer rate on the rise

The rate of cancer is going up each year. In 1975 alone, it shot up 4 percent. About 14,000 more people died of cancer that year than the year before. Since the beginning of the century the rate of cancer has tripled.

Where is this tremendous growth in cancer deaths com-

ing from? For years the capitalist medical establishment claimed that a virus caused cancer and that scientists would find a cure. However, the World Health Organization estimates that environmental factors are the direct cause of 85 percent of all cancer.

Put more simply, cancer is largely a man-made disease. The cancer epidemic is the product of a highly industrialized capitalist society. Capitalist industry is dumping a steady and growing stream of poisonous, cancer-causing waste into our air and water. The Reserve Mining Company in Minnesota, for example, has emptied 67,000 tons of iron-ore wastes into Lake Superior every day for the past 22 years. This waste contains billions of cancer-causing asbestos fibers which get mixed into one of the country's largest sources of drinking water.

The capitalists process much of the food we eat, cosmetics we use, and clothes we wear with cancer-causing substances. Medical authorities in many areas are now advising mothers not to breast feed their babies because their own milk may be contaminated.

## Workers the main victims

Industrial workers are among the worst victims of the cancer epidemic. The list of cancer-causing substances which threaten workers is staggering. Chromates, used in paints, cause lung cancer. Rubber workers get leukemia (cancer of the white blood cells) from contact with benzene. Workers exposed to inorganic arsenic get lung and liver cancer. Arsenic is a basic material in over 40 jobs, from tinting windshields to spraying roses. For 80 years, benzidine (used in dye making) has been known to cause cancer of the bladder. It is still widely used

Sometimes entire industrial communities are affected. People in copper smelting towns, for example, have a high rate of lung cancer. In three Ohio towns where vinyl chloride is used in industry, investigators have reported a "mysterious" number of deaths from cancers of the central nervous system. Every industry has its own special brands of cancer which attack and eat away different parts of your body.

## Government does nothing

What is being done about all of this? The federal government has four agencies which are responsible for protecting the public from cancer-causing substances. One of these, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), has existed for six years. In that time it has managed to "regulate" 17 cancer-causing substances present in industry and other places of business. That's 17 out of a total of more than 1,500 cancer-causing substances identified to date. The government's General Accounting Office estimates that it would take more than a century to catch up at this snail's pace.

Even where the government is involved in "regulation" of cancer-causing sub-

capitalists from poisoning us. The penalties for poisoning the environment are often so light that corporations find it more profitable just to pay the fine and keep on breaking the law.

## Cancer means profits for capitalists

The reason the government and its agencies like OSHA allow this to happen is that they exist to protect the interests of the capitalists. The whole system is built on the profits that come from the exploitation of the working class.

It would cost lots of money and cut into the capitalists' profits to develop production processes which don't use cancer-causing chemicals, safe disposal of poisonous wastes and thorough testing of new chemicals for possible health dangers. But profits are essential to the capitalist system, and the lives of working people are expendable. Workers who are crippled or killed can always be replaced from the millions of unemployed. So under the cover of "free enterprise," the capitalists are permitted to murder 1,000 of us every day with cancer-causing industrial waste.

It does not have to be this way. Industrial production could be made safe and the



## Anti-Nuke Forces Rally at Seabrook

On June 25, 20,000 people rallied in Seabrook, New Hampshire, to protest the construction of a nuclear power plant. The Clamshell Alliance and other environmentalists organized the protest. Five days later, the federal government ordered construction temporarily halted while the safety of the plant's cooling system is reviewed.

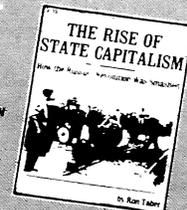
Unlike last year's occupation of the construction site which led to 1,500 arrests, the alliance leadership opted for a legal protest worked out with the state authorities. Many of the alliance rank and file favor mass civil disobedience tactics to disrupt further work on the plant. These militants denounced the leadership's deal with the state as a sellout. They see it as part of an attempt to force the anti-nuke movement into legalistic channels.

## League Pamphlets



#1: Maoism and the Soviet Union: How the RCP Supports State Capitalism... \$1.50

#2: State Capitalism: How The Russian Revolution Was Smashed... \$1.35



#3: China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line... \$1.25

**ORDER TODAY!**

SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:

RSL, PO Box 562,  
New York, NY 10036.

stances, it merely tries to reduce the risk. "Regulation" does not aim to eliminate the danger to workers and others. And when safety standards are ordered, it does not mean they are enforced.

The federal agencies bend over backward to help industry avoid legal prosecution. On June 27, OSHA decided to allow the oil, chemical, rubber and steel giants to expose workers to five times as much cancer-causing benzene as the original regulation allowed. These industries now have until 1981 before the old standard goes back into effect.

Furthermore, even enforcement doesn't stop the

cancer epidemic stopped. For this to happen, however, socialist revolution is necessary. The working class must take control of industry and science away from the capitalists, smash the capitalist state and organize our own government.

In the hands of the working class, industry and technology would become tools to free people across the world from hunger, disease and poverty. Workers would democratically decide what is produced and how. By directly controlling all of society the workers could guarantee that the health and safety of all working people are the first priority.

# U.S. IMPERIALISM— OLD DOG, NEW TRICKS!



This is the first part of a talk given by Ron Taber of the Revolutionary Socialist League (U.S.) on U.S. imperialism. The talk was presented to sympathizers and friends of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) in Jamaica. We are reprinting it from Forward, newspaper of the RML.

Since President Carter took over in the U.S., we have seen what appears on the surface to be a shift in U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. supports the white racist government in South Africa, the dictatorship of the Zionist ruling class in Israel, and one dictatorship after another in Chile, Argentina, Santo Domingo, Haiti. Now the U.S. says it is for "an end to the apartheid system," "for peace in the Middle East," and against these dictatorships "because they violate human rights." In the Caribbean, the U.S. tried to overthrow Castro's government in Cuba. But recently, the U.S. is trying to open trade with Cuba. Tourists who for years were not allowed to go to Cuba, are going there. The U.S. was opposed to the government of Michael Manley (prime minister of the People's National Party regime) in Jamaica; they preferred the right-wing Jamaica Labour Party. Recently we've seen moves to support Manley—declarations of friendship, Andrew Young's visit.

## U.S. changes tactics

In fact, very little has changed. The U.S. wants to go on in the way it always has, but because of changes in the consciousness of the people and their struggles,

the U.S. has to follow a different policy around the world to maintain the same old system. To understand this, we have to see the different stages that imperialism went through.

Before the 1880s, Britain was the main capitalist country. Very few countries could be considered capitalist in any developed sense at all. The British Empire was Canada, the Far East, the Middle East, the West Indies, almost all of Latin America. Through the labor of people worldwide, Britain got tremendous profits.

## Imperialists carve up world

Beginning about 1880, other capitalist countries (France, Belgium, Germany and the U.S.) began to become powerful enough to challenge Britain. What developed was a massive scramble to carve up the world's territory. Before 1880 only very small parts of Africa were under the control of the imperialist powers. Twenty years later, Africa was completely carved up; the French got the northern part, the Germans the eastern, and the British, the southern part and parts in the north. From 1880 to 1945, there was a tremendous fight among the imperialist powers as to who should control the world. World Wars I and II were fought over this question.

It's necessary to make clear a few things about imperialism. It's a stage of capitalism. It's an economic system which makes people in one section of the world work for a very small section of people in another part of the world. The U.S. working class is poor, but nowhere

near as poor as it is in Jamaica, Latin America, Africa or Asia. Because of worldwide robbery, U.S. capitalism can afford to pay U.S. workers enough so they don't fight very much, and when they do fight, it's just to improve their situation, not oppose the policy of the government in exploiting the rest of the world. This is one of the key reasons why there has been no worldwide socialist revolution.

As long as U.S. workers were bribed into supporting their government, U.S. capitalists were free to do what they wanted almost anywhere in the world. After

World War II, the U.S. became the largest and most powerful capitalist country. Britain, France, Germany and Japan were destroyed in the war. As a result, the U.S. was able to dominate Latin America and other major capitalist powers. What was new was that the U.S. did not need a formal empire. Everybody could appear free and independent, but the U.S. continued to maintain control. This is called neocolonialism.

Two reasons—why they could give countries independence and still maintain an imperialist system were:

- the U.S. had the biggest army and could send troops anywhere;
- more important its industry was the most powerful—it could produce goods the most cheaply.

Through the power of the economy, aid (credits and loans) that it gave, the U.S. could maintain control. The big U.S. capitalists would build a factory in a country. What's produced in that factory is owned by the U.S. company. The U.S. would get the raw materials and the profits from exploiting the workers. Take trade: Prices of goods made in places like the Caribbean tend to go down. Prices of goods in the U.S.—like TVs—tend to go up. So money goes from almost every country in Latin America, Africa and Asia to

the U.S. big capitalists. They can afford to pay the workers a little bit more to keep them from "destroying the system." It's indirect, but it's the same old relationship.

In country after country during the 1950s and '60s, people rose up in guerrilla war, strikes and demonstrations, and won independence. If the U.S. sent troops to Jamaica, people would rise up, guns would get distributed awful fast and there'd be a lot of fire works. The U.S. realizes that and knows that it cannot rule directly.

Also after World War II rivalry between the U.S. and Russia developed (the Cold War). Russia, despite its name of being socialist is a capitalist country. It's as if the Jamaican government took over everything and you continued to work for Jamaica Omnibus Service as if it was one company. Workers get enough to live and the capitalists—in this case, the government—get everything else.

Not content with plundering the workers and peasants of Russia, it took over Eastern Europe. What you have is two imperialists whose form of imperialism is a little bit different. Because Russia only dominated a small part of the world, they could pretend to be for liberation.

(To be continued)



Soweto students sparked anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

## Anti-Apartheid Movement Grows

By TONY CURZO

Opposition to U.S. support for the racist South African government is gathering strength across the U.S. Recently, the struggle has spread to the college campuses and the trade union movement.

This spring, thousands of college students launched mass protests against apartheid. On March 18, 2,000 students demonstrated at Vanderbilt University, in Tennessee, against South African participation in the Davis Cup tennis matches held there. On April 24, 1,000 Harvard students demanded that the university stop investing in corporations which exploit Black workers in South Africa. Similar protests took place at a dozen other universities.

Now the trade union movement has entered the struggle against apartheid. On June 10, a Bay Area Trade Union Conference on South

Africa was held in San Francisco, with 132 delegates from 64 union locals and 77 observers. The conference passed a series of resolutions condemning continued U.S. support of the racist South African government. It also attacked U.S. corporations which have almost \$2 billion invested in South Africa.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) has begun its own campaign against apartheid. A recent issue of the UAW newspaper, *Solidarity* condemned U.S. investments in South Africa, pointing out that Ford, GM and Chrysler all have large holdings there. The article explained that the UAW is trying to increase its trade union organizing efforts in South Africa, and called on its readers to write the South African government to demand the release of imprisoned and exiled Black trade union organizers.

U.S. corporations are tak-

ing steps to cover up their support of South African racism in response to the growing anti-apartheid movement. Last year 11 companies adopted six principles aimed at improving conditions for workers in their South African plants. These include promises to desegregate eating and work facilities, equal pay for equal work, and increasing the number of Black workers in supervisory positions. Among the signers were corporate giants like General Motors, Ford, IBM and Mobil Oil.

This year Citibank, the second largest bank in the U.S., announced that it would no longer make loans to the South African government. Other banks, like Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, and Morgan Guaranty Trust have not made any loans to the apartheid regime in more than a year.

These actions are important. (Continued on page 17)

SUBSCRIBE TO:  
**FORWARD**

Newspaper  
of the RML

BREAK THE CHAINS AND LET  
WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS RULE!

One year subscription: \$5.00  
ORDER FROM:

Revolutionary Socialist League  
PO Box 562 NY, NY 10036



The following is an interview with members of the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua (SFS). The SFS is a group of Nicaraguan revolutionaries presently living in the United States. They are sympathetic to the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN), an organization fighting to free Nicaragua from the brutal U.S.-backed regime of Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

**Torch:** We would like to know what the principal goals of the Sandinistas for Socialismo en Nicaragua (Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua) are.

**Sandinistas for Socialism.** The principal goal for us is to give our support to the revolutionary struggle for the establishment of socialism in Nicaragua.

\*\*\*\*\*

**T:** Could you tell us something about Somoza and his family?

**SFS:** We think that to talk about the Somoza dictatorship we have to begin by talking about the causes that produced the Somoza phenomenon in Nicaragua. These causes, essentially, are the armed invasions which the North American Empire has carried out against the Nicaraguan people.

For example, the first invasion took place in 1855 with the racist mercenary William Walker, who tried to establish slavery in Nicaragua and annex the Central American territory to the United States of North America.

**The principal goal for us is to give our support to the revolutionary struggle for socialism in Nicaragua.**

ica. The second was in 1909 to overthrow the bourgeois reformist government of Jose Santos Zelaya. Santos Zelaya, with his "nationalist" tendencies, opposed the interests of North American imperialism in the construction of a canal route through Nicaraguan territory. The third was in 1926. This latest one was called by Adolfo Diaz, a lackey of U.S. imperialism, who was at war with the bourgeois fraction of the Liberal Party. This is known in Nicaraguan history as "the Constitutionalist War."

On May 4, 1927 the so-called liberal leaders of the Constitutionalist War sanctioned the armed invasion by the North American Empire. The purpose of the invasion was to supervise presidential elections and end the war on the condition that every Nicaraguan who owned a gun would hand it over to the U.S. Marines in return for \$10. All the leaders of the so-called Liberal Party approved the U.S. armed invasion. All except one—General Augusto Cesar Sandino. Sandino, who always opposed the liberal oligarchy's policy of handing over the country to U.S. imperialism, said no to the intervention. He and 29 peasants began the War of National Liberation, which lasted seven years. During the war, the U.S. government suffered one of its biggest de-

feats, and was expelled from Nicaraguan territory in 1933.

On February 21, 1934, after the leaders of the Nicaraguan conservative-liberal oligarchy had made an agreement with the representatives of U.S. imperialism to convince Sandino to lay down his arms, by order of Anastasio Somoza Garcia and with the approval of U.S. Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane, Sandino was vilely assassinated.

From this date begins in Nicaragua the history of one of the most repressive and criminal dictatorships that the history of the world and of Latin America has known, the dictatorship of Somoza.

After the assassination of General Augusto Cesar Sandino there was a period of lull in the liberation movement. It recovered vitality in the year 1956, with the execution of the dictator father Anastasio Somoza Garcia, at the heroic hands of the Nicaraguan patriot Rigoberto Lopez Perez. From the time of this execution the struggles of the Nicaraguan people have revitalized. And now arises the dynamic figure of the leading revolutionary Marxist, Carlos Fonseca Amador, who took responsibility for organizing the Nicaraguan Marxist revolutionaries and founding what today we know as the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN—Sandinist National Liberation Front).

\*\*\*\*\*

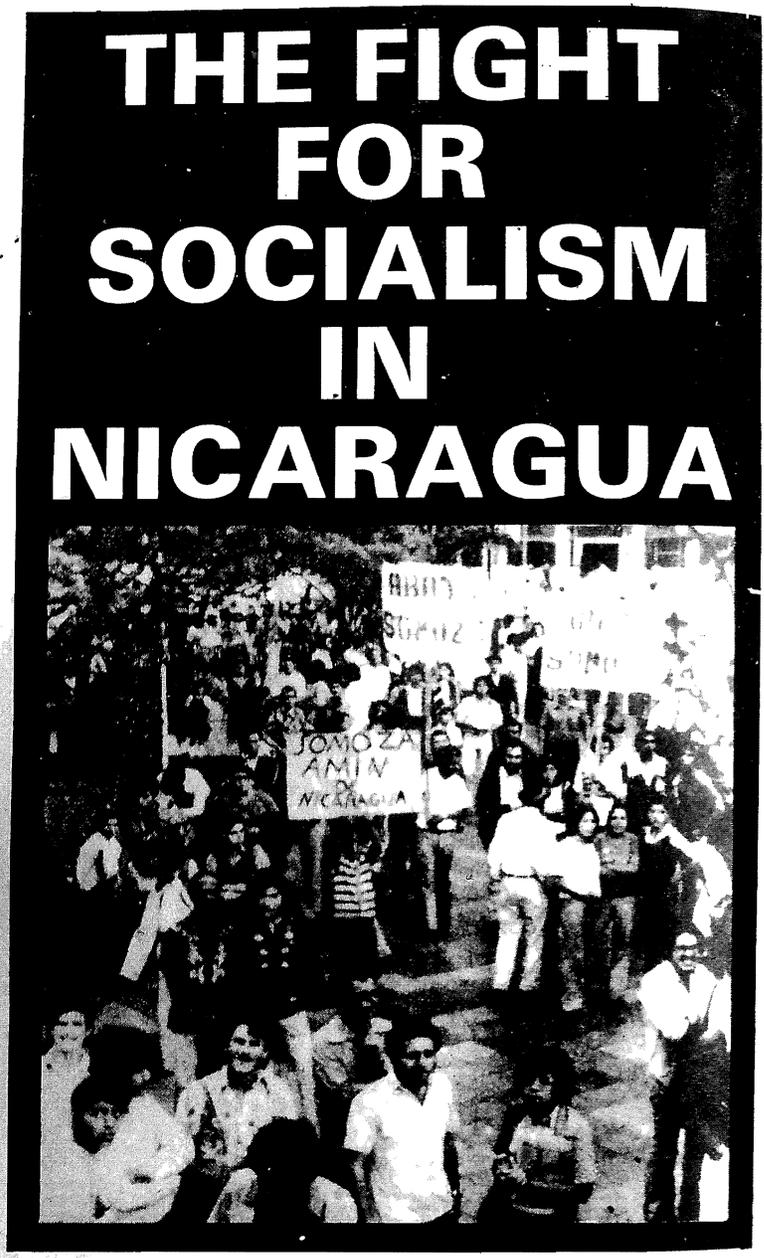
**T:** How did Somoza assume power in Nicaragua and how does he control the country?

**SFS:** Before removing its forces from Nicaraguan territory, U.S. imperialism organized and trained the National Guard of Nicaragua with the explicit objective of replacing the U.S. Marines. From the time of the assassination of Sandino, Somoza makes this national guard his personal instrument. This instrument took him from being the owner of a poor and rickety coffee farm, to become, after less than five years of rule and exploitation of the Nicaraguan working class, one of the richest millionaires in the world. Somoza's rule is based not only on the power of arms, but also on the continuous military and economic assistance that the U.S. government has provided him. "Somoza," as Roosevelt said, "is a son of a whore, but he is our son of a whore."

\*\*\*\*\*

**T:** The Somoza family controls different industries of Nicaragua. Is that correct?

**SFS:** What happens is that the dictator has given his closest relatives the chance to get rich in the shadow of the dictatorship. Each one has taken his share from the Nicaraguan people: through robbery, extortion,



## A TORCH Interview With Nicaraguan Revolutionaries

and assassination; from the "disappearance" of peasants in order to steal their lands, to economic pressure and unfair competition against the rest of the conservative bourgeoisie. As a result, they are masters of almost all the industry 75 percent of the Nicaraguan economic base.

\*\*\*\*\*

**T:** Several months ago there was a strike in Nicaragua. We would like to know, what was the purpose of that strike? With what purpose was it carried out?

**SFS:** In the first place, it was spoken of as an initiative of the "private sector," in response to the so-called unfair competition that Somoza has directed against them. But we maintain that

this strike was already coming, growing in the womb of the struggle of the working class against the dictatorship. The so-called "private sector" sought to assume leadership of the strike as a way to divert the drive, the revolutionary longings of the Nicaraguan people. When they realized that the only thing it was doing was exposing its profits, the bourgeois of the "private sector" decided to end the strike. However, the Nicaraguan working class decided to carry on the strike, up to the point that the strike takes on its truly popular meaning.

\*\*\*\*\*

**T:** The U.S. empire has supported the Somoza dictatorship for a long time and

still does. What event ended the imperialists' support?

**SFS:** With the so-called "human rights" campaign, the government has been obliged to take certain actions that we could show in the face of the events that are developing in Nicaragua. However, we see how he sent Somoza a sum of \$3.1 million among other war materials, 5,000 M-16 automatic rifles and teargas bombs as well as of the 1977-78 budget. On the other hand, the imperialists are considering the possibility of once again supporting the Somoza dictatorship, to be thrown, imposing a new political fraction that would essentially obey the interests.

\*\*\*\*\*



# W With ionaries

ill does. What exact...  
the imperialists do...  
SFS: With the...  
human rights...  
government has seen...  
obliged to take cer...  
ons that we could...  
now" in the face...  
vents that are deve...  
Nicaragua. However...  
ow he sent Somoza...  
\$3.1 million...  
among other war mater...  
000 M-16 automa...  
and teargas bombs...  
the 1977-78 budget...  
in the other hand, the...  
analists are consider...  
possibility of, once...  
za dictatorship...  
rown imposing...  
political fraction...  
essentially obey...  
ists

T: The opposition to Somoza is very large, and it includes big capitalists and small capitalists who are against the Somoza government. What is your opinion of the organizations they control?

SFS: Our position about these organizations is not exactly one of class collaboration. It is a tactical collaboration with regard to the struggle against the dictatorship, but maintaining our ideological position that is, without making ideological or political concessions to the programs they raise.

I think that these tendencies could be united in a front which would include and make possible their direction toward the temporary objective of the revolutionary defeat of the Somoza dictatorship. But at no time, we emphasize, do we permit any of these groups to take under its control the political, ideological, economic and military leadership of the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

\*\*\*\*\*

T: Many of the national liberation groups that are fighting against U.S. impe-



San Francisco demonstration in defense of Nicaraguan liberation struggle.

mean that we are under-rating the urban proletariat. As Marxist-Leninists we realize that the only alliance that makes a revolution possible, and that has made it possible, is the alliance between the workers and the peasants.

\*\*\*\*\*

T: What was the reason the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional split

principles of struggle and program of government proposed by the FSLN before the division happened. This strategy and this program of government has suffered a very significant change that indicates that the danger exists that in this alliance the FSLN's Thirdist fraction may have lost its political and leadership initiative.

\*\*\*\*\*

T: Of those three existing fractions, which is the one with which you identify?

SFS: Before answering this question, let's return to the analysis of the facts that serve us as a guide for determining the causes of this division. It is important to look very closely at the moment of political and economic crisis through which the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is passing as a consequence of the revolutionary rise caused by the guerrilla movement led by the FSLN. The opposition bourgeois begin to call for a

From the time of the division in the FSLN, the concept of the anti-Somoza struggle, and of forming an anti-Somoza popular front, has arisen again. The danger that we see in this anti-Somozaization of the class struggle in Nicaragua is that the Somoza dictatorship is looked at as a phenomenon in itself. It is abstracted from the real structures of economic, political and social oppression and exploitation by the Nicaraguan capitalist class. And this in our conception benefits the interests of internal reaction on the part of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. By anti-Somozaing" the struggle they propose that the only enemy of the Nicaraguan working class is Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and not the Nicaraguan capitalist class, representing the interests of U.S. imperialism. Of course we certainly recognize the existence of this dictatorship, its origins and what its permanence means for the devel-

\*\*\*\*\*

T: What is the political strength of the fraction that represents your political view in Nicaragua?

SFS: We agree with you that we have a representing group in the division of the FSLN right now. We identify ourselves with the revolutionary, who follow the principles of Marxist-Leninism, who are interested in leading a class struggle of the working class in a revolutionary struggle to take power. We believe that there is a fraction of the FSLN that

## In Nicaragua we are not talking about a "progressive bourgeoisie," we are talking about a reactionary bourgeoisie, a client of imperialism.

rialism adopt the strategy of alliance with "progressive capitalists." This is one point of division of the FSLN. One fraction has adopted that strategy, but you don't. Isn't that true?

SFS: Yes. It is not that we oppose it in theory, but from the historical reality of Nicaragua we have learned that the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie made itself ineffective on May 4, 1927. It demonstrated that it doesn't have the least interest in carrying out its historic mission as the revolutionary class. In Nicaragua we are not talking about a "progressive bourgeoisie," we are talking about a reactionary bourgeoisie, a client of yankee imperialism. That's why we maintain that we must reject any alliance with a bourgeoisie that has shown what it is through all its existence.

\*\*\*\*\*

T: We would say that the bourgeoisie is no longer progressive in any way, that you have correctly drawn the lesson from the history of Nicaragua, but that this is equally applicable in the imperialized countries. Should the struggle be centered in the urban proletariat or with the small landowners and peasants in the rural countryside? We would be interested in knowing what your attitude is on this question.

SFS: The conditions that point toward the rural workers of Nicaragua are, first, that they are the majority of the country, the most exploited and the ones that waged the struggle for liberation in the times of Sandino and even in the times of the Spanish colonialists. Of course, does not

into different fractions, what are the fractions that remained, and what does each fraction signify?

SFS: We know that three fractions exist currently. One is known by the name of Prolonged People's War (Guerra Popular Prolongada—GPP). It supports a strategy of struggle against the dictatorship based on a prolonged people's war, during which the military conditions necessary for the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship would develop.

Another fraction is known by the name Historical or Thirdist, which has chosen to organize an anti-Somoza broad front. In this front, all sectors, including those belonging to the bourgeoisie, whose immediate objective may be the overthrow of the dictatorship, would participate.

Finally, there is the fraction known by the name of Proletarian, which proposes the development of a political program of education and organization among the masses of Nicaraguan workers. This would be directed at developing the necessary bases for the creation of a party that would be the leading political base for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Of these three fractions, all are united by their interest in overthrowing the dictatorship. Returning to the reason why this division happened, we see that this points toward the "tactical alliance" that the Thirdist fraction has made with a section of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie known by the name of "los 12" (the 12). This alliance is in direct opposition to "the strategic



Guerrillas of Sandinist National Liberation Front.

united opposition for a national dialog to save the country before the irrepressible force of the revolution.

Then the group representing the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie known by the name of "los 12" decides to make itself the protectors of the Thirdist group—mainly to safeguard its own interests.

opment of the class struggle in Nicaragua. But at no time have we seen the overthrow of the dictatorship as the end of the revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua. Based on historical experiences, and on our proletarian principles, we radically oppose any alliance with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie in which it

agrees with these principles of ours. We don't know exactly which one it is. We support the reunification of the FSLN as the only alternative of the working class to bourgeois reaction, to return to our original strategy of struggle and to return to the original Marxist-Leninist program.

\*\*\*\*\*



Demonstration in defense of Nicaraguan liberation struggle.

are under-  
proletariat.  
ists we rely  
ally alliance  
olution pos-  
as made it  
alliance be-  
rs and the

★  
the reason  
dinista de  
onal split

ie,"  
ary  
lism.

tions, what  
s that re-  
does each

that three  
rently. One  
me of Pro-  
lar (Guerra  
da—GPP).  
strategy of  
e dictator-  
prolonged  
ring which  
litions ne-  
erthrow of  
ictatorship

principles of struggle and program of government proposed by the FSLN before the division happened. This strategy and this program of government has suffered a very significant change that indicates that the danger exists that in this alliance the FSLN's Thirdist fraction may have lost its political and leadership initiative.

★★★★★★

T: Of those three existing fractions, which is the one with which you identify?

SFS: Before answering this question, let's return to the analysis of the facts that serve us as a guide for determining the causes of this division. It is important to look very closely at the moment of political and economic crisis through which the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is passing as a consequence of the revolutionary rise caused by the guerrilla movement led by the FSLN. The opposition bourgeois begin to call for a

From the time of the division in the FSLN, the concept of the anti-Somoza struggle, and of forming an anti-Somoza popular front, has arisen again. The danger that we see in this "anti-Somoza-zation" of the class struggle in Nicaragua is that the Somoza dictatorship is looked at as a phenomenon in itself. It is abstracted from the real structures of economic, political and social oppression and exploitation by the Nicaraguan capitalist class. And this, in our conception, benefits the interests of internal reaction on the part of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. By "anti-Somoza-ing" the struggle they propose that the only enemy of the Nicaraguan working class is Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and not the Nicaraguan capitalist class, representing the interests of U.S. imperialism. Of course we certainly recognize the existence of this dictatorship, its origins and what its permanence means for the devel-

is not sharply distinguished who is who and which of us two—Sandinist revolutionary Marxists or reactionary bourgeois oppositionists—are the ones who set the direction.

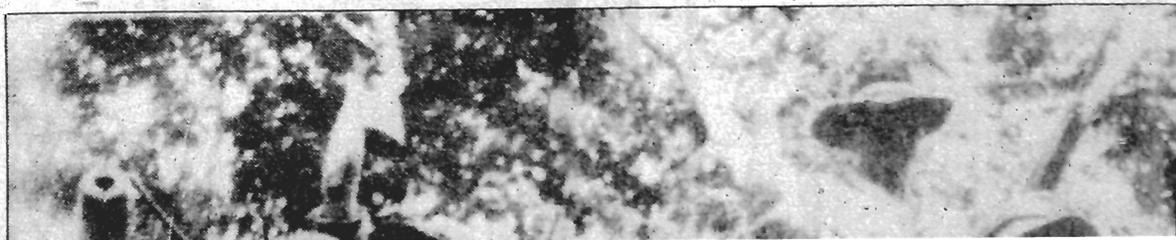
Thus we are confronted by a situation in which the question is: Where is the Thirdist fraction leading the working class now? We see clearly, analyzing the past work of the FSLN, how they always attacked class collaboration. Now in every case they are proposing the creation of a broad anti-Somoza front which would include the opposition bourgeoisie in Nicaragua.

As part of the program that is trying to serve the revolution, they propose the expropriation of the wealth of Somoza. And that is all, essentially, besides proposing various reforms. But what is there about the question of private property? How is it that we try to give more jobs to the people, to the working class, how do we try to create the conditions necessary for the development of socialism while maintaining capitalist structures?

★★★★★★

T: What is the relative strength of the fraction that represents your point of view in Nicaragua?

SFS: We don't consider that we have a representative group in the division of the FSLN right now. We identify ourselves with the revolutionaries who follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism, who are interested in leading a class-conscious working class, in a revolutionary struggle to take power. We believe that there is a fraction of the FSLN that



# Conflict Builds in Southeast Asia

## China and Vietnam Square Off

By CLIFF GORDON

Since the end of March, 140,000 people of Chinese descent have fled Vietnam. They are leaving the country to escape persecution at the hands of the Vietnamese government.

Recently, Chinese people in Vietnam have come under severe pressure from the Stalinist regime in Vietnam. Those who refuse to become Vietnamese citizens have had their food and clothing rations cut. They are also banned from most industrial and agricultural employment, and are also not allowed to travel more than 10 kilometers (six miles) from their homes. In addition, the Vietnamese government has taken over the factories, trading concerns and stores of the ethnic Chinese. In the north, the

Vietnamese government has driven Chinese people living near the Vietnam/China border from their homes. Many of these people in the north and south have been deported to rural areas.

### Why the attacks

There are two reasons for the Vietnamese government's attack on the Chinese community in Vietnam. One, the government is moving to eliminate regular capitalism in the south, and create state capitalism there, as in the northern part of the country. As part of this, they are wiping out the private trading sector, which has been a traditional stronghold of Chinese people in Vietnam and throughout Southeast



Chinese refugees from Vietnam, victims of struggle among state-capitalist rulers.

Asia. Two, the Vietnamese rulers fear that 1.8 million Chinese in Vietnam could become a force working to advance China's interests.

At bottom, the Chinese

community in Vietnam is caught in the middle of a broader conflict between Vietnam and China. This struggle is the continuation of the conflict between the

two countries that has gone on for centuries. The Chinese revolution and the recent victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, which brought state-capitalist governments to power in these countries, did not end the struggle.

During the early stages of the Vietnamese liberation struggle, the China/Vietnam conflict was pushed to the background. But once the tide of the war in Southeast Asia began turning against the U.S. relations between Peking and Hanoi began to sour. In 1971, while the U.S. was still deeply involved in the war against Vietnam, the Chinese warmly received a visit from President Richard Nixon. The Vietnamese correctly saw this move as undermining their military/political position and as a betrayal of the liberation struggle.

### China grabs islands

In 1974 China grabbed the Paracel Islands in the South China Sea, a territory claimed by Vietnam and likely to contain oil deposits. Instead of settling the rival claims through negotiations, (Continued on page 15)

## NEW CLASHES IN LEBANON



Israeli invaders in southern Lebanon, June.

In Lebanon on July 1 heavy fighting broke out between the Syrian army and right-wing Christian militia forces. Syrian troops and artillery wrecked Christian strongholds in Beirut, the national capital. Reports from Lebanon claim that at least 200 were killed in the fighting, with an additional 500 wounded.

The Israeli government quickly stepped in to protect its Christian allies. On July 6, Israeli fighter planes buzzed Moslem residential areas in Beirut. Israeli representatives warned: "We have promised and committed ourselves not to let the Christian population be annihilated in Lebanon." On July 7 the Israeli government reinforced its army positions on the Lebanese border.

The Zionist intervention has forced Syria to call off its military operations. Syria has placed all its military forces on alert, but its troops inside Lebanon are holding their fire. Right now, a shaky truce between the Syrian and Christian forces in Beirut is still in force.

Both the Christians and their Israeli supporters claim they are defending the independence of Lebanon. But in fact Israeli acting through

its Christian allies—is trying to take over Lebanon and turn it into a Zionist satellite.

The origins of this struggle go back to the Lebanese civil war in 1976. At that time, a coalition of Lebanese Moslem leftists and Palestinians came close to driving the minority Christian ruling class out of power. Syria invaded Lebanon to prevent a leftist victory in the civil war. But since then, the Syrian ruling class has patched up its relations with the Palestinian and Lebanese Moslem leaders.

In response, the Israeli imperialists worked out a deal with the Christians. In return for arms and military training, the Christians became the shock troops for the Zionists' imperialist expansion into Lebanon. Thus in March, Israeli troops invaded southern Lebanon and drove out the Palestinian and leftist Lebanese guerrillas. In June, under U.S. pressure, they finally withdrew back into Israel. But they kept control over much of the area by handing it over to Christian forces.

Now the Christian leaders are trying to regain control over the whole country. Lebanese President Elias Sarkis has rebuilt the Le-

banese army with Christian officers who fought against the leftist-PLO alliance in the civil war and collaborated with Israeli troops in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese Front, a coalition of pro-Israeli Christian groups, has demanded that the Palestinians and Syrians get out of the country. In June, right-wing guerrillas murdered Tony Franjeh, a Christian leader who called for cooperating with the Syrians.

The Syrian ruling class can't afford to let the Christians take over. It has to prevent an all-out Zionist takeover of Lebanon because it would seriously undermine its own security. So Syrian President Assad is demanding Moslem-Christian parity in the Lebanese army, and the dismissal of Lebanese army officers who collaborated with the Israeli invasion. When Sarkis refused to agree to these demands, Syria tried to enforce them by attacking the Christian strongholds in Beirut.

### Syrian rulers trapped

Now the Syrian ruling class is caught in a trap. Syria is too weak militarily to take on the Zionist army by itself. It cannot expect support from other Arab states as long as Egypt, the most powerful Arab country, continues to negotiate with the Zionists. And it won't mobilize the Lebanese Moslem militia and PLO guerrillas against the Christian forces. This might lead to a mass uprising against Zionist imperialism in Lebanon and a revolutionary crisis which would threaten every Arab capitalist ruler in the Middle East. So the Syrians are reduced to limiting their actions in Lebanon to what

ever the Zionists will tolerate.

Revolutionaries should support whatever military action the Syrian army may take against the Zionists and their Lebanese Christian mercenaries. But the fundamental role of the Syrian troops in Lebanon remains one of blocking the anti-imperialist struggles of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. The Syrian ruling class marched into Lebanon in the first place to rescue the Christian minority and smash the struggle against imperialism. It will turn its army against the masses whenever they rise up against their oppressors. Revolutionary militants in Lebanon must call on the Syrian workers and peasants to overthrow their rulers and join with them in a struggle to drive Zionist imperialism out of Lebanon. □

## BASIC ANALYSIS OF STATE CAPITALISM

**DOCUMENT OF STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FACTION OF THE RED FLAG UNION**  
(Formerly the Lavender and Red Union)

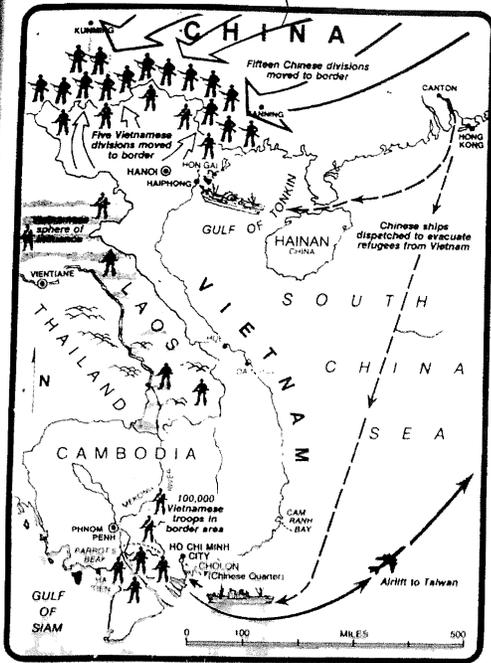
ORDER FROM: RSL, PO BOX 562, New York, NY 10036



(Continued from page 14)  
China took  
Vietnamese  
ment to an  
against the  
regime to  
by force. Ch  
up by an  
series of  
Vietnamese  
ese territory  
Saigon regi  
n 1975 C  
military aid  
in recent  
nam China  
heated up  
Since Janu  
the Vietnam  
war with Ch  
area in an  
this nation  
nation. Wit  
ing Kampuc  
heavy guns  
material, th  
point of the  
rivalry in Ju

## RUS

The state-  
in Moscow  
other jour  
trials. On Ju  
Shcharansky  
dissent, w  
Moscow fo  
"anti-Soviet  
the same da  
known diss  
Ginzburg, w  
city of Kal  
Soviet agit  
Shcharansk  
spying for  
a possible d  
Ginzburg fac  
10 years in  
years of inter  
These trials  
mix of lies an  
pression that  
feature of Ru  
since the rise  
bureaucracy i  
treason cha  
Shcharansky  
based solely o  
had with a U.S.  
charges of "a  
tation" are n  
legal cover fo  
of basic rights  
of speech an  
tion. The main



Behind the conflict between China and Vietnam over control of Southeast Asia is the even more ferocious struggle between China and Russia. These two state-capitalist giants are battling to see who will be the dominant power throughout all Asia.



### Russia backs Vietnam

To further their imperialist designs, the Russians are eager to exploit the rift between Vietnam and China. They back the idea of incorporating Kampuchea and Laos into a Southeast Asian federation under Vietnamese domination. After China ended military aid to Vietnam, Russia made up the difference. And in late June, Vietnam joined the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), the Russian-dominated trading bloc. Russia is reported to be building a naval base at Cat Ba Island outside Haiphong, and to have taken over the old U.S. naval base at Cam Ranh in southern Vietnam. The Russians also have a base at Hon Gai in the north, with missiles trained on targets in China. Russia is gaining a position where it can threaten China with war from the northern and western borders, and the border with Vietnam—a war on three fronts.

The victory of the Stalinists (the fake "Communists") in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos has not brought peace to the working people of Southeast Asia. The state-capitalist regimes in Russia and China are likewise not interested in peace. Now that U.S. imperialism is out of the way, the state-capitalist bosses are turning on each other. They are preparing mass slaughters of working people in new wars of conquest and domination.

### Mexican youth fight police brutality

Seven thousand angry young demonstrators rebelled against police brutality in Matamoros, Mexico, on June 26. They were protesting the murder of 15-year-old Salvador Barrios Barba, who was beaten to death by the cops on June 19 after being arrested for looking suspicious. The town's mayor, who had refused to prosecute the cops, was chased down the streets and pelted with stones and tomatoes. He took refuge in the offices of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the ruling-class political party in Mexico. The youth invaded the place and tore it apart. Then they took over the jail, freed the prisoners, destroyed police records, and they burned the place down.

Mexico's President Jose Lopez Portillo sent hundreds of heavily armed troops into Matamoros to suppress the rebellion. At least three people were killed and 15 wounded in the fighting. The army jailed 43 people, all between 15 and 18 years of age, on suspicions of being anarchists. Despite this repression, the government was forced to back down as a result of the uprising. On June 27, Police Chief Emiliano Toro resigned. Two police commanders, as well as the head of the city jail and his assistant, also gave up their posts. Fifteen cops, including the three responsible for murdering Barrios Barba, were fired. And on June 29, all 43 demonstrators arrested by police were released without charges.

### Shake-up in Ghana's military regime

On July 5, General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong resigned as Ghana's head of state. Lieutenant General Fred W. K. Akuffo was named to succeed him by the military council which rules Ghana. According to a statement by the council, Acheampong resigned to ensure the unity and stability of the country. It is likely, however, that his military cronies decided to dump Acheampong in an attempt to disarm the growing opposition to military rule in Ghana.

Between January and March the government arrested 5,000 militants who opposed Acheampong's rule and set up a "national union government." This proposal was a cover-up for continued military rule. It banned all political parties in Ghana, while leaving real power in the hands of the army and the police. The government won the March referendum by using tactics like banning press and public meetings, shooting down students and demonstrators at the referendum, and throwing barrels of tear gas into the crowd. Right after the referendum, 100 opposition leaders were arrested.

The referendum campaign, therefore, showed that the working class seems to be trying to head off this movement by setting out Acheampong and making a few concessions to the opposition. Akuffo's first act as ruler of Ghana was to release a handful of political prisoners jailed after the referendum. These maneuvers will not fool anybody for long. Despite Acheampong's fall, the military has given up none of its power.

### Basque people rebel

The internationally famous, running of the bulls festival in Pamplona, Spain, exploded into a militant uprising for Basque independence. The rebellion began on July 8, when riot police charged demonstrators calling for the separation of Euzkadi (the Basque country) from Spain. Some 20,000 spectators at the bullring went after the cops, and battles lasted all night. A 27-year-old militant, German Rodriguez, was killed in the fighting. An additional 135 people were wounded, including several cops. Two days later the Basque population went into the streets again. Shouting "Police murderers!" demonstrators in Pamplona took on the cops in street battles throughout the city. In San Sebastian, the chief city of the Basque country, militants set up barricades blocking rail lines and main roads leading out of town. Meanwhile, organizers of the festival in Pamplona declared that it would not resume until riot police were withdrawn from the city. They also demanded the resignation of the provincial governor.

The Basque people are an oppressed nation within northeastern Spain who have been fighting against Spanish domination for centuries. During the Spanish Civil War, the Basques fought heroically for their autonomy against Franco's fascist forces. In recent years, the Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom) have carried on an underground war against Spanish officials and army troops occupying the Basque country. Now Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez's government is inching toward granting the Basques some degree of autonomy. But the Spanish ruling class refuses to grant the Basques real self-determination—the right of the Basque people to choose independence and set up a separate Basque state.

The recent events in Pamplona and San Sebastian underline once again the Basque people's determination to control their own destiny. Revolutionaries should support their struggle.

(Continued from page 14) China took advantage of the Vietnamese army's commitment to an all-out offensive against the puppet Saigon regime to seize the islands by force. China followed this up by announcing that a series of islands off the Vietnamese coast were Chinese territory. As soon as the Saigon regime was defeated in 1975, China stopped all military aid to Vietnam. In recent months, the Vietnam/China struggle has heated up tremendously. Since January of this year, the Vietnamese have been at war with China's ally Kampuchea in an attempt to bring this nation under their domination. With China supplying Kampuchea with aircraft, heavy guns and other war material, this war is a focal point of the China/Vietnam rivalry. In June, 60,000 Viet-

namese troops began a fresh invasion of Kampuchea.

In the same month the Chinese government shut down three Vietnamese missions in China. They have also cut off all economic aid to Vietnam, including 72 development projects and 1,800 technicians. Vietnamese patrol boats have opened fire on Chinese craft off Vietnam's northern coast. The Vietnamese government is building fortified zones in their central mountain region and along the northern border with China. It has also massed five infantry divisions (40,000 to 50,000 troops) along the border. China responded by moving 15 divisions (180,000 to 210,000 troops) into position. Skirmishing along the border has gone on since February.

## RUSSIAN RULERS FRAME DISSIDENTS

The state-capitalist regime in Moscow is preparing another round of frame-up trials. On July 10, Anatoly Shcharansky, a well-known dissident, went on trial in Moscow for treason and "anti-Soviet agitation." On the same day another well-known dissident, Aleksandr Ginzburg, went on trial in the city of Kaluga for "anti-Soviet agitation." Shcharansky is accused of spying for the CIA. He faces a possible death sentence. Ginzburg faces a maximum 10 years in prison and five years of internal exile. These trials have the usual mix of lies and political repression that have been a feature of Russian "justice" since the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. The treason charge against Shcharansky is false. It is based solely on contacts he had with a U.S. reporter. The charges of "anti-Soviet agitation" are nothing but a legal cover for the repression of basic rights like freedom of speech and of association. The "main crime" of

Shcharansky and Ginzburg is that they were members of a dissident group which publicized Russian violations of the human rights provisions included in the 1975 Helsinki accords between the imperialists of the East and West. The Russian rulers' message is clear: "Anyone who struggles for civil rights, anyone who bucks the system in any way will be smashed." Like the Tsars before them, Brezhnev and Co. are trying to stir up anti-Semitism and use it against political dissidents. Shcharansky is a Jew, and Ginzburg is of Jewish descent. The Russian state-capitalist rulers are trying to create the impression that all Russian dissidents are Jews and that all Jews are "traitors." This maneuver is designed to divert the anger of the oppressed Soviet peoples away from their rulers, and toward a convenient and traditional scapegoat: the Jewish people. More than other recent cases these trials are becoming a weapon in the inter-imperialist struggle be-

tween the U.S. and Russia. As the detente between the two superpowers continues to wear away, the U.S. is taking a hard line on human rights violations in Russia. Carter has issued warnings that the trials will harm U.S.-Russian relations. Secretary of State Vance met with Avital Shcharansky, Anatoly's wife, who lives in Israel, to discuss the case. The Russian imperialists in turn are deliberately upping the ante. Shcharansky and Ginzburg have been held without trial for more than a year. By staging these trials at this time, the Russians are putting U.S. imperialism on notice that if it wants detente and an arms agreement it had better ease up the pressure, particularly over the question of human rights in the Soviet Union. No one should be taken in by either side in this inter-imperialist dispute. Revolutionary socialists should demand freedom for all Soviet political prisoners while condemning U.S. imperialism's phony human rights campaign.

## Russia backs Vietnam

To further their imperialist designs, the Russians are eager to exploit the rift between Vietnam and China. They back the idea of incorporating Kampuchea and Laos into a Southeast Asian federation under Vietnamese domination. After China ended military aid to Vietnam, Russia made up the difference. And in late June, Vietnam joined the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), the Russian-dominated trading bloc. Russia is reported to be building a naval base at Cat Ba Island outside Haiphong, and to have taken over the old U.S. naval base at Cam Ranh in southern Vietnam. The Russians also have a base at Hon Gai in the north, with missiles trained on targets in China. Russia is gaining a position where it can threaten China with war from the northern and western borders, and the border with Vietnam—a war on three fronts.

The victory of the Stalinists (the fake "Communists") in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos has not brought peace to the working people of Southeast Asia. The state-capitalist regimes in Russia and China are likewise not interested in peace. Now that U.S. imperialism is out of the way, the state-capitalist bosses are turning on each other. They are preparing mass slaughters of working people in new wars of conquest and domination. □

## THE DISSIDENTS

tween the U.S. and Russia. As the detente between the two superpowers continues to wear away, the U.S. is taking a hard line on human rights violations in Russia. Carter has issued warnings that the trials will harm U.S.-Russian relations. Secretary of State Vance met with Avital Shcharansky, Anatoly's wife, who lives in Is-

## Mexican youth fight police brutality

Seven thousand angry young demonstrators rebelled against police brutality in Matamoros, Mexico, on June 26. They were protesting the murder of 15-year-old Salvador Barrios Barba, who was beaten to death by the cops on June 19 after being arrested for "looking suspicious." The town's mayor, who had refused to prosecute the cops, was chased down the streets and pelted with stones and tomatoes. He took refuge in the offices of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the ruling-class political party in Mexico. The youths invaded the place and tore it apart. Then they took over the jail, freed the prisoners, destroyed police records, and finally burned the place down.

Mexico's President Jose Lopez Portillo sent hundreds of heavily armed troops into Matamoros to suppress the rebellion. At least three people were killed and 15 wounded in the fighting. The army jailed 43 people, all between 15 and 18 years of age, on suspicions of being "activists." Despite this repression, the government was forced to back down as a result of the uprising. On June 27, Police Chief Emiliano del Toro resigned. Two police commanders, as well as the head of the city jail and his assistant, also gave up their posts. Fifteen cops, including the three responsible for murdering Barrios Barba, were fired. And on June 29, all 43 demonstrators arrested by police were released without charges.

## Shake-up in Ghana's military regime

On July 5, General Ignatius Kufu Acheampong resigned as Ghana's head of state. Lieutenant General Fred W. K. Akuffo was named to succeed him by the military council which rules Ghana. According to a statement by the council, Acheampong resigned to "ensure the unity and stability of the country." It's likely, however, that his military cronies decided to dump Acheampong in an attempt to disarm growing resistance to military rule in Ghana.

Between January and March the government jailed over 5,000 militants who opposed Acheampong's fake referendum for a "national union government." This proposal was a cover-up for continued military rule. It banned all political parties in Ghana, while leaving real power in the hands of the army and the police. The government "won" the March 30 referendum by using tactics like banning opposition political meetings, shooting down students who demonstrated against the referendum, and throwing ballot boxes filled with "no" votes into the river. Right after the referendum, the army threw over 100 opposition leaders into prison.

The referendum campaign, therefore, served only to underline the strength of the opposition movement. The ruling class seems to be trying to head off this movement by kicking out Acheampong and making a few concessions to the opposition. Akuffo's first act as ruler of Ghana was to release a handful of political prisoners jailed after the referendum. These maneuvers will not fool anybody for long. Despite Acheampong's fall, the military has given up none of its power.

## Basque people rebel

The internationally famous "running of the bulls" festival in Pamplona, Spain, exploded into a militant uprising for Basque independence. The rebellion began on July 8, when riot police charged demonstrators calling for the separation of Euzkadi (the Basque country) from Spain. Some 20,000 spectators at the bullring went after the cops, and battles lasted all night. A 27-year-old militant, German Rodriguez, was killed in the fighting. An additional 135 people were wounded, including several cops. Two days later the Basque population went into the streets again. Shouting "Police murderers!" demonstrators in Pamplona took on the cops in

from the northern and western borders, and the border with Vietnam—a war on three fronts.

The victory of the Stalinists (the fake "Communists") in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos has not brought peace to the working people of Southeast Asia. The state-capitalist regimes in Russia and China are likewise not interested in peace. Now that U.S. imperialism is out of the way, the state-capitalist bosses are turning on each other: They are preparing mass slaughters of working people in new wars of conquest and domination. □

## ME DISSIDENTS

tween the U.S. and Russia. As the detente between the two superpowers continues to wear away, the U.S. is taking a hard line on human rights violations in Russia. Carter has issued warnings that the trials will harm U.S.-Russian relations. Secretary of State Vance met with Avital Shcharansky, Anatoly's wife, who lives in Israel, to discuss the case.

The Russian imperialists in turn are deliberately upping the ante. Shcharansky and Ginzburg have been held without trial for more than a year. By staging these trials at this time, the Russians are putting U.S. imperialism on notice that if it wants detente and an arms agreement it had better ease up the pressure, particularly over the question of human rights in the Soviet Union.

No one should be taken in by either side in this imperialist dispute. Revolutionary socialists should demand freedom for all Soviet political prisoners, while condemning U.S. imperialism's phony human rights campaign. □

Ghana's head of state, Lieutenant General Fred W.K. Acheampong was named to succeed him by the military council which rules Ghana. According to a statement by the council, Acheampong resigned to "ensure the unity and stability of the country." It's likely, however, that his military cronies decided to dump Acheampong in an attempt to disarm growing resistance to military rule in Ghana.

Between January and March the government jailed over 5,000 militants who opposed Acheampong's fake referendum for a "national union government." This proposal was a cover-up for continued military rule. It banned all political parties in Ghana, while leaving real power in the hands of the army and the police. The government "won" the March 30 referendum by using tactics like banning opposition political meetings, shooting down students who demonstrated against the referendum, and throwing ballot boxes filled with "no" votes into the river. Right after the referendum, the army threw over 100 opposition leaders into prison.

The referendum campaign, therefore, served only to underline the strength of the opposition movement. The ruling class seems to be trying to head off this movement by kicking out Acheampong and making a few concessions to the opposition. Akuffo's first act as ruler of Ghana was to release a handful of political prisoners jailed after the referendum. These maneuvers will not fool anybody for long. Despite Acheampong's fall, the military has given up none of its power.

## Basque people rebel

The internationally famous "running of the bulls" festival in Pamplona, Spain, exploded into a militant uprising for Basque independence. The rebellion began on July 8, when riot police charged demonstrators calling for the separation of Euzkadi (the Basque country) from Spain. Some 20,000 spectators at the bullring went after the cops, and battles lasted all night. A 27-year-old militant, German Rodriguez, was killed in the fighting. An additional 135 people were wounded, including several cops. Two days later the Basque population went into the streets again. Shouting "Police murderers!" demonstrators in Pamplona took on the cops in street battles throughout the city. In San Sebastian, the chief city of the Basque country, militants set up barricades blocking rail lines and main roads leading out of town. Meanwhile, organizers of the festival in Pamplona declared that it would not resume until riot police were withdrawn from the city. They also demanded the resignation of the provincial governor.

The Basque people are an oppressed nation within northeastern Spain who have been fighting against Spanish domination for centuries. During the Spanish Civil War, the Basques fought heroically for their autonomy against Franco's fascist forces. In recent years, the Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom) have carried on an underground war against Spanish officials and army troops occupying the Basque country. Now Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez's government is inching toward granting the Basques some degree of autonomy. But the Spanish ruling class refuses to grant the Basques real self-determination—the right of the Basque people to choose independence and set up a separate Basque state.

The recent events in Pamplona and San Sebastian underline once again the Basque people's determination to control their own destiny. Revolutionaries should support their struggle.

—PB

(Continued from page 1)  
 factor in deciding admissions, along with test scores and grades. A Black applicant, for example, could get a "plus" for being Black—the same way a hockey goalie gets a "plus" if the school's team needs one.  
 The court said that the "plus" system was desirable so that schools would have a good "mix" of students from different backgrounds and with different skills.

### "Plus" system is a fraud

This ruling is really a lot of garbage. This "plus" system has nothing in common with fighting discrimination of specially oppressed people. The judges simply tried to fool people into believing that they really are for fighting this discrimination.

What the "plus" system boils down to is not that Blacks, Latins, women and other oppressed people have been—and still are—the victims of discrimination.

The "plus" merely indicates that, in the opinion of the school administrators, an oppressed student has something "special" to offer the school and its student body. Being Black, or a woman or Asian is put on the exact same footing as being a hockey goalie or a physics major or living, say, on the East Coast or anything else the school needs to get a good "mix" of students. In upholding the "plus" system, the court merely defended the right of capitalist flunkies who run the universities to choose whom-ever they want to attend.

Right now the court pretends to think that having Black, Latin, Asian and women students is a good thing. But since the goal is supposed to be this good "mix," at any point the school administrators can decide that a good "mix" means excluding women and minority students.

Thus by banning quotas for oppressed people, the court gave the legal green light for the ruling class to attack affirmative action programs when and where they want.

### Quotas for the rich

The Supreme Court's ban on quotas is just so much poppycock. The entire educational system is based on a quota—the quota giving most of the spots to students whose parents are rich and have connections. The Supreme Court said nothing about this quota. The only ones they banned are the ones which benefit Blacks, Latins, and other oppressed people.

Almost every university in the country sets aside a certain number of places for the children of wealthy contributors to the school and past graduates. And a certain number of spots for the children of influential doctors and lawyers. And a certain number for students with political connections.

In almost every medical school in the country admission can be bought. At the high-prestige University of Chicago, for example, ad-

mission to the medical school these days goes for about \$40,000. And the schools don't look too hard at these students' grades and test scores once the parents come up with the big bucks.

One official at the University of California has even admitted that the year Bakke applied, at least five students were accepted who

of the post-World War II boom. The economy seemed prosperous, and the capitalists decided there was enough fat on the system to pass a little of it around.

By the late '60s and early '70s, the government, through outright repression and murder, combined with some concessions to cool things down, succeeded in

one part of this attack. The repeal of gay rights laws all around the country, the taxpayers' revolt aimed at wiping out vital social services, the attacks on undocumented workers, are all pieces of the ruling-class offensive.

We must defend the partial gains made by working and oppressed people from the capitalists' right-wing

into run-down neighborhoods, having to go to rotting, under-funded schools that are little better than prisons, most oppressed young people grow up knowing that their chance at anything more than day-to-day survival is slim indeed. The door to a decent education or job is open only for a very few.

For a few oppressed people affirmative action programs open that door a little bit further. But they in no way answer the across-the-board discrimination and oppression that the majority of Blacks, Latins, Asians and women face.

Second, affirmative action programs are controlled and administered by the capitalists' government and courts. Remember—this is the same capitalist state responsible for the oppression and exploitation of millions of people in the first place.

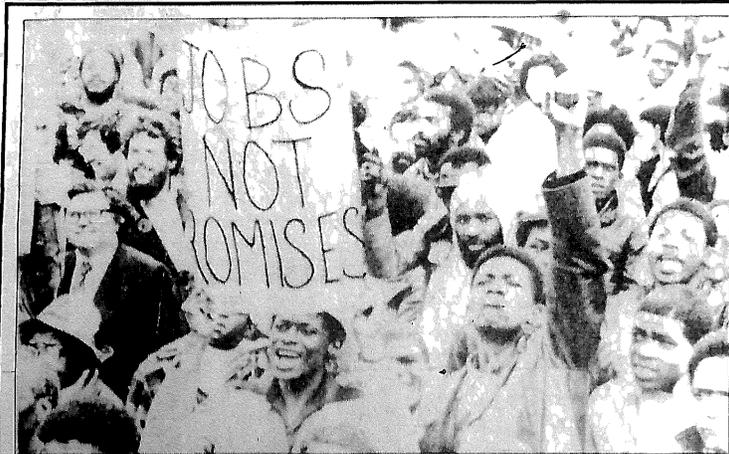
### Bosses divide and rule

The rulers granted affirmative action knowing full well that they could use it to play off one section of the oppressed against another. At Davis medical school for example, the 16 openings had to be divided among Blacks, Latins, Asians and women. (These groups make up much, much more than 16 percent of the population.) As a result, people from four oppressed groups have to compete and fight for this tiny sliver of the pie. And when this happens only one group—the capitalist class—really benefits.

In addition, the ruling class uses affirmative action to increase the divisions between the specially oppressed people on the one hand, and poor and working-class whites on the other.

While the majority of white people in this country have it better than most Blacks and Latins, white workers and poor people are also exploited and oppressed by capitalism. They also need more jobs, better housing, education, etc. When the capitalists decided to implement affirmative action programs—without providing more jobs, and more and better schools for everybody—they knew this would heat up the racism of the whites and step up the conflict between the different sectors of the working class.

Another way the capitalists use affirmative action against the working class  
 (Continued on page 17)



# SMASH RACIST BAKKE RULING!

had lower grades and test scores than Bakke. And they weren't Black or Asian or Latin or female. They were white students whose parents were wealthy and had political connections.

But the racist Bakke didn't choose to challenge this quota. And the Supreme Court, acting for the ruling class, didn't strike down this quota either.

The whole point of the Bakke decision was to make sure that the rich and privileged stay rich and privileged.

### Affirmative action: limited gain

Quotas and affirmative action programs can be a limited and partial means to counter racial and sexual discrimination. They can ensure that at least a few women, Blacks, Latins and other oppressed people get the opportunity to go to college and graduate schools, or to get a job otherwise close to them.

Affirmative action was one of the concessions made by the ruling class to the militant mass movements of the 1960s. The Black liberation movement; the struggles of women, Latins, Asians, gays and Native Americans; and the urban rebellions of the mid- to late-'60s threatened to shake the very foundations of the capitalist system.

The rulers found it impossible to continue business as usual. They realized that if a few concessions weren't made "voluntarily," then much bigger changes were going to come which they couldn't control.

At the same time, U.S. capitalism was at the height

destroying the fighting movements of the '60s.

Along with this, the post-war prosperity, which gave the capitalists the breathing room to grant concessions, wound to an end. Their system is in increasing crisis, with a stagnating economy, permanent inflation and unemployment, and the growing weakness of the dollar internationally.

The ruling class is now on the offensive, trying desperately to hold their system together at the expense of the working class and oppressed people. They want to beat back any gains won in the '60s and early '70s. Right now, the rulers are encouraging the growing right-wing forces and using them to attack the most oppressed sections of the working class. In this way they are trying to lay the basis for an attack on the whole working class, particularly where the workers are most organized and powerful—in the trade unions.

The Bakke decision is just

onslaught. Every time the rulers get away with one attack, they gain more confidence and strength in their anti-working-class drive. When the rulers attack affirmative action they are putting another piece of their assault into place. We cannot let them get away with this!

But at the same time, we have to be clear that affirmative action programs are not the solution to discrimination against oppressed people. They are only an extremely limited tool benefiting a relatively small number of the oppressed people. In addition, affirmative action in the hands of the capitalist class can be—and often is—a double-edged sword.

The first thing to recognize is that discrimination doesn't start when a Black or other oppressed student applies to college or medical school. In fact in this society all the cards are stacked so that the majority of young Blacks, Latins and women can hardly even dream of going to college. Forced,

## 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

© 1978  
Revolutionary Socialist Party

Editorial Board:  
Paul Aldridge  
Susan Edmund  
Circulation Manager:  
Production Manager:  
Production Staff:  
Lee Fann

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

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

Make checks payable to the  
Torchi/La Antorcha

# Anti-Apartheid Movement

(Continued from page 11)

tant. As the South African economy stagnates, it is forced to rely on foreign loans to survive. And most of those funds have come from U.S. banks, 11 of whom accounted for most of the \$2.2 billion in outstanding loans to South Africa in 1977. Now this essential source of funds is starting to dry up.

These moves by U.S. banks and corporations—in reaction to the growing anti-apartheid struggle—represent a setback for the South African regime. However, no one should be fooled. The imperialist corporations went to South Africa in the first place to take advantage of the slave labor conditions enforced by the South African ruling class. They are not about to give up their stake in the apartheid system, and their recent actions should not be viewed in this light.

U.S. corporations are after two things in South Africa. First, they are trying to calm down the situation by giving the Black workers some concessions—and thus feeding the illusion that real change is possible without a revolu-

tion against apartheid and its U.S. backers.

Second, they are trying to signal their displeasure at the South African government, which is taking a hard line toward the Black liberation struggle. In the view of U.S. imperialism—from Carter on down—such a policy is doomed to defeat. The U.S. rulers prefer a policy of "apartheid with a human face," because they think they can con Blacks into believing that "gradual and peaceful change" will eventually lead to Black majority rule.

Blacks in South Africa will win their freedom only by smashing apartheid through socialist revolution. The leaders of this struggle must be the South African workers themselves. U.S. workers and other anti-apartheid militants have an important role to play in the struggle. An anti-apartheid movement is already off and running in this country. It must become an anti-imperialist movement, exposing the U.S. role in South Africa. It must mobilize U.S. workers in support of the revolutionary struggles of their Black brothers and sisters in South Africa.

# GAY PRIDE

(Continued from page 5)

West Coast, the reins of leadership were tightly held by the reformists. As in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, the official leaders of the San Francisco demonstration called for a program of registering voters, electing better Democrats and hiring better lobbyists.

In Detroit, the official Gay Pride Week Committee failed to organize any kind of march or rally. The Revolutionary Socialist League then took the initiative and organized a united-front gay liberation demonstration in cooperation with the Bolshevik-Leninist Group, the Prostitution Education Project, and a number of independent gay activists. Seventy-five people marched down Woodward Avenue, and then held a rally at the Traffic Court, where many gay people and prostitutes are convicted of "accosting and soliciting." Among the speakers was Margaret Miller, a lesbian mother, who is fighting in court to keep custody of her daughter.

The RSL organized contingents to march in Gay Pride demonstrations around the

country. In New York, the RSL group doubled its size to between 70 and 80, as other people joined our contingent. In San Francisco, the RSL took part in a united-front contingent with Radical Women, Sandinistas for Socialism and other activists were part of a militant RSL contingent that marched in Los Angeles. And in Chicago, 200 people joined the Stonewall Committee, a united front initiated by the RSL.

Taking part in the Gay Pride demonstrations were thousands of people who want to wage a bitter and uncompromising struggle against all forms of sexual

oppression. These people, however, are being held back by the official leadership of the gay movement who want to chain the struggle to reformist politics.

Sexual oppression, like all oppression, will never end until power is taken out of the hands of the capitalist class which enforces and benefits from this oppression. Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution was the main slogan of the RSL in the Gay Pride marches. If gay liberation is to become a reality, socialist revolution will have to become the goal of all gay militants, and all workers and revolutionaries.

## Smash Bakke Ruling!

(Continued from page 16)

and oppressed people is in the unions. For many years unions fought for seniority systems. Under seniority agreements, layoffs and promotions are done by the length of time each worker has been at the job. Before, the boss could pick and choose who to lay off and who to promote. The workers and union had no control over this.

Under certain circumstances, the bosses are now using affirmative action programs to rip up the seniority agreements in union contracts—to turn back the gains won by workers through years of battle. Management, by claiming to be for hiring Blacks, Latins, Asians and women, can actually use affirmative action to increase its power over the workers, and the unions.

And when the time is ripe, the bosses will tear off their phony mask of being for the hiring of oppressed people. The bosses will be able to use their increased power to get rid of whoever they want. As always this will mean that Blacks, Latins, Asians and women will be on the bottom of the heap.

Because of the double-edged nature of affirmative action, each program must be judged on an individual basis. While we support the principle behind affirmative action, we must decide whether any given program

benefits the capitalists more than the workers.

The thread running through all the problems with affirmative action programs is that the capitalist system cannot afford a decent education and a good job at a living wage for every one who wants them.

As revolutionaries we cannot limit the fight against discrimination and oppression to a struggle for affirmative action. This just plays right into the hands of the capitalists. And it makes the fight on the terms of the ruling class.

We must organize a militant mass movement to fight for the things that all working and oppressed people need—not just for the crumbs the bosses will throw out when they think things are getting too "hot."

This means waging a militant battle for jobs for everybody—good jobs at wages that people can live on and not have to scrimp and starve.

It means fighting for decent education for everyone—and a place in college for every person who wants to go.

It means turning the defensive struggle for affirmative action into a war on the exploiters on our terms, a war to win jobs, housing, education, dignity and freedom for all workers and oppressed people. □

# TAX REVOLT

(Continued from page 3)

ment-funded social welfare programs. It thought that by providing a few crumbs in the form of government programs it could end the rebellions and keep the more oppressed sections of the working class loyal to capitalism.

But now world capitalism is heading for a huge crisis. U.S. capitalism is sinking under the weight of foreign competition and the cost of maintaining its imperialist empire. The ruling class must use its profits to import oil and other costly raw materials from overseas. It must rebuild its factories to compete with more efficient industrial producers in Europe and Japan. And it must maintain an enormous military machine to defend U.S. imperialism.

So the U.S. ruling class is junking the costly liberal programs in favor of open attacks on the working class. It can no longer pretend to meet the needs of the most oppressed workers. Instead, it is looking for ways to sweat even greater profits out of the working class.

The tax revolt plays right into the hands of the ruling class. It offers them a way to turn the middle class against the demands of the workers and oppressed groups who are trying to keep their heads above water. And it gives them an opportunity to divide the working class itself and isolate the most oppressed workers.

The first victims of the tax revolt will be the more oppressed workers who rely on government-funded

health and welfare programs to survive. The underlying theme of the tax revolt is a racist attack on the Black and Latin communities. One woman in California declared: "It's these social services which annoy the heck out of me—social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth. Who wants to pay it all in taxes that go for things like that?"

This kind of sentiment offers a perfect opening for the capitalists. They can direct the frustrations of white workers and middle-class taxpayers against the Black and Latin communities. Then they will call on the middle class to support their attacks on the trade unions. They will try to pick off one section of workers at a time, in an attempt to rescue the economy at the workers' expense.

This strategy is a deadly threat to all U.S. workers. Workers who support the tax revolt should take a hard look at how the ruling class in California responded to the passage of Proposition 13. The state government ordered a ban on hiring and a wage freeze, and has cancelled cost-of-living provisions in existing public workers' union contracts. It also slashed \$256 million from state health and welfare programs. The San Francisco board of supervisors gave Mayor George Moscone authority to lay off 2,000 workers, cancel pay increases for an additional 16,000 workers, eliminate overtime pay, and double transit fares. Similar cuts have been

planned by city and local governments throughout the state. After they attack the most oppressed workers, the ruling class will go after the better-off people. They are using the tax revolt as an excuse for rolling back all the gains working people and poor people have made in the past.

All workers must oppose the ruling class maneuvers which lie behind the tax revolt. The ruling class has already handed over billions of dollars to rescue capitalist companies like Lockheed and the Penn Central railroad. The tax bill now in Congress includes over eight billion dollars in tax cuts for big business. The real winners of the tax revolt will not be the workers and oppressed people. They will be the same corporations which fatten off the labor of working people every day. □

## Subscribe to the TORCH

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PRISONERS—Free donations appreciated  
U.S., CANADA, MEXICO AND PUERTO RICO  
Introductory—3 months—\$1.00  
One year—\$5.00  
Supporting—\$10.00

OVERSEAS  
One year (seamail)—\$5.00  
One year (airmail)—\$12.00

CONTRIBUTION \$ \_\_\_\_\_

I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Contribution to the Prisoner Literature Fund (for free prisoner subs) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Please send this blank and check to: TORCH, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036