

KKK DEFEATED IN OXNARD, CALIFORNIA

Unite to Smash the Nazis And the KKK!

By CLIFF GORDON

On July 30, hundreds of anti-fascist demonstrators attacked a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) meeting in Oxnard, California. The Klan was kicking off an organizing drive at the Oxnard Community Center. They were showing "Birth of a Nation," a racist film that glorifies the KKK.

Early in the afternoon, a truck loaded with 35 Klan

members arrived at the community center. At a signal from their leader, they formed a double line in front of the center's entrance. Without warning, about 125 anti-fascist demonstrators jumped out of nearby parked cars where they had been hiding. They charged the Klan with lead pipes, full soda cans, and rocks.

One Klansman went down after getting bashed in the face with a lead pipe. The

rest ran inside the community center to escape from the demonstrators. Twenty police tried to cover their retreat, but they soon followed the Klan inside after at least one cop was knocked to the ground.

Smashing their way through a glass partition near the entrance of the center, some of the demonstrators pursued the Klan and police inside. The fighting went on until enough police arrived to push the demonstrators outside the center.

The demonstration continued across the street. More people joined until there were between 200 and 300 people taking part. Later in the afternoon, however, the police received reinforcements and attacked the demonstration. After more fighting, the police succeeded in dispersing the demonstrators. They were also forced to close the KKK film showing to the public.

The Oxnard action was an important victory against the Klan and police. Five police and several Klansmen were hurt so badly that they had



Demonstrators charge KKK members in Oxnard, California.

to be hospitalized. Thirteen demonstrators were arrested, but they had fewer injuries than the police and the Klan.

The anti-Klan demonstration was led by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and

the Committee Against Racism (CAR), an organization supported by the PLP in organizing actions like the one at Oxnard. PLP-CAR are showing the working class the right way to fight the
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IMPERIALISTS COOK UP SELLOUT IN NAMIBIA

By TONY CURZO

After 63 years of domination by white-ruled South Africa, the Black people of Namibia are scheduled to gain their independence sometime next year. But Namibia's independence is likely to be more sham than real if the Western imperialists and the South African rulers have their way.

For the last 11 years the Namibian people have been waging a guerrilla war against the South African occupation. The war has been led by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a bourgeois nationalist organization that has been fighting for the independence of Namibia.

In the last few months, the U.S., West Germany, Britain, France, and Canada—acting through the United Nations—have worked out a deal between SWAPO and South Africa. The deal is supposed to end the war and set up an independent Namibia. Actually, the deal is a sellout of Namibia's national

liberation struggle.

Namibia is located on the South Atlantic, just above South Africa. Although larger than Britain and France combined, it has a popula-
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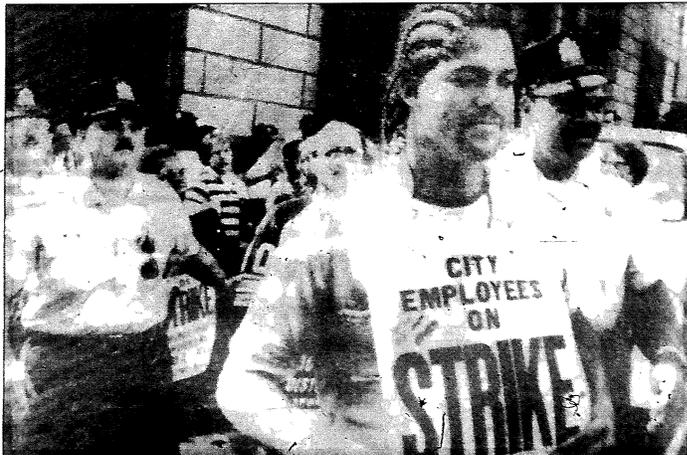
PUBLIC WORKERS FIGHT BACK

By PAUL BENJAMIN

During the last two months, public workers in a dozen U.S. cities walked off their jobs. In a wave of militant strikes, workers across the country refused to accept the layoffs, wage freezes and giveback demands of the city bosses and politicians.

The following is a summary of some of the most recent job actions:

Philadelphia: 19,600 workers went on strike July 14 and stayed out a week. The strike began after Mayor Frank L. Rizzo announced that he would finance a nine percent pay increase for city cops by laying off up to 2,500 city workers. The workers demanded a wage hike equating the cops' settlement and no layoffs. Rizzo went to the courts and got a restraining order limiting union pickets. Union leaders eventually accepted a sellout
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Philadelphia cops arrest strikers for defying ban on mass picketing.

sección
en
español

our readers write...

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

A Chilean worker writes

Dear Comrades,
Knowing that we have the friendship of comrades like those of the Torch, our struggle will have to intensify to bring about a true unity among the more consistent layers (of revolutionaries—Ed.): among those who believe that the only possibility or alternative for the liberation of the working class are the Marxist-Leninist principles—Trotskyism—whose flags of the October Revolution have been dragged in the mud by the Stalinist betrayers of the working class. And for this reason we have to struggle to recover what the leaders of the Chilean workers' parties abandoned. All of them collaborated (with the capitalist class—Ed.) to prepare the betrayal of the working class in Chile, and in other countries too numerous to mention. We know that the great architects of the defeats and of the crimes against the world proletariat were unquestionably the Stalinists. Abusing the authority they enjoyed, they implemented a counter-revolutionary policy. The October Revolution (!) was viciously made use of by the capitalist states of the so-called socialist camp. What a contradiction!

For this reason, I have begun with a call to unity. But for this reason also, I have to point out that unity is only one of the many struggles that we have to take up in our ideological discussions. Because the problems of the tactics of the world revolution, the questions of programs, of alliances and forms of activities among the masses, we must clarify them only in the light of an open and frank ideological struggle, even though we know the methods that Stalinism makes use of. We also know who the Stalinists called an agent of Hitler (the reference is to Trotsky—Ed.). But we have to insist that there be ideological struggle, since we also know that to label the revolutionary layers "adventurers," "extremists," "rabid revolutionaries," "agents of the CIA," "provocateurs," "petty-bourgeois people who want to make the revolution in one day," "hot-heads"—to use these labels is nothing other than an attitude of weakness that shows the inability of a group or of party cadres to face up to ideological debate.

Why all this? A series of attacks from U.S. Stalinism and from Chilean groups has begun against those of us

who stand for a policy of struggle to the death against social betrayal (class collaboration—Ed.). From them we hear that we have begun to put ourselves on the defensive in the class struggle.

And this is our task, comrades. To the degree that we go forward in the class struggle, we denounce the practice of Stalinism and its followers. And we offer to the working class our revolutionary program, which is what defines our party, or the future party that we must build.

Here I leave off with a warm embrace for all my comrades of the Torch. Fraternally,
(Name withheld)
A Chilean worker in exile

To the August 8th Brigade

Brothers of the Brigade:

I was for the most part unaware of the purpose and tragedy all of you have been going through. Only after reading the last issue of the Torch was it brought to light. I'm writing to let you know you are not alone—never! I stand with and for you in the struggle. You are battling for me and many others. I commend you and my appreciation could never be enough. The fight is so hard but I'm certain—the final rounds will be ours!

When I say I am fighting with you, I also speak for many of our sisters here at FCI Alderson.

Your Comrade in Arms,
DT
Alderson, West Virginia

Reply to gay reformists

The following letter was written by a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) to the editors of Gay Life, a Chicago newspaper. It is a response to an article that appeared in Gay Life criticizing the RSL for building a militant contingent for Chicago's Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade.

Dear Editors:

In Gene Janowski's column (Off the Wall) of June 23, Mr. Janowski claims that a militant contingent to the Gay Pride Parade is unnecessary because, "The spirit of the [Stonewall] rebellion couldn't be more alive." The root of our disagreement is the "we" he has in mind when he talks about the gains of the Gay Liberation movement. For middle-class gays—the gay business owners, professionals, and politicians—things may appear to be looking up. But working-class gays are still confronted daily with the oppression capitalism thrives on.

The early actions of the gay struggle looked nothing like the parade Sunday. The Stonewall Rebellion was a desperate battle. Many of the fighters were transvestites and homeless Greenwich Village street people. They were the first to fight because they had the least to lose. The first Gay Pride Parade in Chicago, in 1970, was 150 gay "outlaws"—hustlers, radicals, street people—marching and chanting while cops snickered and took pictures. The first Pride Week loop rally was a "Kiss-in" to protest the busts of two gay men earlier in the week for kissing in front of Field's. All the small concessions won by gays in the last nine years—gay rights ordinances, reduction in cop harassment, etc.—were because of these protests. The gay establishment condemned these actions until too many people got involved to ignore. Then they claimed the banner of gay liberation as their own, to stop the protest movement.

Mr. Janowski says, "Let's celebrate the wonderful experience of gay self-awareness." There is nothing wonderful about the experience of a gay worker who has to make up stories about the weekend to keep from being

fired or hassled by co-workers. Or when he or she wants to socialize with other gays, but can't afford to pay for a night at the bar. Or dealing day in, day out with the class oppression of being owned by a boss, or being unable to find a job, if this gay worker belongs to another group which the capitalists hold down, the experience of being gay makes life even harder. Middle class as well as working class gays get beat up in New Town every day. The gains that the gay struggle made during its militant phase are being taken back by the capitalists. This isn't wonderful. This is something to fight.

The current direction of the gay liberation movement, whose leaders agree with Mr. Janowski that, "We've gone beyond the point of childish protest demonstrations," and buddy up to the cops and politicians, will benefit middle class gays in the short run. I say the short run, because as capitalism sinks, small-

time capitalists from oppressed groups will be thrown overboard by their better-off comrades. This is already happening—where were the friendly politicians in Dade County and Wichita and Eugene? But for gay workers, the middle class strategy has always been a complete zilch. To be free, what we need—and by "we" I mean workers, gay straight, black, white, women and men, employed and out of work—is a workers' revolution. When the people who create the wealth of society own and control that wealth, no one will be oppressed, because no one will stand to make money from that oppression.

That's what the RSL means by a socialist revolution, and until that happens, we'll continue to organize militant struggles of workers and oppressed people to fight the capitalist system.

Laura Wadebay
for the RSL

"The TORCH is a weapon..."

To the editor:

I am one of the many oppressed brothers and sisters of this corrupted so-called justice system.

I am a three-time loser to penal justice, but I have been a "life-time" loser to justice as it is weighted towards and against all of the oppressed brothers and sisters.

As I said, I am a three-time loser at 37 years old. The latest sentence being of five years for the alleged crime of forcible rape of a white woman, five years for the alleged crime of breaking and entering to commit rape, a total of 10 years.

I was framed by a white police sergeant. There was no rape, or break-in... I had five witnesses that testified as to my whereabouts; even medical evidence proved that no rape occurred.

The police sergeant had the door broke so it would look as a break-in; also, the commonwealth attorney lied in court saying that a hair of a Black man was found by

medical personnel in the pubic hair of the woman. The medical report found nothing.

I had a court appointed attorney and he was as they all are, if court appointed. I had a jury trial, and if the commonwealth had not lied in front of the jury, I would have been found not guilty.

The jury recommended only five years and each to run concurrent. The judge rejected the recommendation, and sentenced me to 10 years, August 30, 1977.

In the State of Virginia, five years for forcible rape of a white woman, a Black man could say he was very lucky—but I can not say I am lucky, because I am not guilty; and all the people of Staunton, Va., know that I am not guilty. I am in prison today because of that police sergeant, and the fact that my girlfriend at the time was white.

So much for me. I have never really given your paper much thought until I read it here at Mecklenburg. I think it is a real weapon for all the oppressed brothers and sisters, and I would like to be put on your mailing list.

In all my 37 years, I had never thought that this could happen to me, now I know that slavery still exists in this country for all of the oppressed. And from this day on, I shall be like Harriet Tubman, trying to free all my brothers and sisters of this corrupt system of so-called justice.

Before reading your paper, I was down and feeling very isolated, but your paper revealed to me that my weakness can become strength for myself and others.

Till next time, keep telling the truth.

A brother in the struggle,
TG
Mecklenburg, Virginia

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Los Angeles Begins Forced Busing Plan

By FRANZ MORGAN

"We don't need integration," declared Nemorio Al-barez, a Latin parent in Los Angeles. "We need better teachers; we need better schools."

This reaction to LA's forced busing plan is widespread in the city's Latin and Black communities. Many parents are up in arms over the plan, which is scheduled to begin when schools open in September. They realize that forced busing will provide neither better schools nor better education.

The forced busing plan resulted from an order by the California Supreme Court. In 1976, the court ordered the city's school board to develop measures to "alleviate

the majority of the schools in LA will remain segregated, according to the court's definition.

To deal with this situation, LA school officials have launched a major publicity campaign against "white flight." The officials are trying to discourage white families from leaving their school districts or placing their children in private schools to avoid desegregation. They claim that education under the forced busing plan will be better than before.

Busing supporters point to a planned reduction in class size and a system of "incentive grants" to newly integrated schools. This money will supposedly pay for more teachers, aides,

the school operations."

Contrary to what the liberal integrationists say, there is no mass sentiment in the Black or Latin community for forced busing. Instead, there is suspicion toward the whole scheme. And parents resent having their children used as guinea pigs in the court's experiment.

Dorothy Henry, a Black woman and mother of seven, said: "I don't want it. I don't want any of them bused. I prefer they stay in the area. Too many racial problems take place when they go into white neighborhoods."

Another Black parent, Bannie Crayton, summed up the general sentiment toward the plan. She explained: "I really don't feel Black kids automatically get a better education by going to white schools." She went on to add that she would rather see inner-city schools improved.

Bilingual education threatened

In LA's large Latin community, opposition to forced busing is also strong. When hearings were held last year to test the community's reaction to the upcoming plan, the majority of Latin speakers denounced both the busing plan and the inferior education available in barrio schools.

The Latin community has a history of militant struggle for decent education. In the late 1960s, Chicano teachers and students organized massive school strikes which shut down public schools throughout East LA. As a result, some gains were won, but Latin schools remained inferior to most white schools.

Today, Latin parents are angry that the expense involved in implementing forced busing will drain money and other resources away from the few special programs they have, especially education in both English and Spanish. LA's school district includes over 100,000 non-English or limited-English-speaking students. This makes the issue of bilingual education a major one.



to fall apart. Not only will the costs of implementing the forced busing plan drain money away from other programs, but further cutbacks in the school budget will be made. As the economy continues to decline, more attacks like the recently passed Proposition 13 tax cut will dig into the school budget.

While it does nothing to improve educational services, forced busing undercuts the ability of workers to unite and fight for decent education. The scheme pits whites against Latinos and Blacks in a struggle over the rotting schools. The fight for new schools and more teachers is steered away from a fight against the bosses. Instead workers fight each other over who is going to get stuck in the worst schools and who will attend the better-off schools.

Decent education for all!

Workers must expose the forced busing fraud and build a united working-class opposition to the plan. One of the first steps in building this opposition is preparing to defend ourselves and our children from racist attacks by the Nazis, KKK and other such scum who are moving in to exploit the racial tensions whipped up by forced busing. Black Latin and other specially oppressed students have the right to choose where they want to go to school. We must be prepared to defend their choice with force. Workers defense guards should be organized in the communities and in the trade unions to carry out this defense.

To win decent education for all, a program to expand and improve the school system in LA must be fought for. We must demand an end to school budget cutbacks and all teacher layoffs. Unemployed teachers must be rehired and bilingual programs expanded. To pay for these improvements, a united working-class fight must be built to increase the taxes on banks and corporations to cover the costs.

Central to this fight is the right of all students to attend whichever school they choose with all transportation paid for by the state.

This is the working-class solution to the rotten state of the school system. The forced busing scheme will not improve education and will only weaken the ability of LA workers to unite and fight for our real needs. □

At present, only 26,000 of these students are in fully bilingual programs. The rest are enrolled in limited programs or receive no instruction in their own language. Under the forced busing plan, many of the 100,000 students will be dispersed throughout the city to schools where bilingual programs do not exist at all.

It is no wonder then that Latin parents are threatening to fight the forced busing. "We are a proud people with a beautiful culture," one mother said. "We do not want it to look like we are begging them (whites) to accept us." Forced busing will do nothing to develop the pride of Latin students in their history and culture.

Forced busing an attack

LA's forced busing plan, like those in cities across the country, is no reform. It is an attack on all working and oppressed people. In the name of integration, it provides a cover for the ruling class to make massive cutbacks in educational services. In the name of freedom, it denies free choice to the most oppressed students.

Although the courts claim that forced busing will counteract the years of racist discrimination against Latin, Black, Asian and Native American students, only a small percentage will be sent to the better-off schools. The overwhelming majority of specially oppressed students will continue to attend the worst schools.

At the same time, all of the LA schools will continue



Student IDs checked at school entrance. Schools are prisons for oppressed youth in rotting cities.

racial segregation" in the school system. After a series of delays, a plan was approved by the courts in February of this year.

Under the plan, 65,000 students in grades four to eight will be reassigned and bused to different schools. These students are drawn from 165 segregated schools. (The court defines a segregated school as one in which 70 percent or more students are of one race.) They are being assigned to new schools whether or not they want to leave their present schools.

However, the current plan is not acceptable to the courts in the long run and will have to be revised. The plan doesn't include 204 so-called "minority segregated" schools where the student population of over 216,000 is predominantly Latin and Black. Experts have been appointed to find ways to bring more schools into the plan and major changes are expected by the end of the year.

The difficulty for these experts is that the white student population in LA is declining at a rapid rate. White enrollment for the 1977-78 school year was 25,000 students less than it had been just one year earlier. According to the latest school board census, less than one-third of the students in kindergarten through sixth grade are white and English-speaking. This means that

counselors and materials. It sounds good, until you take a closer look at the school budget.

Busing brings cutbacks

The latest billion-dollar budget for LA schools did include an increase of \$33 million. But the whole increase went to finance the forced busing plan. Meanwhile, spending cutbacks slashed other programs across the board. Teachers received no salary increase in the new budget and their medical benefits were reduced.

Along with the cutbacks directed just at the teachers, \$2 million was cut from the employee dental plan; \$2 million from the counseling program; \$2 million from nursing services; and \$2 million from the after-school athletics program. In addition, the length of the school day was shortened for high school students, and special English composition classes for 11th graders were eliminated.

According to LA's liberal Black mayor, Tom Bradley, this is not the end of the cuts. Bradley, who has spoken against the forced busing plan, predicts: "It will mean reduction in other programs, some reduction in staff and it will have a significant impact on our ability to finance the rest of



Los Angeles students denounce cutbacks in school budget.

FIGHT FORCED STERILIZATIONS!

LOS ANGELES—Every year, thousands of women are forcibly sterilized in the U.S. Women, especially Blacks, Latins and American Indians, are tricked and threatened into giving up their right to have children. The butchers responsible for these genocidal operations are then protected by the courts against any attempts to expose their crimes.

On May 31, 10 Latin women in California lost a \$2 million damage suit against 12 doctors at the County-USC Medical Center. The women, all Spanish-speaking, charged that the doctors had sterilized them without their consent. U.S. District

Judge Jesse W. Curtis ruled that the doctors had not violated the women's rights and blamed the sterilizations on a "breakdown in communications."

The doctors claimed that each woman had signed a form giving her consent to have the operation. But the women stated that they did not even understand the forms they had signed.

In addition to not being able to read the forms which were printed in English, the women's lawyers argued that most of the women were asked to sign the forms after many hours of labor. Some were under medication when they signed the forms. And most were so dazed that they

did not remember signing anything!

One woman, who was having her third child, did not even sign a consent form. But at the time of her first child's birth, she had signed a consent form for a possible emergency tubal ligation. The judge decided that she "would have consented had she been able, since she had done so once before."

Despite this racist cover-up, the judge claimed to be sympathetic to the women's charges. But, he concluded, "the attending physician was probably in the best position to make a judgment since he was acutely aware of the necessity of having the patient's consent." In other

words, a doctor charged with sterilizing a woman against her will is in the best position to decide whether or not he had the patient's consent. What the woman says does not matter.

the facts regarding their operations."

The judge's ruling is a green light for these doctors to continue the racist forced sterilizations. Women are left at the mercy of doctors who are racist and believe that Latin women have too many children already. According to the judge's ruling, they have no defense against a doctor who is determined to take away their right to have children.

This attack on the right of women to control their own bodies is sexist to the core. It must be fought by all working-class and oppressed people. Women must be able to control whether or not they want to have children. This means an end to forced sterilizations. This means free abortions on demand and free contraception. Without these rights, women will continue to be mutilated by racist butchers, who pass as doctors.

Doctors push sterilization

The recent trial resulted from a class-action suit filed in June 1975 against Dr. E. J. Quilligan, the chairman of the County-USC Medical Center's obstetrics department, and 11 other doctors. The suit followed reports in the Los Angeles Times on sterilization abuse. In 1974, a former Medical Center doctor, Bernard Rosenfeld, charged that 10 to 20 percent of the doctors at the Medical Center "actively pushed sterilization on women who either did not understand what was happening to them or who had not been given all

DEFEAT THE BRIGGS INITIATIVE!

The TORCH Interviews Gay School Worker

In November, the Briggs Initiative will appear on the ballot in California. The Briggs Initiative, if passed, will make it illegal for gay people and gay rights supporters to work in the public school system. The following is an interview with a gay teacher's aide, who lives in San Francisco. Steve is not his real name. For the purpose of this interview, we have changed his name to protect him against harassment.

Torch: What significance do you think the Briggs Initiative is going to have, both in your job and in general?

Steve: I'm a member of Gay Teachers here in San Francisco. It's a Bay Area gay teachers' association. We view the Briggs Initiative as an anti-labor bill. Briggs has always been notorious in the state as being a real anti-labor person. His initiative is designed to eliminate openly gay people from the schools.

It will also eliminate people from the schools—teachers, administrators, counselors, a whole variety of people—who support gays or who have spoken favorably about homosexuality as a private or public life-style. It really gives school districts an open ticket as to who they want to keep and who they want to get rid of. And it seems fairly obvious that it will target out people who have been activists, not only people who are openly gay, although they certainly will be the priority. We've been viewing the Briggs Initiative as the follow-up to Proposition 13, which says fire some teachers. Briggs says, these are the teachers who you fire.

It opens up a very McCarthyesque kind of situation. Anyone can say this teacher has said something favorable or has an opinion favorable to homosexuality in our schools and therefore that person can be brought up on charges. And it becomes a situation in which anyone can point a finger at anyone else and say this person has to go. One of the provisions is that a school board has 30 to 60 days in which to bring you up on charges. Therefore even if



Los Angeles Gay Pride March, July 1.

you have not been fired from your job you can be accused of being supportive and suspended from teaching for 30 to 60 days without pay.

Torch: Do you think it will cause many gay teachers to go back into the closet?

Steve: I think it will. It certainly is going to discourage teachers from coming out. This year has been a remarkable year in terms of the fact that a lot of schoolworkers have come out on their jobs in districts quite remote from the urban centers of California. And I think that that trend will quickly evaporate. People are not going to come out if their jobs and their livelihood is threatened by the state, and it most certainly is.

The other thing that it sets up is a real competition between workers—a competition among teachers, because jobs are short in the state and Proposition 13 will make jobs in shorter supply. This will decrease the amount of support for teachers in their fight against the Briggs Initiative, especially for gay teachers. If people think that they might get a job because someone else is

losing a job, it somehow becomes an attractive thing to be silent and not to defend that person.

Torch: Why do you think the Briggs Initiative is happening now? What reason do you see for it?

Steve: It seems fairly obvious that it is a part of a nationwide turn to the right. Briggs was a supporter of Anita Bryant. He went to Florida to work for Anita Bryant. She says that she will not come here to work for him. Probably because she fears for her life. Briggs is supported by the church groups, by the political groups, by the right wing which is now opposing abortion funding, asking for an end in the hiring of third-world people, calling for the deportation of so-called aliens, building the Klan, and marching with the Nazis. And he doesn't seem to care to refute any of that. I mean, he is right on line with the right wing of the state.

Torch: What do you think the connections are between all these things that you just mentioned—calling for the deportation of undocumented workers, the attack

on abortions, and the attack on gay people?

Steve: Well, the country's obviously in pretty bad economic shape. One of the reasons I believe Proposition 13 passed here so easily is not because people really supported it, but because people just don't have the money. In times of economic turmoil, people really listen to their fears. And there is a group of people for whom fears are profitable. I mean, certainly they are profitable to the capitalist system. The system needs to make people the scapegoats when all is not going well. And it seems that the '60s—the liberal years—have just ended with a real bang. And the backsliding that is going on in terms of rights won by women, gays and minorities are the thing to attack.

Torch: What about the unions? What positions have they taken and what actions, if any, have they taken?

Steve: The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has been the most responsive so far. Gay teachers in Los Angeles and in San Francisco went to the state convention with a resolution

urging that all AFT locals support sexual orientation in their union contracts. This would be a rather new thing in the state. San Francisco is now the only district in which that is part of the contract. I think that that's a very positive thing and hopefully it's being brought to the national convention in Washington, D.C., in August.

The problem is that the real power in teaching in the state is the California Teachers Association (CTA) and they have not taken a strong stand against Briggs. They have taken a nominal editorial stand against Briggs in the paper about two months ago. Then they said they didn't want to deal with anything except Proposition 13. They have not taken any position since. And CTA is the controlling bargaining agent for most of the districts in this state.

So we are trying to apply pressure to them to take not only a stand, but to start a campaign against Briggs. I don't know how successful that'll be, because even as threatened as they were by Proposition 13, there was no major effort against it coming from the CTA. They put out a lot of leaflets, in-school leaflets and not a lot of anything else.

The California State Employees Association has taken no position as far as I know and they are probably even a more influential union in terms of numbers in schools, but a very non-controversial, non-powerful organization. I mean, they are an association, they're not even a union.

Torch: If the unions were doing what you think they ought to be doing about Briggs, what would it look like?

Steve: If I had any say on what the unions of the state were going to do, what I would hope that they—the teachers' unions—would do is mount an educational campaign about the Briggs Initiative and why it must be defeated—not only among teachers, which they seem very adept at doing, but among the people who are going to vote. I mean the

(Continued on page 17)

By ADELE LOHMAN

INFORMER REVEALS: FBI ORGANIZED KLAN TERROR

Gary Thomas Rowe Jr. joined the Ku Klux Klan in 1960 as an FBI informer. He worked mostly in Birmingham, Alabama. The FBI paid for his Klan robe, initiation and membership dues.

Rowe was supposed to listen to the KKK's plans for terror against Blacks and report these plans to the FBI. He would get paid for each piece of information. This was at the height of the civil rights movement, and the federal government was under pressure to protect Blacks against racist attacks.

The case of Gary Thomas

G-men showed up at the bus station, watched the beating and took movies of it!

In 1975 Rowe testified before a Senate committee that his control agent, Special Agent McFall, saw a

chance to make a buck. And that was okay with the FBI.

only pretended to fire his gun.

The Liuzzo trial ended Rowe's career as a stool-pigeon. He was afraid of the Klan's revenge. So the FBI gave him \$10,000 and helped him disappear. He surfaced again in 1975, when Congress was investigating the FBI.

Wearing a mask to hide his new identity, Rowe acted as a star witness before a Senate committee. The following year, he published a book: *My Undercover Years with the FBI*. In his book, he repeated in detail what he had told the committee: The FBI knew all about what a good Klansman he was, and they covered up his crimes.

Birmingham church bombed

On September 15, 1963, four little Black girls were killed when dynamite destroyed the Sunday school at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. Rowe called the FBI just before the blast went off. No suspects were caught at the time.

Recently Alabama authorities reopened the case. Last November, KKK member Robert Chambliss was convicted of murder for that bombing, based mostly on Rowe's testimony. But Rowe flunked two lie-detector tests when he was questioned about his own part in the bombing. Alabama detectives suspect that he may have been with Chambliss when the dynamite was planted.

In 1965 the Ku Klux Klan shot and killed white civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo on Highway 80, between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. Rowe's testimony sent two Klansmen to jail for the murder. Now, after serving 10 years in prison, the two say Rowe fired the fatal shot. He admits being in the murder car, but insists he

McFall says this conversation never happened, and the bureau has no record of it ever happening. But that part is easy to explain. Congressional investigations uncovered the fact that any dirty work involving informers was handled as an "Unrecorded Counterintelligence Operation." That's why there are no records of the FBI's cover-up in the Rowe case.

A new FBI?

The publicity around the Rowe case and other "dirty tricks" have given the FBI a bad name. People know that the glamorous image of clean-cut G-men fighting crime is bullshit. It's clear that the FBI was involved in many of the crimes committed against people fighting racism and oppression in this country. An FBI memo even admits that they hired provocateurs to throw bricks and bottles during civil rights marches to provoke the cops into beating and arresting the marchers.

Congress is trying to clean up the FBI's image by writing new rules of conduct for their agents. They say they're creating a new FBI that people can have faith in. They're letting a little of the dirt about Rowe come out because most of it is out anyway. They can point to that as part of the "old" FBI, the kind of thing they're getting rid of.

But the FBI's job is to protect U.S. capitalism. To do this, they attack civil rights organizations, workers' organizations and left organizations. That's the reason they need racists like Rowe. And it's why the new FBI will be the same old FBI.



Demonstrators march against police repression in Atlanta.

Rowe exposes the real role of the FBI. Rowe was a good informer because he was a good Klansman. He could always tell the FBI exactly where and when a bomb would go off, because he helped to place the bombs.

Recently, Alabama authorities have uncovered evidence that during the time he worked for the FBI, Rowe was involved in almost every major case of KKK terror in the state. He beat up and murdered Blacks, and the FBI knew all about it and covered up his crimes.

photo of him beating a Black man at the depot and told him to lie about it no matter who asked him. McFall told the committee: "If the (Rowe) happened to be with some Klansmen and they decided to do something, he couldn't be an angel and be a good informant." But Rowe didn't attack Blacks so he could be a good informant. He was a racist pig who turned in other pigs because it was a

KKK attacks Freedom Riders

There is still some question about what part Rowe played in some of the incidents he reported. But there's no mystery about the first time the FBI hushed up one of his crimes—the beating of the Freedom Riders at the Birmingham bus depot in May 1961. What happened there shows most clearly what part the FBI played during the civil rights struggles of the '60s.

Three weeks before the Freedom Riders were due to arrive in Birmingham, Rowe informed the FBI that the Klan would be waiting at the depot to attack them as they got off the buses. Rowe later told a Senate committee that he had personally fixed things with the cops, so the KKK would have plenty of time to bust heads before the law showed up. He also said the Birmingham police was full of Klan sympathizers.

Blacks knew damn well what the local cops were like. However, they looked to the federal government for equal protection under the law. They thought the FBI would "enforce the law." But what did the FBI do to prevent the attack on the Freedom Riders? Nothing! Some

Philly Cops Bust MOVE Radicals

A 15-month battle between a radical group named MOVE and the Philadelphia city government ended with a shoot-out on August 8. Police wearing riot helmets and flak jackets evicted and beat members of the group, and then demolished their house. Eighteen people were injured, including six cops and five firemen. One cop was shot dead. All adult MOVE members are being held without bail, on charges of

murder, attempted murder, and conspiracy.

The attack began before dawn. Cops broke down walls, blasted thousands of gallons of water into the house with a fire-engine cannon and tear-gassed the MOVE people. Then they started shooting, even though they knew there were children in the house.

The cops claim MOVE started the gun battle. They say they found a dozen

guns and 1,600 rounds of ammunition in MOVE's house. But reporters, camped across the street, insist the first shot came from a neighboring building.

MOVE members explained the reason they were harassed by the city for over a year and then physically attacked was racism. The group has Black and white members. According to the press, they're a back-to-nature group with the an-

nounced goal of overthrowing the government. In fact, their only political activity was to picket the zoo and visiting circuses for "cruelty to caged animals."

Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo called MOVE "an uncivilized foe we were forced to deal with civilized rules." What civilized rules? They showed on TV how two white cops kicked and stomped a Black MOVE member. They held him down, and this great big pig kicked him in the ribs and stomach so hard that his whole body rose up off the ground with each kick. The man was lying on his stomach and the other pig stomped him full-force on the back of the neck.

After the MOVE people were arrested, ex-cop Rizzo threatened: "Get that death penalty back, and put them in the electric chair, and I'll pull the switch."

This is what the barbarian Rizzo calls civilization. All the MOVE people wanted was the chance to live their own lives the way they wanted. But this was too much for Rizzo. He couldn't rest until they were either locked up in his jail or dead.

Free MOVE Now!



U.S. "democracy" in action—Cops train guns on naked children during MOVE shootout.



LONGEST WALK ENDS:

NATIVE AMERICANS DEFEND TREATY RIGHTS

Prisoners rebel in Illinois and Georgia

During the space of five days in July, prisoners fought back against brutal conditions and racist practices in three major prisons. On July 19, prisoners rioted at the Stateville Correction Center near Joliet, Illinois. On July 22, prisoners at the Pontiac State Penitentiary in Illinois battled for an hour against 250 state troopers and prison guards. By the time they were forced back into their cells, they had killed three guards and injured three others.

The next day, prisoners at the State Prison at Reidsville, Georgia, found out about the Pontiac uprising. They staged their own rebellion, taking four guards as hostages. It took prison authorities two hours to regain control over the prison. One brother lost his life in the rebellion. One guard was killed and another critically wounded.

Prison officials are repeating their usual explanations for the rebellions. In Georgia, officials say racial tensions led to the explosion. At Pontiac, one official claimed: "There are a lot of vicious people in there, and they don't have to have any cause to kill." As always, the prisoners, rather than the prison system itself, are supposedly to blame.

In fact, when men and women are thrown into jail, worked like slaves and treated like animals, they will fight any way they can for the right to be treated like human beings. The racism and miserable conditions which are common in every prison are intended to wipe out the least spark of rebellion among the prison population. The revolts are proof that prisoners are fighting back against these degrading conditions.

Victory to the Bedford Hills Sisters!

Prisoners at the Bedford Hills Correction Facility for Women, in New York, held a one-day strike on July 10. About 350 of the 450 women prisoners joined in the strike. They were protesting increased beatings and harassment by guards and the prison administration.

The strike followed months of filing grievances that were ignored by the Bedford Hills administration and the Department of Corrections in Albany. Recently, Black and Latin women prisoners filed a lawsuit against the use of male guards at the prison, whose presence led to increased beatings and sexual harassment.

The strikers put forward 11 demands, including: 1) a public investigation into the racist and brutal conditions at Bedford Hills; 2) an end to physical abuse of all women prisoners; 3) the removal of riot-equipped guards; 4) an end to illegal keeplocking (24 hours a day in a cell); 5) a rollback in commissary prices; 6) no interference with mail; 7) a substantial increase in the wage scale, now 35 cents to \$1.15 a day; and 8) maximum wages for all women at the prison for a year or more. As of this writing, it is not clear how the prison keepers will respond to the sisters' demands.

Three of Wilmington 10 paroled

Three members of the Wilmington 10 were paroled in July. James McKoy and Earl Vereen were paroled on July 25 after spending two and a half years in jail. Jerry Jacobs was paroled five days later.

The Wilmington 10—nine Black men and a white woman—are civil rights militants who were framed for daring to oppose racist discrimination in North Carolina. They were convicted of bombing a grocery store in Wilmington, North Carolina seven years ago and sentenced to up to 29 years in jail. Since their conviction an international campaign has been organized to free the Wilmington 10. In January, North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt Jr. reduced the sentences of the nine members of the Wilmington 10 still in jail, thus speeding up their eligibility for parole.

Right now, five of the Wilmington 10 remain in jail. Those who are out are continuing the fight to free all their comrades. In a statement to the press, McKoy and Vereen declared: "It is important that we reaffirm the fact that we are not guilty. We have suffered punishment for the past seven years for crimes we did not commit. . . . Our priority is to free the remaining Wilmington 10 members and to win reversal of our convictions."

IN BRIEF—Sunni Muslim prisoners at the Green Haven Correctional Facility and other New York State prisons are refusing any prison food during the holy month of Ramadhan, which began on August 5. The prisoners charge that the state has refused to feed them a proper diet, according to their religion's dietary laws. Muslims are not permitted to eat any meat or meat by-products which have not been properly slaughtered.

The purpose of the food strike is to show the seriousness of the situation and to back up a suit filed by the Imams (spiritual leaders) of the Sunni Muslim communities in the New York prisons. That suit will be heard in federal court in the next few months. On August 7, two days after the strike began, the prisoners were threatened with transfers if they didn't stop. But the prisoners called the keepers' bluff, and are holding to their strike. The struggle continues. **BY PB & SE**

Two thousand Native Americans and their supporters marched into Washington, D.C., on July 15, completing the longest protest march in U.S. history. The march, which covered 3,000 miles, began on February 11 at Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, California.

Organizers of the Longest Walk, as the march was called, wanted to draw attention to their struggle to defeat 15 anti-Indian bills pending in Congress. These bills attack the rights and sovereignty of Native American tribes.

The Longest Walk was co-sponsored by the North California American Indian Movement (AIM) and the National Indian Coalition. It was named after the many "long walks" which the Indian people were forced to make by the U.S. government, which stole their traditional homelands and drove them to barren reservations.

At a rally in Malcolm X Park, AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt said: "We are here to stop one of the most massive criminal assaults ever to take place against our people—the move to take the 60 percent of this country's energy resources that lie under Indian lands."

Two days after the rally, on July 17, 700 activists walked along the mall from the Washington Monument to the Capitol. The cops had set up a table along the route for the Indians to check their weapons. But the marchers ignored the cops and refused to give up their weapons.

Native American rights under fire

The bills now before the Congress are aimed at gutting all past treaties between the U.S. government and the Indian people. The anti-Indian legislation includes:

- HR 9950, the so-called Native American Equal Opportunities Act of 1977. This bill was introduced by racist Representative John Cunningham (R-Wash.). The bill voids all Native American treaties with the U.S. and cancels the Indians' fishing,



Native Americans march on Pa. Capitol during Longest Walk.

- hunting, and water rights. •The Omnibus Indian Jurisdiction Act of 1977, put forward by Representative Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash.), further limits tribal jurisdiction over tribal members.

- HR 4169 denies the land and water rights of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes of Maine.

- HR 9906 cancels all Indian titles to land and water in New York. These titles now belong to the Oneida, Cayuga, Giant Regis, Mohawk, Onondaga and Seneca Indian tribes. The various tribes would receive payment in return for their land.

Native American leaders have also targeted Senator Edward Kennedy's Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977 (S-1437). A Longest Walk press release stated that in addition to it being "a threat to the freedom of all people," it also specifically abolishes "all previous treaties between the Indian nations and the federal government."

Capitalists' plunder continues

These reactionary bills are part of the drive by the U.S. capitalist class and their government to plunder the remaining Indian lands. American Indian reservations and treaty lands contain valuable timber, coal, oil and natural gas. In addition, large uranium deposits and other mineral resources are located on Native American-owned land.

The ruling class is attempting to steal these resources away from the Native American people. In the Southwest, for example, multinational coal, uranium and oil companies are ripping off these resources through leases negotiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These corporations are making millions of dollars while the American Indians remain among the poorest people in the U.S.

According to government figures, nearly half of the

Native American people live below the poverty line and over half of their housing is inadequate. Almost 60 out of every 100 Indian children drop out of school before they reach the sixth grade. And the average life expectancy for the American Indian is 10 years less than for other people in the U.S.

Hands off the Indians' land!

The demands of the American Indians for enforcement of previous treaties and rights granted by the government must be supported by all working and oppressed people. Reactionaries like Cunningham and Meeds are trying to increase the oppression of American Indian people by depriving them of their property and their rights. They claim the legitimate demands of the American Indians pose a major threat to the economic interests of the people of the U.S. This is a racist lie.

The Native American people have suffered hundreds of years of genocide and plunder at the hands of the U.S. government and the ruling class. They have been systematically driven from their lands, slaughtered and forced to live on barren reservations. Their culture and history have been distorted and ridiculed by these same capitalists. Now that American Indians are organizing and fighting for their rights, the capitalists are once again trying to tear up the treaties and break their promises.

Four hundred years ago American Indians owned nearly all of the land that is now the U.S. Their current claims represent only a tiny fraction of what was taken from them by the invading Europeans. Workers must support these demands and oppose any legislation that violates existing treaties or traditional land and water rights.

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.

AUGUST 8th BRIGADE TRANSFERRED: "ROBOTS IN ORANGE" OCCUPY GREEN HAVEN

By LEE RAMIE

On July 26, 1978, the Correctional Emergency Response Team (CERT) occupied Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York. CERT, known to prisoners as the "robots in orange," was called into the prison after the guards' union threatened to strike. The guards wanted the prison "cleared of contraband" and the "radical leadership," meaning the August 8th Brigade, removed.

"Like Hitler's Gestapo"

A member of the August 8th Brigade described the occupation: "Green Haven has been closed down for two days, which means no one leaves their cells at all beginning this morning. We have only been fed twice during the whole day. Throughout the day all that was heard was the CERT team marching and chanting through the hallways. They sounded just like 'Hitler's Gestapo Squad.'"

"The manner in which they searched our cells was real animalistic. All our personal property was thrown on the floor and a lot of our things were confiscated. The worst type of body searches has been made also, complete with anal inspection." In addition, the Brigade's Puerto Rican flag and political posters were destroyed.

The CERT team also went after the Sunni Muslims. The Muslims' Koran was ripped up. The cord on the Mosque's refrigerator was cut, spoiling all their food. And a garden outside the Mosque was ruined.

After the initial sweep through the prison, CERT commanders were heard to say "Now we've cleaned out the prison, let's clean out the August 8th Brigade." Squads of 13 CERT members each went to the Brigade mem-



The August 8th Brigade (left to right): Lorenzo (Flaco) Perez, Andro (Chino) Nieves, Eddie (Yang King) Pacheco, Ronald (Cisco) Tacardon, Hector (Scorpio) Semidey, Frank Khali Abney, Felix Castro Jr. Not shown: Enrique (Kike) Suarez, Jacques (Curly) Roberts, Luis (Shorty) Torres.

bers' cells and took them off to an unused part of the prison. There the Brigade was held, naked, in isolation cells for four hours while over 100 CERT officers stood guard.

Brigade shipped to Sing Sing

Later that night, without warning, the Brigade was illegally shipped to Sing Sing. When they got to Sing Sing, other prisoners and the guards were told: "These are the troublemakers from Napanoch." Felix Castro, a Brigade member, was provoked into a fight by the guards. Then they put him in the box where he is under "mental observation."

The rest of the Brigade is being kept in segregation. Little of their personal property has been returned to them. The guards have also stepped up the harassment of outside supporters visiting the Brigade.

The CERT raid and the transfer of the Brigade to

Sing Sing capped several months of increasing repression at Green Haven (see recent issues of *Torch-La Antorcha* for details). On July 3, the Green Haven keepers ordered 1,869 boxes of ammunition, including shotgun shells, .357 magnum and 9 mm shells. Many prisoner activists believed that the ammunition was bought in preparation for an Attica-type bloodbath.

On the morning of July 15, a large number of prisoners prevented guards from beating two prisoners who had been fighting. That afternoon, a large squad of guards, led by a known

Klanman formerly at Napanoch prison, invaded the gallery armed with riot sticks. They arrested three prisoners, including Brigade member Cisco Tacardon, and took them to the box.

That night, the 500 prisoners on the east side of the prison refused to lock in. Guards immediately sealed off the gallery and brought in a machine gun. A delegation of prisoners, including several Brigade members, went to negotiate with the warden. The warden promised to release the three brothers from the box and the prisoners locked in. The following morning not only were the

three not released, but three more prisoners were arrested. Tacardon reported to the *Torch* that his food was being drugged with Thorazine.

Defense charges conspiracy

On July 19, in response to these attacks, the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee sent a letter to Governor Carey charging that "the growing military preparations and the attempt on the part of high-level state officials to harass prisoner support groups all point to a conspiracy on the part of local and state level prison officials to cover up repression of inmates and preparations for reprisals against political prisoners. As governor of the State of New York you are responsible for the abuse of prisoners at Green Haven."

State and prison authorities responded not by doing something about Klan activity and the harassment of prisoners, but by increasing the harassment. Guards armed with riot sticks patrolled the visiting room. There was a complete changing of the guard in the galleries where the Brigade was housed, replacing older more experienced guards with young officers who were more likely to do something to trigger an incident. Known Klan guards from Napanoch were brought in. Finally CERT was brought in to occupy the prison.

Remember Napanoch!

NEW YORK CITY—Chanting: "Carey Lies—Prisoners Die!" and "Free the August 8th Brigade—Smash the Ku Klux Klan!" militant supporters of the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee picketed the offices of New York Governor Hugh Carey. The demonstration marked the first anniversary of the August 8, 1977, Napanoch prison rebellion.

The August 8th Brigade, 10 Latin and Black prisoners now at Sing Sing prison, faces criminal charges stemming from that rebellion. If convicted, they can get seven to 15 years in addition to their current sentences. The demands of the rebellion included the immediate firing of two known-Ku Klux Klan (KKK) guards, an end to unsanitary conditions at the prison, reforms in the parole system and amnesty for all prisoners involved in the rebellion.

At Napanoch, prisoners faced a well-organized KKK terror campaign. Guards wore their Klan hoods while on duty, burned crosses in prison yards and distributed white supremacist literature inside the prison. They also made death threats against Black and Latin prisoners and firebombed the cells of several prisoner organizers.

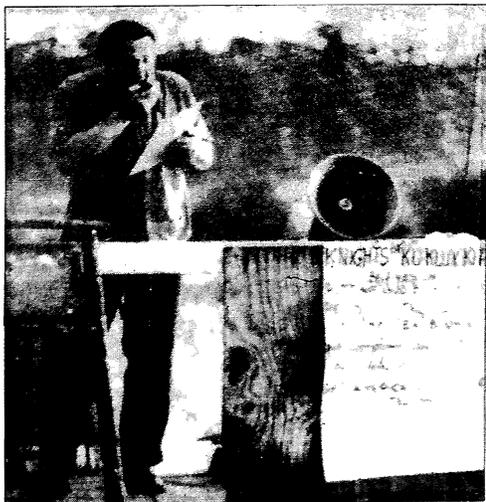
A leaflet distributed by the

demonstrators charged Governor Carey with responsibility for "allowing the Klan the freedom to organize in New York prisons, for covering up the scope of Klan activity and systematically attacking prisoners who are leading the fight against the Klan." The governor's cover-up includes suppressing an official report documenting widespread guard membership in the KKK.

Following the reading of solidarity messages, a spokesperson for the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee addressed the rally. Discussing the Brigade and their struggle, he said: "The Brigade members are not criminals. They are political prisoners, organizers and activists. Their struggle against oppression in the prisons is the same as our struggle on the streets for more jobs, better housing, decent education and an end to police terror."

"Nearly 85 percent of the prisoners in New York State are Black and Latin. This is because Black and Latin people are the special victims of racism, unemployment and poverty. Those who struggle against these conditions—or those who merely struggle to survive—are gunned down by the racist cops or thrown into jail. The majority of people in prison are our working-class brothers and sisters. They are guilty of nothing more than fighting back against the capitalist system which oppresses all of us."

The picket line was part of the Defense Committee's effort to mobilize support for the Brigade. Their trials are expected to begin soon. Solidarity messages, contributions and requests for further information can be sent to: August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036; or call (212) 869-9239.



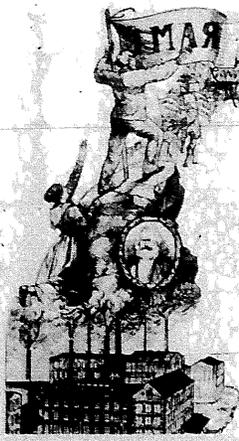
N.Y. State prison guard Charles Holland speaks at KKK rally. Napanoch prisoners identified over 35 guards suspected of Klan membership, including the Grand Dragon of the Independent Northern Klans. But a N.Y. District Court judge ruled that Klan membership by prison guards is not a threat to Black and Latin prisoners. SMASH THE KKK!

To Our Readers in Prison:

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

How Lenin Built The Bolshevik Party



By SUSAN EDMUNDS

Revolutionary workers today face a key task in the fight for a better society—the building of a revolutionary working-class party. A revolutionary party is needed to unite the working class and lead it in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and to build a socialist society.

As we work to build the revolutionary party, it is worth looking at how V.I. Lenin built the Bolshevik Party, the leadership of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Seventy-five years ago, in August of 1903, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) split in two. One wing—Lenin's forces—became known as the Bolsheviks (which means majority in Russian). The Bolsheviks stood for a centralized and disciplined revolutionary party. The other wing, the Mensheviks (minority), were for a looser and less disciplined (and, as it turned out, a reformist) party.

The early social democratic movement

Behind this disagreement lay years of struggle in the Russian Marxist movement over what kind of party was needed and what its tasks were.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Marxism was taking root among sections of the students, the intelligentsia and the working class in Russia. At that time, Marxists were known as **social democrats**.

The young Marxist movement faced huge obstacles. Russia was an autocracy—ruled by a tsar who had absolute power. The people were denied the most basic rights, like freedom of speech and of the press. Strikes were illegal and trade-union organizing was banned. All dissent was ruthlessly suppressed.

Because of its inexperience and the heavy repression, the early social democratic movement was very disorganized. There were small local groups (called circles) which studied Marxism and discussed political and theoretical questions.

But the circles never lasted long. They were infiltrated and busted up by the secret police. The social democrats were arrested, sent to prison, or exiled to Siberia.

Lenin described this early stage of Russian social democracy as "primitivism." It had several main characteristics.

First, the circles were rela-

tively isolated from the working class.

Second, every time a local social democratic circle was busted up, the new one would have to start work from scratch.

And third, the circles in the different localities were isolated from each other. There was no central organization to coordinate and lead the work of all the circles.

Lenin's goal was to put an end to the primitivism of the social democratic movement. To this end, in the autumn of 1895 he founded the **League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class** in Petrograd, the capital of Russia.

Around the same time, a wave of industrial strikes broke out—the beginning of a tremendous upsurge in the class struggle. This shook many of the social democratic circles out of their study

"Give us an organization of revolutionists and we will overturn the whole of Russia."

—V.I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" 1902

that "the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself."

Lenin's struggle for revolutionary unity

While still in exile, Lenin wrote articles exposing and attacking the Economists. Lenin believed that the only road to a unified, all-Russian revolutionary party was a

will conceal prevailing confusion...."

In order to launch this struggle for political clarity in the social democratic circles, and to weld the circles together, Lenin developed the idea of putting out a newspaper throughout all of Russia.

Upon his release from exile, therefore, Lenin traveled to different social democratic circles to get their endorsement for a new newspaper—**Iskra** (Spark)—and a theoretical journal. He also enlisted some of the most prominent social democrats to be on **Iskra's** editorial board: G. Plekhanov, Vera Zasulich, Paul Akselrod, A. Potresov and Y.O. Martov.

At this time there was also discussion in the social democratic movement of holding the second congress of the RSDLP. The first congress had taken place in 1898. However, the tsarist police had found out about it and arrested all the delegates shortly after it began. Therefore no real party had been formed.

Lenin envisioned the new newspaper and journal as the organizers for the second congress.

When **Iskra** was founded in December 1900, Lenin used its pages to lay out what he saw as the tasks of the social democratic movement. In an article entitled "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," published in the first issue of **Iskra**, Lenin wrote:

"Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and political organization of the working class."



Lenin (center) and members of League of Struggle, 1895.

orientation. They began doing mass agitation among the workers.

But before Lenin could take advantage of the upsurge to build the League of Struggle, he and other members were arrested in December of 1895. Lenin spent two years in prison followed by three years in Siberian exile.

During this period, the primitivism of the early movement had given birth to a new danger—that of **Economism**. The Economists wanted the workers to limit their struggle to economic—"bread-and-butter"—issues.

The workers should leave the political struggle—the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the tsar—to the bourgeois liberals. Lenin described what this meant:

"It is claimed that the economic struggle is of predominant importance; the political tasks of the working class are pushed into the background, narrowed down, and restricted... that the workers should carry on only the economic struggle and leave politics to the intelligentsia in alliance with the liberals."

This view had nothing in common with Marxism which, above all else, holds

sharp struggle over political perspectives. This way unity would be built on real agreement, not on some vague principles. As he later wrote in September 1900:

"Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation. Otherwise our unity will be purely fictitious, it



Assassination of Tsar, 1881. Lenin struggled to build revolutionary party to overthrow tsarism.

(Continued from page 8)

wasn't time—then the leadership bodies had the right to decide what the line of the party would be. And each leadership body had to abide by the decisions of the higher bodies.

As Lenin put it, the party had to be made up of "people who will devote the whole of their lives, not only their spare evenings, to the revolution." He called these people professional revolutionaries. And obviously only the professional revolutionaries would be prepared to do whatever the party needed, to withstand bad times as well as good, to face the brutal repression the tsarist regime would rain down on the revolutionaries.

This, then, is the outline of Lenin's vision of the revolutionary party. He hammered these points home time and again in *Iskra* and in numerous pamphlets, the most famous of which is *What Is To Be Done?* At that time, the entire editorial board of *Iskra* agreed with Lenin's views.

By 1902, the Economists had been effectively defeated. Whole sections of the working class had taken up the struggle against the autocracy. *Iskra* had won over the great majority of the social democratic circles in Russia. Meanwhile, all during 1902, the *Iskra*-ists made feverish preparations for the congress, to be held the following year.

The congress opened in Brussels, Belgium, in July 1903. But because the tsar's ambassadors put pressure on the Belgian government, the congress had to be moved to London. All told, the congress lasted over three weeks. Delegates came from social democratic groups all over Russia.

Lenin expected only two sources of opposition to *Iskra's* program and proposals at the congress. One was from the few delegates of the old Economist forces. The

other was from the Bund, the social democratic organization for Jewish workers. The Bund demanded that it alone could make decisions for the party on any question relating to Jewish workers. This was completely opposed to *Iskra's* position for a democratic centralist party. Aside from the old Economist forces and the Bund, however, all the delegates were part of the *Iskra* forces.

However, through the course of the debates, the *Iskra* forces split almost right down the middle. The



Iskra editors V. Zaslulich (left) and Y. Martov (right) opposed Lenin at 1903 Congress. G. Plekhanov (center) supported Mensheviks after Congress.

unity among the *Iskra*-ists before the congress was totally shattered by the end of the congress.

At stake in this struggle was whether the RSDLP was going to be a tight, disciplined (and really revolutionary) party made up only of the most dedicated and committed workers, or a looser (and reformist) organization incapable of taking decisive action, and not having the cadre to carry out its decisions. At the time, however, only Lenin and his supporters really understood that this was the fundamental issue. The split itself came over two apparently small questions.

The first was the wording of the party rules on who

could be a member. Lenin's wording, originally endorsed by the entire *Iskra* board, said that members had to personally participate in one of the party's organizations. This meant that a member had to work in, and be under the direct discipline of, a party organization.

The wording submitted by Martov, representing the split-off *Iskra*-ists, said that members had to give the party personal assistance under the direction of one of the party's organizations. In other words, members did not necessarily have to be active in a party organization; they merely had to "do their bit" for the party, with the guidance of a party organization. This was a far cry from the kind of disciplined party all had supposedly agreed on before the congress!

After a long and bitter debate, in which the split-off *Iskra*-ists blocked with the Bund and the Economists, Lenin's wording failed. But Lenin was determined to see

the struggle through.

The next item on the agenda was the request of the Bund for autonomy on issues related to Jewish workers. Even the newly formed opposition had to oppose this, since it violated their long-standing principle against autonomy for any party organization. The Bund's request therefore failed, and the Bund walked out in protest.

The next ones to go were the old Economists. They opposed *Iskra* being the official newspaper of the new

ing leadership.

The newly formed opposition howled at Lenin's proposal. They accused him of being cruel and heartless for wanting Zaslulich and Axelrod—two well-known, long-time social democrats—off the board.

But for Lenin, the issue was a strong party versus sentimentality. It was a question of a party that had the leadership and discipline to actually lead a revolution, or a party that would only play at being revolutionary.

Because of the previous walkouts, when the vote on the editorial board was taken, Lenin's forces had a majority. But this vote (and the vote on the party rules) split the RSDLP into two hostile factions. Lenin's forces became known as the Bolsheviks (which means majority-ites in Russian). They had the majority on the vote on the composition of the *Iskra* editorial board. Martov's forces became known as the Mensheviks (minority-ites) because they had the minority.

For years after the second congress, the struggle between these two factions continued to be fought out. But the true test of Lenin's strategy came 14 years later—in 1917.

When, in February of 1917, the Russian workers and peasants toppled the tsar, the Mensheviks made a deal to turn power over to the liberal capitalists. And at every point in the following months, as the workers and peasants' militancy and determination grew, the Mensheviks kept looking for ways to head off the coming revolution and keep the capitalists in power.

Only the Bolshevik Party, hardened in the long years of struggle, was able to lead the working class in the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the world's only workers state.

Unite to Smash the Nazis And the KKK!

(Continued from page 1)

KKK and Nazis: Many of the so-called socialist groups, such as the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), tell the workers to rely on the police and courts to stop the fascists. PLP/CAR, however understand that the capitalist police and courts work to the advantage of the fascists. At Oxnard, the anti-fascist demonstrators had to fight the police to even get close enough to hurt the Klansmen.

The defeat of the KKK at Oxnard adds to the series of victories which have been won against the KKK and Nazis in recent months. However, these racist forces are far from being beaten. They are beginning to organize broader support in many parts of the country. The rotting economic and social conditions under capitalism are constantly providing fresh opportunities for the fascists to build a following among racist whites.

To defeat the KKK and Nazis, all revolutionaries and militants who want to wage a determined struggle against these racists must unite. Today, there are large numbers of militants ready to join a fight-to-the-death struggle against the fascists. In contrast to the legalist and pacifist CP and SWP, they want to organize fighting groups to clear the fascists off the streets. They don't want to beg the courts to outlaw the fascists. And they don't want to depend on the police to suppress the fascists, because they understand that the police are nothing but legal thugs for the capitalists. They expect nothing but evasions and sellouts from the bureaucrats who control the trade unions.

These are people who have no interest in "peacefully protesting" against the fascists. They want to wipe them out. They understand that this job belongs to the working class and that it will

only get done against the opposition of the liberals, the government and the union bureaucrats.

In nearly all the confrontations which have taken place so far, however, the anti-fascist forces have not been united. As a result, our total effectiveness has been weakened. In the larger anti-fascist demonstrations, hundreds and even thousands of independent militants have turned out. But instead of being drawn into organized fighting groups, most of these people have been left to mill about in confusion.

Some of the left organizations send larger fighting contingents, some send smaller. But none of the organizations sending contingents are large enough to provide over-all leadership to the military struggle. They all tend to get swamped in the crowd. In any case, no single group has the political authority and trust necessary to unite the majority of militants there.

What is needed is a united front representing different political tendencies and independents who can agree

on a common plan and tactical leadership for militant action against the Nazis. Before each anti-Nazi action those organizations and individuals who want to organize a really militant fight against the Nazis should meet to coordinate their forces. They can discuss various tactical plans, make a decision and set up an arrangement for joint on-the-spot leadership. This type of united front will greatly increase the effective strength of the anti-Nazi forces. Until this kind of unity in action is established, much of the potential strength of the anti-fascist forces will continue to be wasted.

Among the most active groups leading the struggle to wipe out the fascists are PLP/CAR and the Revolutionary Socialist League. During the summer, however, there have been instances where the failure of these organizations to coordinate plans and forces weakened the anti-fascist struggle.

One example occurred on August 4. A small group of Nazis held a rally in Lansing, Illinois. PLP/CAR had about 40 people on the spot. The RSL and Black and White Defense Committee brought

another dozen. The police guard was very light when the Nazis first arrived. There was plenty of time for our combined forces to rush the Nazis and prevent the rally from taking place. Together, PLP/CAR and RSL/BWDC outnumbered the Nazis by more than four to one.

Instead of getting beaten, however, the Nazis were able to go ahead with their rally with only relatively minor harassment from the anti-fascist demonstrators. The Nazis won another victory because the anti-fascist forces worked independently of each other, rather than uniting our forces.

The RSL believes it is both necessary and possible for revolutionaries and militants to work out united actions against the KKK and Nazis. Through combining our forces and experience, we can strengthen the fighting power of the working class in future actions. While there are many serious political differences between groups like the RSL and PLP, for example, we see no reason why these should prevent us from coming to agreement on tactical plans and on-the-spot coordination of our fighting forces. Only the fascists stand to lose.

FIVE YEARS AFTER: Chilean Butchers Under Attack

Five years ago, on September 11, 1973, Chile's armed forces overthrew the elected government of Salvador Allende Gossens. The coup was planned and carried out with full U.S. backing. The military arrested tens of thousands of revolutionary and militant workers. Thirty thousand were murdered outright. Thousands more were imprisoned and tortured. The workers' parties and trade-unions were outlawed.

During the past five years, thousands of other militants have "disappeared." These missing persons were kidnapped by the secret police. Most were murdered; the rest are being held in secret and could be murdered at any time. Meanwhile, the workers' living standards have been driven below the level of survival.

In spite of all this repres-

sion, the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet is in trouble. It is under attack at home and abroad.

In recent months, the U.S. and the other Western imperialist powers have begun to move away from Pinochet. They have cut off all economic and military aid to Chile to put pressure on Pinochet to ease the repression and return to civilian rule.

In addition, the Pinochet dictatorship is involved in a serious quarrel with U.S. imperialism over the indictments of several agents of Chile's secret police. The agents were involved in the assassination of Allende's former ambassador to the U.S., Orlando Letelier del Solar. Letelier was killed in Washington, D.C., in 1976 when a bomb exploded in his car.



Allende supporters at 1973 rally.

The U.S. has traced those responsible for the bombing all the way to the recent director of the Chilean secret police, General Manuel Contreras, a close aide of Pinochet. The U.S. will ask for the extradition of Contreras and two other high officials. Pinochet is expected to refuse. This will further strain relations between the two governments.

The international opposition to Pinochet is mirrored in Chile by a growing movement spearheaded by the main capitalist party—the

Christian Democracy. The Christian Democrats are also calling for an easing of repression and a return to civilian rule. In spite of the brutally repressive climate, a number of demonstrations have been held, as well as various sit-ins in government offices demanding information on the fate of "disappeared" persons. These sit-ins have sparked similar sit-ins in a large number of Chilean embassies around the world.

An indication of the seriousness of the situation

can be seen in the fact that the opposition has spread all the way into the highest ranks of the armed forces themselves. In recent months General Gustavo Leigh—commander of the air force and one of the four generals who made up the ruling junta—came out strongly in favor of an early return to civilian rule.

On June 24, Pinochet fired Leigh. The general's firing has opened up a big crisis for the dictatorship. Leigh commands the loyalty of the air force. Pinochet had to bypass eight senior officers to find someone willing to replace Leigh on the junta. When the eight were sent into forced retirement, 10 other generals resigned in protest. Now there are reports of dissension in the army.

AUGUST 20, 1968 —

Russian Tanks Invade Czechoslovakia

On the night of August 20, 1968, 6,000 Russian tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia. The invaders claimed they were protecting "socialism" in Czechoslovakia. Their real goal was to restore Russia's stranglehold over the country.

Russia loots Czech economy

Ten years later, the rape of Czechoslovakia remains the sharpest reminder that Russia's "socialism" is a fraud.

Czechoslovakia has been a Russian economic colony ever since the Communist Party took over the country in 1948. The Russian rulers forced their new partners to accept trade agreements which allowed Russia to buy Czechoslovakian industrial goods at rock-bottom prices.

By 1955, over one-third of Czechoslovakia's exports went to Russia. Five years later, the economy was crumbling under a balance of payments crisis. In 1963, the economy was headed for full-scale depression. Premier Antonin Novotny was forced to cancel Czechoslovakia's Five Year Plan for economic development.

This crisis sparked a rising opposition to Novotny's government. Middle-class intellectuals called for an end to censorship and for other political reforms. The Slovak national minority in Czechoslovakia demanded more control over its own affairs. Victims of purge trials in the 1950s began criticizing Novotny's dictatorial regime.

In January 1968, the Communist Party leadership removed Novotny from office and installed Alexander Dubcek in his place. To relieve the economic crisis, they asked U.S. imperialism and

its allies for help. The Dubcek forces hoped to improve Czechoslovakia's trade by finding new markets in the West.

Inside Czechoslovakia itself, the new government carried out economic and political reforms to stabilize the economy, win middle-class support and reverse the growing isolation of the central government bureaucracy. It began to decentralize the economy. It also cut back censorship and revived some of the political organizations which had been banned since 1948.

To increase productivity, the Dubcek government stepped up the attacks on the workers. It closed down factories, laid off workers, and enforced increasing speedup in the plants. Dubcek tried to hide these at-

tacks behind promises of allowing greater worker participation in decision-making.

But the workers took Dubcek's promises at face value. They organized powerful wildcat strikes in Bohemia and Slovakia. Hundreds of thousands of workers signed petitions demanding free speech and political reforms.

The Dubcek policies met stiff opposition from the Russian ruling class, because these policies threatened Russian control of the Czechoslovakian economy. Moreover, the Russians were convinced that Dubcek was losing control of the reform movement and endangering state-capitalist rule in Czechoslovakia. After repeated efforts to put pressure on the Dubcek forces, Brezhnev ordered his troops into Czechoslovakia.

When the Russians crossed the border, the Dubcek government caved in. It refused to organize resistance, and ordered the masses not to fight back. Government representatives even worked out a "compromise" with their imperialist Russian masters. They cancelled the reforms and accepted new agreements which tied the Czechoslovakian economy even closer to Russia. In return, the Russians allowed them to stay in the government.

In fact, the Russian ruling class was simply using these "reformers" to cool down the situation. After six months, Dubcek and his supporters were kicked out of office and replaced by the Russian puppet, Gustav Husak.

Smash Russian imperialism

Today, Russian imperialism holds Czechoslovakia and other East European nations in an iron fist. The 40 Russian army and air force divisions stationed in Eastern Europe are an occupying army which tramples on the independence of these countries to maintain Russian imperialist control of the area.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia should have proven once and for all that Russia is not a socialist country nor a workers' state of any kind. As the events of August 1968 also show, the state-capitalist rulers of the Eastern European countries will not lead the fight to smash Russian imperialism. Workers in Eastern Europe must rely on themselves for their own liberation. They must build a revolutionary party to seize power from their own ruling class and drive out Russian imperialism. □

Opposition grows

The current split in the military junta provides the capitalist opposition with a rallying point inside the armed forces. It makes for a powerful new opposition group that can be expected to join forces with the Christian Democratic politicians and with the U.S.

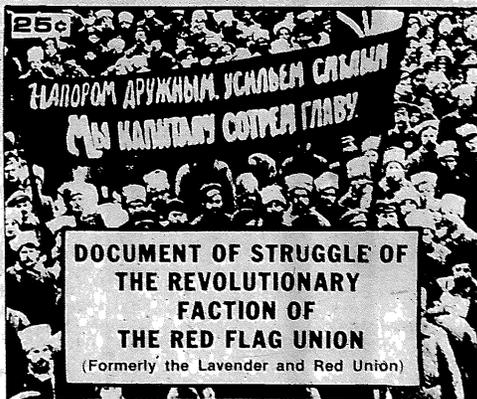
The Chilean workers cannot be indifferent to the increasing splits and squabbles among the rulers. The more the dictatorship is fragmented and under attack, the less it will be able to come down on the workers. The more the other classes demonstrate and organize, the easier it will be for the workers to take to the streets.

However, none of these opposition forces represent a real alternative for the workers. They are all deadly enemies of the working class. The liberal Christian Democrats and the capitalist class they represent welcomed the military takeover five years ago. The "liberal" Leigh was one of the four butchers who led the coup.

The key lesson of the last five years is that the workers should rely on no one but themselves. Chile's workers must reject any alliance with the capitalist class, and the notion that the system can be reformed from within. It was Allende's reformist strategy based on these illusions that caused the catastrophe five years ago.

Chile's workers should not fight for a program of bourgeois democracy. They must build a movement to overthrow capitalism and take over the country through socialist revolution. □

BASIC ANALYSIS OF STATE CAPITALISM



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the Black peoples—the South African rulers have brought the Turnhalle Alliance to a point where it is about even with SWAPO in popular support. The two groups are now expected to go neck and neck in the elections.

In this situation, the NNF could easily end up holding the balance of power. In addition, South Africa's troops as well as a contingent of 1000 UN troops—will be here to make sure that SWAPO "plays fair" if it gets less than 50 percent of the vote.

Sellout swamped over Walvis Bay

It's unclear if this sellout deal will hold. SWAPO wants the area known as Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia. The Western powers back this claim although it was kept out of the deal.

Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep-water port. Without it, the country is cut off from its future government and would have a tough time checking South Africa. The South African regime wants to keep Walvis Bay as a club against Namibia, to prevent it from moving against South African interests in the future. They also fear the possible use of the port by the Russians. They are threatening to pull out of the deal if Walvis Bay is to be handed over before independence.

If this deal holds, it will be a defeat for the Namibian people and will slow down the pace of the armed struggle in southern Africa as a whole. But the deal can't stop the struggle. Deal or no deal, the territory of apartheid continues to shrink. The coming of Black states continues to tighten around the island of white-minority South Africa itself. The fate of southern Africa will be decided there. □

Irish people protest British occupation

Thousands of militant Irish women and men demonstrated against British imperialism in Belfast, Northern Ireland, on August 9. Crowds attacked several police stations with stones and gasoline bombs. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), which has led the resistance to British rule, carried out six gun battles with the occupation troops. The British government mobilized over 20,000 troops and police to repress the demonstrators.

The militants were marking the seventh anniversary of the British internment policy in Northern Ireland. Under this policy, thousands of Catholics were thrown into concentration camps without trial. Although the British government officially ended internment without trial in 1976, it continues to jail and torture Irish nationalists and revolutionaries in Northern Ireland.

The Irish people have been fighting against British control of Northern Ireland for over 50 years. By 1920, Britain was kicked out of most of Ireland. But the British imperialists joined up with a Protestant colonial elite in Ireland to chop off six northern Irish counties in which Protestants had become a majority of the population. These counties have been kept to this day under the English flag. In the late 1960s the Catholic minority stepped up its struggle to drive out the British. As a result, Britain sent troops to occupy the area. Today, the area remains under Britain's direct military control.

The territory of Northern Ireland is a product of British imperialism. Revolutionaries must support the struggle to complete the unification of Ireland.

U.S. hits P.R. independence movement

U.S. imperialism—acting through its local puppets—has launched another drive to smash the Puerto Rican independence movement. On July 25, police affiliated with Puerto Rico's colonial government ambushed and killed two activists of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP)—Carlos Enrique Soto Arrizi and Arnaldo Diario Rosado. The cops claimed the two militants were trying to sabotage communications towers in Villalba. An undercover cop, Alejandro Gonzalez Malave, set the two up. He led them into the death trap.

Gonzalez Malave also set up eight other PSP militants. On July 27, they were arrested and charged with robbery and attempted murder.

According to PSP leaders, Gonzalez Malave infiltrated their party about four years ago. Recently, PSP leaders isolated him from the party after finding out that he was trying to involve party members in terrorist activities. These included shooting at the homes of leading politicians and assembling material for making bombs.

These brutal and calculated murders make clear that the Puerto Rican hacks who front for U.S. imperialism are trying to smash, sabotage and discredit the PSP. The entire movement for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico is threatened by these cowardly provocations.

The U.S. imperialists and their allies in the Puerto Rican ruling class will continue to trample on the democratic rights of all Puerto Ricans to keep the island safe for U.S. domination. The revolutionary socialist movement the world over must come to the defense of the PSP. We must condemn these cowardly and brutal assassinations, and demand that the U.S. imperialists get completely out of Puerto Rico now.

NO TO APARTHEID!
FOR THE BLACK WORKERS

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TO APARTHEID!
TO THE BLACK WORKERS'
IN
AFRICA!



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Generals stage coup in Bolivia

On July 19, General Juan Pereda led a military takeover in Bolivia. Despite their recent promises of democracy, Bolivia's generals are determined to maintain their hold over the country. Pereda was the military's hand-picked candidate for president in the elections which took place on July 9. To make sure he won, the government stuffed the ballot boxes so much that there were 50,000 more votes than eligible voters. This gave Pereda a bare majority.

Opposition parties immediately condemned the election as a fraud, and a team of 10 international observers agreed. On July 19 the National Election Court cancelled the election results and called for a new vote in six months. First, Pereda said he would accept the court's verdict. But once back in his headquarters in Santa Cruz, he declared himself elected and ordered President Hugo Banzer to step down. Banzer and his military cronies did just that.

Pereda has promised new elections in 18 months. He has sworn that union leaders and opposition politicians have nothing to fear from him. But his first act as Bolivia's new dictator was to jail at least 100 labor and student leaders. It's clear that his takeover means a new series of attacks against the workers and peasants of Bolivia.

—TC

CAPITALIST CRISIS IN JAMAICA— THE SOCIALIST ANSWER

On May 9, the ruling party in Jamaica, the liberal-capitalist People's National Party (PNP), announced the terms of a new \$250 million loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The terms, negotiated by PNP Prime Minister Michael Manley, included a 43.6 percent devaluation of the Jamaican dollar over the next year.

As a result of the devaluation, Jamaican workers are being driven deeper into poverty and misery. Prices have skyrocketed on basic goods like cooking gas, rice, flour and salt-fish. In addition, further cutbacks are expected in health, education and social programs.

Since the loan was announced, all sections of Jamaican society have been debating how to pull the country out of the current crisis. The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), the rival capitalist party, has called for renegotiating the terms of the loan. However, like the PNP, they want to make the Jamaican working class pay for the capitalist crisis.

The Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) is the only organization fighting for a revolutionary working-class solution to the crisis. The following is a reprint from Forward, the newspaper of the RML. The article explains what the IMF is and why the Jamaican working class loses no matter what terms are struck with it. Central to the RML's strategy is building a Leninist revolutionary party to lead the fight for socialism and workers' rule.

In spite of what the capitalists say, worldwide capitalism is heading for total break-up. Here in Jamaica, the present collapse of the economy is a sharp reminder that frequent crises are a built-in part of capitalism everywhere.

The world capitalist system has been hit by increasingly sharper crises since 1900. The two world wars and the rise of fascism in Europe represented last-ditch attempts by the ruling classes of the main capitalist powers to prevent their system from dying a natural death.

Falling rate of profit

At the root of the many



L.: Bay of Pigs, 1961. Rt.: U.S. Sen. Church with Castro, 1978. U.S. now uses "aid" to control underdeveloped countries.

crises of capitalism is the fact that the wealth produced by hundreds of millions of workers worldwide is controlled by only a small number of people. In order to keep itself in power, this capitalist minority—such as the Rockefellers in the U.S. and their lackeys like the Matalons in Jamaica—is constantly forced to chase profits and strengthen itself. It does this at the expense of the working class, through chopping wages, cutting production, raising prices, using more machinery and technology, while cutting jobs and getting more and harder work out of fewer people.

But by constantly grinding down workers and replacing them by machines, the capitalists end up cutting their own throats. For since it is workers' labor power that produces profits, the drive to

the betrayals of the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties.

With Europe and Russia in ruins at the end of the war the U.S. became the strongest industrial power, with 75 percent of the world's gold reserves and 65 percent of its industrial production. While world capitalism recovered from the war, the U.S. capitalists managed to strengthen themselves further through large-scale plunder of the other capitalist countries and their old colonial possessions.

So the U.S. rebuilt Western Europe and Japan to contain the expansion of Russian imperialism. In doing this, U.S. imperialism exploited the low-wage, high-profit situation in these countries. Similarly, the labor and natural resources of countries like Jamaica were



In Haiti, 10-year-old child cuts cane for U.S. firm.

cut the number of workers employed, and use machinery instead, leads to an overall fall in the rate of profit (or falling growth rate). It is this that causes the crises.

Post-war boom

During the period from World War II to the early 1970s, the effects of the falling rate of profit were less obvious. For these 30 years, capitalism prospered. This was because of the defeat of the international working class which had rebelled in many countries such as France, Germany, Hungary and Poland after the war. In every case, these struggles were disarmed by

systematically raped and billions of dollars drained off as "returns" on massive U.S. investment. Also, these countries were forced to buy U.S. goods if they wanted U.S. "aid." By means of this "aid," the U.S. capitalists were able to edge out exports from the Western European nations which had strongly re-entered the race for markets by the late 1950s.

Along with this plunder went a tremendous increase in state intervention, mainly in the form of military spending and other kinds of waste production. In this way, the U.S. government subsidized the profits of the largest steel and oil companies and strengthened the U.S. army

to control the rest of the world.

The IMF

The key institution in maintaining the post-war stability of Western imperialism and the U.S. position as the chief capitalist state was the International Monetary Fund. Formed in 1944, the IMF is an organization supposedly concerned to help countries with foreign-exchange problems by making short-term loans from money contributed by member nations. But from the beginning, the IMF has acted as a naked tool of U.S. imperialism—aiding the U.S. capitalists' penetration of other countries' economies and guaranteeing them fantastic profits.

The U.S. managed to gain control of the IMF because the number of votes a country has is decided by how much money it puts into the IMF. Being the largest contributor to the fund, the U.S. has the most votes: 36 percent at the beginning; over 20 percent now. Like the other main contributors to the IMF—such as Britain, France and Germany—the U.S. elects one of the 20 executive directors who run it. Under U.S. law, the U.S. director is bound to follow the orders of the U.S. government.

So total was U.S. control of the IMF that until 1956, all its decisions, including the terms of loans, were really made by the U.S. government.

Today, U.S. imperialism is weakening and its share in the IMF's reserves has been cut. In spite of this, it continues to dominate the IMF, as all major decisions have to be decided by an 80 percent majority. The U.S.'s voting strength allows it to block proposals it dislikes.

Besides, U.S. imperialism has always been able to make deals with the other big capitalist countries in the IMF especially to gang up against countries of the underdeveloped world.

U.S. imperialism has benefited from its control of the IMF in three main ways. First, the U.S. has been able to borrow the most from the IMF because it puts in the most. So between 1960 and 1967 the U.S. government made up one-tenth of its

budget from loans from the IMF!

Secondly, the tremendous savings of the IMF—over \$20 billion—are mainly invested in U.S. government bonds. This amounts to a free loan to the U.S. government on top of any other borrowing it may make from the IMF.

Finally, the U.S. benefits from the IMF's "stabilization" program. This is the real weapon of the IMF and includes wage controls, removal of import and foreign-exchange controls, devaluation, removal of government subsidies and price controls encouraging foreign investment, and profit guarantees. When an underdeveloped country such as Jamaica gets an IMF loan, it receives the money little by little until all the conditions are met.

The main effect of the IMF's merciless economic measures is to speed up the drain of wealth from the weaker capitalist countries to the big imperialist countries and especially the U.S.—imperialism's ring-leader. The borrower country is forced to buy more from the imperialists, cut government spending on useful social programs, cut taxation on local and foreign capitalists while raising the amount of tax workers have to pay, starving out the masses of working people and working them much harder. In this way the profits of the imperialist

Stalinist T

On June 27 in Kingston, Jamaica, thugs from the Stalinist Workers Liberation League (WLL) beat up a supporter of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). The attack took place at the Kingston YWCA during a public rally in solidarity with the struggle in Uruguay.

Answering the WLL's appeal for broad participation, the RML sent a group of supporters to the rally. The WLL leadership was hostile to the RML taking part. Instead of going after the main RML group, however, the WLL leaders had their goons gang up on one isolated comrade who was distributing the Forward (the RML newspaper).

The incident at the Uruguay rally is the latest development in the WLL's campaign of slanders and threats against the RML. Past issues of Struggle, the WLL newspaper, have contained articles attempting to link the RML with the reactionary Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and to the CIA. The WLL rumor mills have been even bolder in spreading lies that the RML is a pro-imperialist organization.

In addition, the WLL has often threatened RML supporters with physical attack at political rallies, meetings and demonstrations. The WLL has tried to stomp the

The IMF can't wo

The IMF's program cannot work and it will not work in Jamaica. Let us look at the features of the program to see why.

Take devaluation. Its effect is to make us export more and import less. Since we import almost all our needs especially food, this means that we will have to produce more to pay, starving out the masses of working people and working them much harder. In this way the profits of the imperialist

Forward from the United West Indies. Now we are turning to open violence and attempt to silence the RML.

The Revolutionary Marxist League continues to lead the WLL leadership cowardly attack on the working-class RML leadership. The WLL exposes about unity as a

The WLL's attack also clear the way for increased capitalist against the RML revolutionaries. The state will use among left-wing control them, class are "dangerous" na.

WLL fears political str

The WLL is afraid to go beyond the working class and into an open and direct discussion of its differences with the RML. They know that su



...are greatly in-
reased.

But the IMF's stabilizing
effect was to prove short-
lived. By the late 1960s it
was clear that a new crisis
was on the way.

In the U.S., government
borrowing was sky-high,
production was down and
growing competition from
Western Europe and Japan
cut profits.

In the underdeveloped
countries, the burden of
huge and growing debts
hung like a weight around
the necks of the local
capitalists, stunting their growth.
Similarly, falling production
forced the weaker state-capi-
talist countries like Yugo-
slavia, Hungary, Rumania
into borrowing from the IMF
and western capitalist na-
tions.

The IMF program can't work

The IMF's "stabilization"
program cannot work. It has
not worked anywhere else
and it will not work in
Jamaica. Let us look at some
of the features of the IMF's
program to see why this is
so.

Take devaluation. Its main
effect is to make the goods
we export cheaper, and
those we import more ex-
pensive. Since Jamaica de-
pends almost totally on im-
ports, especially raw mate-
rials, it causes rising prices.
This means that people buy
less, so production falls and
unemployment rises. So the
IMF causes unemployment.

And because most of the
goods we export are made
from imported raw materials,
it costs more to make them,



The main effect of the IMF's merciless economic measures is to speed up the drain of wealth from the weaker capitalist countries to the big imperialist countries and especially the U.S.—imperialism's ringleader. In Jamaica this means rising prices, 15 percent wage guidelines and increasing repression by the capitalists' security forces—especially on workers exercising their right to strike.



and so when they are ex-
ported, they are just as ex-
pensive as before. So deval-
uation doesn't help our ex-
port industries. Even the
sugar and banana industries,
which rely less on imports,
will not benefit from deval-
uation because production
costs are too high.

The steadily rising foreign
debt will further weaken the
government's financial posi-
tion, driving Manley and the

capitalists back to the IMF to
beg even more loans.

Finally, the capitalists are
to be guaranteed profits of
20 percent on investment.
This is higher than the rate
of profit in the U.S. itself. It
is close to the rate in South
Africa which is maintained
through brutal repression of
the Black workers by the
bloody apartheid dictator-
ship. In Jamaica this high
level of profit will be main-

tained by rising prices, 15
percent wage guidelines and
increasing repression by the
capitalists' security forces—
especially on workers exer-
cising their right to strike.

The IMF and the capitalist
politicians of the PNP say
that when the capitalists get
more profit they will invest
more in the country, thus
creating more jobs, increas-
ing production and so on.
But for years the imperialists
and their local agents have
milked the country of hun-
dreds of millions of dollars.
Meanwhile they don't use
their money to develop in-
dustry; they ship it abroad or
just stick it in the bank. Un-
employment has gone up to
around 30 percent, produc-
tion stalls and the masses
are faced with grinding pov-
erty and starvation.

While the capitalists are to
be guaranteed a 20 percent
rate of profit, up to three
years ago over 60 percent of
the Jamaican people re-
ceived only 19 percent of the
national income, that is, the
total wealth produced by the
workers and small farmers.
With the cost of living ex-
pected to go up by 75 per-
cent to 100 percent, while
wages are held down by the
wage guidelines, that 19 per-
cent share will be cut dras-
tically!

In sum, the effects of the
IMF's program will be to
slash production, drive the
working people toward star-
vation and worsen the pre-
sent crisis of Jamaican capi-
talism for the sake of the
imperialists' profits.

What is the alternative?

But what is the answer to
the IMF? Is it to renegotiate
the IMF terms as called for
by the JLP? Not at all!
Between 1962 and 1972 when
the JLP was in power, un-
employment more than dou-
bled, police brutality was
widespread, the country was
wide open to imperialist ex-
ploitation and victimization
and corruption were even
more rampant than now. The

JLP claims that it would
have been able to get better
terms from the IMF. But this
is a lie. The IMF works in the
interests of U.S. imperialism
and it doesn't care which
representatives of the Jami-
can ruling class want to
carry out its aims. What is
true is that the JLP would be
more shameless than the
PNP in heaping more repres-
sion and exploitation on the
backs of the working class
as demanded by the IMF.

The call by the WLL (Work-
ers Liberation League—a
pro-Russian Stalinist organi-
zation—Editor) and a minor-
ity in the PNP for a resched-
uling of the country's debts
is no more useful than the
JLP's approach. What re-
scheduling of debts means
is banking them up for a
future date when they will
weigh even more heavily on
the backs of the working
people. Allende's resched-
uling of Chile's debts did not
prevent the collapse of the
economy and the rise of
fascism.

The real answer to the IMF
is to reject it totally. The real
root of Jamaica's present
crisis is control of the econ-
omy by local capitalists and
their imperialist bosses—for
whom the IMF is an essen-
tial tool. It is private control
of the wealth and the means
of creating wealth that is the
cause of rising unemploy-
ment, housing shortages,
filthy communities, sky-
rocketing prices, poor social
services and all the other
shabby conditions that make
life a pain for the working
people of Jamaica and the
world.

The real answer to the IMF
is for workers to destroy capi-
talism in Jamaica and set up
a government of workers and
small farmers as the founda-
tion for socialism.

Such a government would
begin to deal with the pre-
sent crisis by cancelling all
the debts that the PNP and
JLP capitalist governments
have run up with the imper-
ialists and local capitalists.
These debts have only
helped the local capitalists
(Continued on page 17)

Stalinist Thugs Attack RML

Kingston. Forward from being circulated at the University of the West Indies. Now, the Stalinists are turning from threats to open violence in an attempt to silence and disrupt the RML.

The Revolutionary Socialist League condemns the WLL leadership for this cowardly attack on the RML. The WLL claims to stand for working-class unity. By silencing the RML and assaulting RML supporters, the WLL exposes its talk about unity as a lie.

The WLL's thug tactics also clear the way for increased capitalist repression against the RML and other revolutionaries and leftists. The state will use violence against left-wing groups to control them, claiming they are "dangerous" and "criminals."

Past is the WLL contained to link reactionary party (JLP). The WLL has even lies that imperialist

WLL fears political struggle

The WLL is forced to resort to lies and violence because it cannot deal with the program and work of the RML in an honest and political way. The WLL leadership is afraid to go before the working class and take part in an open and democratic discussion of its political differences with the RML. They know that such a dis-

ussion would provide more proof that the WLL is an obstacle in the path of the revolutionary struggle.

The WLL wants to silence the RML because its own strategy for the Jamaican working class is failing. The WLL encourages working people to look to Michael Manley, the liberal-capitalist prime minister, for leadership in the struggle for socialism. Yet with each month that goes by, it becomes more obvious that it is Manley, himself, who is leading the capitalist attacks on the working class. Manley's recent deal with the International Monetary Fund makes it clearer than ever before that the WLL's alliance with the PNP (People's National Party) government is an alliance with the workers' enemy.

As the battle lines of the class struggle are drawn more sharply, the WLL's political practice contradicts what it claims to be fighting for. To put down the growing class struggle, Manley is moving to the political right. Unwilling to break its alliance with Manley, the WLL is forced to take reactionary positions on key issues before the Jamaican working-class movement.

For example, the WLL has used its reputation as a so-called revolutionary organi-

zation to help the PNP regime cover up and justify the political murder of five ghetto youths by the security forces—the Green Bay Massacre. Because the WLL cannot defend the consequences of its pro-Manley strategy, it must try to suppress political discussion within the working-class movement.

In trying to silence the RML, the WLL is taking on the role of political police for the PNP regime. Today, it slanders and organizes physical attacks against revolutionary opponents of Manley. It is a thin line between this and the point where the WLL starts to work hand in hand with the security forces to suppress all working-class opposition to the PNP government.

The Jamaican capitalists are able to maintain their rule by keeping the workers and small farmers divided. The WLL plays right into this divide-and-conquer strategy when it attacks the RML. Rank-and-file members of the WLL must reject the political thuggery of the WLL leadership. Instead of dividing the working class, they should fight to unite the workers and small farmers against the capitalist class of Jamaica and their imperialist allies. □

By PAUL ALDRIDGE

"Leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and many in the middle class of our society."

—From the resignation letter by Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW)

On July 17, UAW President Doug Fraser sent his letter of resignation to the Labor-Management Group. The Labor-Management Group is a joint committee of union leaders and big businessmen responsible for convincing workers to accept the capitalists' plan for dealing with inflation, unemployment and other "national" problems. Fraser quit the committee claiming: "I cannot sit there seeking unity with the leaders of American industry while they try to destroy us and ruin the lives of the people I represent."

What was really behind Fraser's resignation? Did he really just now discover that there is a class war going on? Not hardly!

Bureaucrats hold back struggle

Fraser is well aware of the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. For years, Fraser and his cronies have used their control of the unions to hold back the working class's

struggle against the capitalists. Their job has been to keep workers under the thumb of the bosses—accepting speedup, layoffs and worsening working conditions. In return, the bosses granted certain concessions to the unionized workers—a pay raise here, more fringe benefits there and a few more days off.

These concessions helped the bureaucrats to maintain their base among rank-and-file workers. In addition, these labor fakery were able to use the votes of union members as a bargaining tool to build up their own

the world are drying up. And there is less fat for the bosses to use to bribe the better-organized workers.

Bosses step up attacks

In other words, the material basis for the deal between the bosses and the union bureaucrats is being destroyed in order to protect their profits, the capitalists have unleashed a harsh offensive against the working class. Workers' wages are being eaten up by inflation. Thousands of workers

workers are also feeling the crunch

In December, the miners were forced into a long, bitter strike to defend their union against the coal bosses' attempt to take away gains won through years of struggle. More recently, the postal workers' unions, facing the threat of mass firings and government strike-breaking, negotiated a rotten contract. And public workers across the country are being driven to the wall by layoffs and cutbacks.

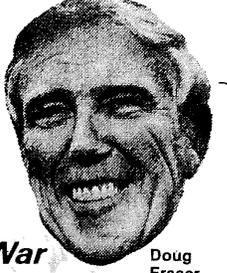
These attacks are feeding the growing discontent of the working class. Workers

out of control. They understand that it can become a threat to their hold on the unions.

This was the reason behind Fraser's resignation. To maintain his position in the UAW, he has to do two things. One, he has to convince the bosses to make more concessions. And two, he has to convince the workers that he is really fighting for their interests. By resigning, Fraser was warning his capitalist buddies: Give us a few more crumbs or we won't be able to discipline the workers. At the same time, he was putting on a militant face to trick rank-and-file workers into believing that he is on their side.

WHO DOES THIS MAN THINK HE'S KIDDING?

UAW Head "Discovers" Class War



Doug Fraser.

political power within the Democratic Party. The result of this deal was to divide the workers, preventing a united class struggle against the bosses.

Now, the capitalist system is in trouble. U.S. imperialism is getting weaker and the economy is stumbling toward a recession. This means that the super-profits the capitalists used to get from exploiting the rest of

have given up hope of ever getting a decent job and thousands more are in danger of being laid off. Social services are being slashed across the board.

These attacks fall most heavily on the heads of unemployed and non-union workers. These workers are less able to defend themselves because they are not organized to maximize their strength. But unionized

are beginning to fight back. The miners set the example by battling the coal bosses to a standoff after a three-month strike. And just this summer, thousands of postal workers and public workers wildcatted in support of their unions' demands.

The sharpening of the workers' struggles is scaring the union misleaders to death. They want to head off this struggle before it gets

"Agents of the capitalists"

Workers can't afford to be fooled by Fraser's new "militancy." It's a shuck. He has no intention of building a real fight to smash the bosses' attacks. He is only trying to get a little better deal and save his own hide.

Fraser and the other union leaders are agents of the capitalists within the workers' ranks. Workers should have no illusions in what they say or do. We can rely only on our own strength. To defend our interests, these fakery must be driven out of the unions and be replaced by a revolutionary leadership that will fight the bosses and organize an all-out assault on the whole capitalist system.

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Stearns strike enters 3rd year

In July, the miners' strike against the Blue Diamond Coal Company in Stearns, Kentucky, entered its third year. Over 500 people turned out on July 15 for a rally organized by the Stearns Women's Club in support of the miners.

For militants in the United Mine Workers (UMW) union, the Stearns strike has become a symbol of the struggle to organize the non-union miners in the coal fields. The strike began in 1976 shortly after the workers at Blue Diamond voted to join the UMW. The company triggered the strike by refusing to recognize the official union safety committee. Since that time, the coal bosses and the state government have waged a vicious fight to destroy the union in Stearns.

However, the Stearns miners have stood firm against the company gun thugs, court injunctions limiting the number of pickets and arrests and harassment by the police. The main roadblock in the way of winning the Stearns' strike is the UMW bureaucracy, itself. Union President Arnold Miller hasn't given the Stearns' miners more than a trickle of support. Miller is afraid that a militant organizing drive would further weaken his limited control over the union's rank and file.

Already oppositionists inside the union are seeking to oust Miller. On July 25, the International Executive Board (IEB) of the UMW threw out a recall petition. The Miners for Recall, a group led by ex-Boyle supporter Lee Roy Patterson, turned in 31,000 signatures demanding Miller's removal. This was more than double the 14,000 names needed to start the recall process under the union's constitution.

Militant UMW members must fight in the union for a major drive to organize the non-union mines, starting with the Stearns strike. This struggle can give militants an opening to organize opposition to Miller based on the interests of the rank and file. Miners should place no faith in the anti-Miller forces led by Patterson. A victory for Patterson would bring

back the dark days of corruption and gangsterism that the union went through under ex-President Tony Boyle.

Strike vote set at Romeo

Since May, autoworkers at the Ford tractor plant in Romeo, Michigan, have been fighting to get 17 fired workers reinstated with full back pay. The Romeo 17 were fired for participating in a wildcat strike at the tractor plant, which shut down production for 11 days last May. Workers were demanding an end to speedup and management harassment and action on 900 unsettled grievances.

When the workers were fired at the end of the wildcat, rank-and-file militants of United Auto Workers Local 400 formed the Committee To Bring 'Em Back. The committee has been organizing for an official strike to get the demands of the wildcat settled and to force management to reinstate the fired workers. However, the local union leadership tried to stall taking the strike vote.

Recently, the Local 400 bureaucrats agreed to hold the vote. This move was the result of growing pressure from the rank and file. Over 1,000 workers signed a petition demanding a strike vote and 400 workers attended the June union meeting. Inside the plant, work slowdowns were organized in support of the fired workers. Rather than risk another wildcat strike, the union leadership gave in.

Although the strike vote is now scheduled for August 15-17, workers must be on guard against the bureaucrats' maneuvers. Reports indicate that they are trying to limit the strike to the original demands of the wildcat. Militants will have to fight to get the issue of the Romeo 17's reinstatement included in the strike demands.

In addition, Romeo workers must prepare to wage a militant strike. First, this means making sure workers turn out to vote for a strike. Second, every union member must be convinced that instead of staying home and listening to the strike news on TV,

they should be out on the picket lines. And third, groups of union members should be sent to auto plants in Detroit to build support for the strike.

Finally, for the strike to be successful, a strong, militant leadership is needed. It is suicide to rely on the same so-called union leaders who refused to support the wildcat in May. The Committee To Bring 'Em Back is in the position to build this leadership if it acts now.

Pressmen shutdown NY dailies

On August 9, 1,800 members of the New York Printing Pressmen's Union went on strike, shutting down all three major New York daily newspapers. The strike is expected to be a long one, with some observers predicting that it will last into the fall.

The New York Times, the New York Post, and the Daily News provoked the strike by publishing a new set of work rules. The union estimates that half their members will be laid off if these rules are allowed to go into effect. Among the rules are provisions allowing management to fire any press operator with less than 10 years' seniority at the same company, and giving shop foremen more leeway to change work shifts to reduce overtime.

Management wants to either break the union outright, or force it to accept conditions that would cripple its ability to fight back. This is part of a national campaign to wreck the newspaper workers' unions.

The eight unions in the New York Allied Printing Trades Council are supporting the strike. Most important to the press operators is the support of the drivers who deliver the papers. As long as the drivers refuse to cross the press operators' picket lines, management can't come out with their papers. Even if they print them with supervisors, or in scab shops in New Jersey, they will have no way to get them out in the streets for sale.

Support the Press Operators' Strike!

—CG



Postal workers protest sellout in demonstration at N.Y. GPO, July 26.

Postal Workers Wildcat Over Rotten Contract

By a POSTAL WORKER CORRESPONDENT

On Thursday, July 20, negotiators for the U.S. Postal Service (USPS) and the three main postal workers' unions (the American Postal Workers Union, the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Laborers International Union of North America) announced a settlement for a new three-year contract.

On Friday, July 21, postal workers wildcatted at the Bulk and Foreign Mail Center in New Jersey, shutting down the world's largest bulk mail plant. The next day workers at the Richmond, California, Bulk Mail Center went out. On Sunday, workers from the New Jersey Bulk helped shut down the Meadows, New Jersey, first-class mail facility. On Monday, workers at the Washington, D.C., Bulk Center walked out briefly.

These workers were rebelling against the proposed

sellout contract, management abuse, and their own union leadership. The three-year contract they were offered fell far short of postal workers' needs. It called for a maximum wage increase of 6.5 percent a year, while inflation is now running 10 percent a year! And the contract did nothing to stop USPS's drive to wring more profits from the workers through job-cutting and speedup, mandatory overtime, and the use of part-time workers.

The contract is supposed to be ratified by the rank-and-file postal workers. But even if it gets voted down, the union hacks won't call a strike—because the bosses' law says postal workers can't strike. So militant workers decided they had better take matters into their own hands in order to smash the sellout.

On the East Coast, the center of militancy was the New Jersey Bulk. Workers there had wildcatted four

years ago, and they learned that they had to spread their strike to New York City in order to win.

On Saturday, members of the Good Contract Committee, the Mailhandlers' Local 300 Committee on Preparedness and the New York Postal Action Committee set up a large and militant picket line at New York's General Post Office (GPO). Some workers refused to go in, others walked out, while scores more confronted stewards and supervisors demanding to be signed out.

Gov't moves to smash strike

If the GPO could be shut down, the rest of NY's postal workers would have walked. So at this point, the government moved in to smash the strike. Over 100 workers were fired in New Jersey and California. And a federal judge, Frederick Lacey, came down with an injunction which banned speaking, meeting or passing out leaflets in support of a strike.

The government's repression made postal workers boiling mad, and the pressure on the union bureaucrats to lead a walkout grew rapidly. Moe Biller the New York area American Postal Workers Union president was forced to call an emer-

gency stewards' meeting. Many of the stewards were already marching on the picket lines and demanding a strike.

The same groups which had been active in the wildcat at the New Jersey Bulk organized a large and militant picket line at the stewards' meeting demanding that Biller shut New York down. These groups knew that if the rank and file could force Biller to make the strike official, New York would walk out and the rest of the country would follow. A national strike would smash the injunctions, smash the sellout and win total amnesty for the strikers.

Biller and his hacks' response was to try to confuse people. They knew that they couldn't refuse to call a strike outright, so they decided to appear to be for a strike in order to derail it.

Biller announced that he was four-square for a strike. But, instead of calling it immediately, he scheduled a strike vote for one week later. Until then, he said, all postal workers should return to their jobs. Biller knew that there was a good chance that the government wouldn't let the members vote anyway. And that's exactly what happened. Several days later while Biller and his hacks were running around boasting that they were prepared to lead a strike, the same Judge Lacey banned the vote. Biller went along without so much as an angry word.

Biller is a liberal, militant-talking labor bureaucrat. For years he has denounced the national leader-

ship of the postal unions for negotiating sellout contracts. But he has always refused to call a strike. Instead, he has always worked to direct the members' anger into the safe and harmless channel of voting down the contract and sending the leadership back to talk again.

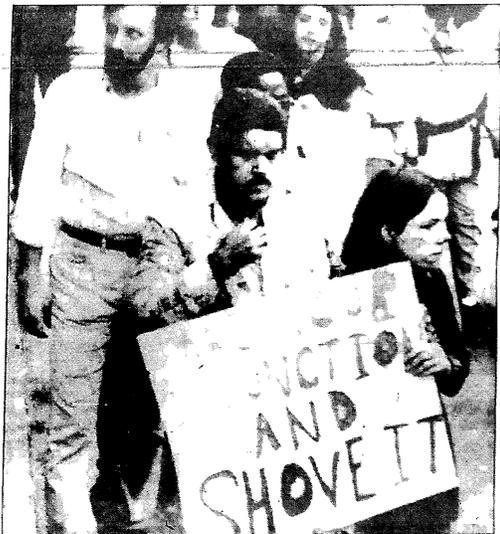
This time, the rank and file in New Jersey and California led the fight. Biller and his hacks did nothing about the sellout.

But this was not Moe Biller. He showed that he was not a liberal labor bureaucrat. He showed that he would accept defeat with a sellout contract and the firing of 100 of his own union members rather than going to battle against the government.

Organize to defeat the sellout

Despite the back-stabbing by Biller and the other union bureaucrats, postal workers have taken a step forward. The strikers know that postal workers don't have to take sellout contracts lying down. The struggle gave a big boost to the movement to vote down the contract. And it pressured the letter carriers' national convention to recommend rejecting the contract.

The struggle also has opened up opportunities for rank-and-file militants and revolutionaries to lead the fight. Right now this means organizing to vote down the sellout and prepare to strike. It means fighting to win complete and unconditional amnesty for the wildcaters.



PO workers picket judge who issued no-strike injunction.

We are reprinting the following article from Postal Action, bulletin of the New York Postal Action Committee. The article was written after over 100 workers were fired for participating in the wildcat.

This System Is a Fraud!

From the time we are born we get told we live in a democracy. We get told we have the freedom to assemble, and speak, to protest and organize.

PO workers this week learned what kind of "democracy" we have. We have the freedom to speak as long as we talk about the weather, Reggie Jackson, and say "yes, boss." We have the freedom to assemble as long as we're waiting for the bus or punching in on the clock. And we have the freedom to organize as long as we stick to softball leagues.

But when our speaking and organizing threaten the power, privileges and profits of the bosses who run this society, then we might as well live under Hitler. We've been fired, jailed, hit with injunctions and visited in the middle of the night by inspectors and the FBI for WALKING A PICKET LINE, PASSING OUT A LEAFLET OR SPEAKING OUT.

This "democracy" they tell us about is a fraud. It's for the bosses, inspectors and judges, not for us. And the sooner we organize a movement to smash this fraud to pieces, the better off we'll be. Because then we'll have the opportunity to build a genuine socialist society which is run by all of us.

POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS!

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O, July 26.

Wildcat Contract

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This time the rank and file in New Jersey and California called his bluff. They went and did something about the sellout.

But this wasn't for Moe Biller. He showed that for all his tough talk he would accept defeat with a sellout contract and the firings of 100 of his own union members rather than go into battle against the government.

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Gov't moves to smash strike

If the GPO could be shut down, the rest of NY's postal

Public Workers Fight Back



New Orleans sanitation workers struck over unsafe conditions.

(Continued from page 1)
contract which authorizes 600 layoffs, and leaves Rizzo free to eliminate additional thousands of jobs.

Washington, D.C.: Bus and subway drivers wildcat- ted for eight days, starting July 20. They had been working without a contract since April 30. Mechanics led the walkout after the city refused to pay cost-of-living increases due in July, under the terms of the old contract. Workers returned to their jobs following a court decision ordering them to end their wildcat strike.

San Antonio, Texas: Sanitation workers struck on July 23 after turning down the city's six percent wage offer. City Manager Tom Huebner fired 140 sanitation workers and 38 other city workers who walked off their jobs in sympathy strikes. Then he hired over 100 scabs who are working under police escort. The sanitation workers insist they will stay out until all strikers get their jobs back.

Detroit: 3,500 city workers left their jobs in a three-day wildcat strike beginning August 1. They were protesting 22 contract violations by the city government in the past year. Mayor Coleman Young threatened to fire any workers who refused to return to work.

Nationwide crackdown

These and other recent strikes are the result of a nationwide crackdown on public workers. The attacks have been building up for the past few years. Now, the growing revolt against high taxes is being used by the bosses to

and mass firings to break the strikes and get rid of militant workers. All of this was preparation for forcing city workers to accept more layoffs, worsening working conditions and productivity drives.

Over 70,000 workers on strike

However, city workers refused to take these attacks lying down. Workers fought the bosses to defend their jobs and standard of living in one city after another. Over 70,000 workers were on strike, shutting down everything from public transportation to garbage collection. In addition, the strikes were more widespread than has been the case in recent years. This points to the growing militancy of city workers.

One of the main obstacles facing striking city workers was the leadership of their own unions. In most cases, the union bureaucrats refused to call a strike against the city bosses. City workers were forced to wildcat in defiance of their so-called leaders. Then, these same leaders turned around and caved in to the demands of the bosses, selling out the strikers.

Despite their militancy, the city workers were not able to break the hold of the bureaucrats. This was the reason that most strikes ended in defeat. As a result, city workers must begin immediately to rebuild their strength to beat back future layoffs and cutbacks. To build a militant defense against the attacks by the city bosses, city workers must campaign to: 1) unify all public worker unions; 2) win mass support from other working and oppressed people in the cities; and 3) reach out to unionized workers in

private industry.

Right now public workers are split into different unions whose leaders often refuse to work together. This allows city bosses to pick off one set of workers at a time. Rank-and-file workers must demand that all public employee unions unite in a common struggle to defend their jobs and living standards.

A militant coalition of public employee unions will have the resources and the muscle to appeal to millions of poor people trapped inside the rotting urban centers. A sizable proportion of the population in most cities is made up of youth without jobs, unemployed workers,

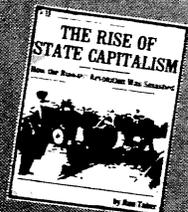
and welfare families who are also threatened by cutbacks in government services. City workers can win their support by demanding public works programs paid for by the capitalists to provide jobs at union wages, housing, schools and other services.

Finally, city workers must call on workers in private industry to support their struggles by joining in demonstrations and sympathy strikes. They must demand that the trade union federations in each city prepare for citywide general strikes in which workers and poor people can join together to beat back the ruling class attacks. □

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A PIG IS A PIG!

Cleveland cops staged a one-day strike on July 14 to protest "hazardous assignments." Most city workers respected their picket lines and stayed off their jobs. This was a serious mistake. Cops are the enemies of the working class, and workers have nothing to gain by supporting their demands.

The Cleveland cops' strike was a racist strike. Cops were demanding that the city maintain two-person scout cars in "dangerous" inner-city areas, instead of switching to one-person scooter patrols. They wanted to protect racist cops who brutalize and harass Cleveland's Black community. Workers who supported this strike were in fact helping defend uniformed killers in the Cleveland police force.

In addition, by supporting the cops, city workers were slitting their own throats. Cop unions have never supported the struggles of other city workers. Instead, they work as scabherders for the ruling class. In San Antonio, Texas, cops escorted scabs hired to break a strike by local sanitation workers. In New Jersey, cops broke up picket lines set up by wildcatting postal workers.

Despite their "unions" and "benevolent associations," cops have no place in the trade union movement.

Like the courts and the prison guards, the police force is a weapon used by the capitalists to protect their property and power. Every striker who has walked a picket line, and every Black or Latin militant in the inner city, should know that the cops are the capitalists' first line of defense against the working class.

The capitalists know the difference between cops and workers. They need the cops to break strikes and suppress the struggles of Blacks, Latins and other oppressed minorities. So they are willing to give the cops relatively fat contracts while throwing other workers in the streets. In Philadelphia, ex-cop Mayor Frank Rizzo gave the cops a one-year contract and a nine percent wage hike. To finance the contract, he announced that he would lay off up to 2,500 other city workers.

Leaders of unions like the International Brotherhood of Teamsters who try to organize cops into unions are stabbing workers in the back. They are fooling workers into believing that cops are their allies. Instead of their enemies. And by supporting demands for more cops and better-paid cops, they are helping the capitalists forge a bigger and better weapon to use against the working class.

CAPITALIST CRISIS IN JAMAICA— THE SOCIALIST ANSWER

(Continued from page 13)

increase their profits and crush the working people. Almost none of this money has been spent in meeting the needs of the masses—for education, health care and other such services—or creating jobs for them. The working people had nothing to do with borrowing these large sums of money and are not responsible for repaying them.

A workers' government would nationalize all foreign-owned companies without compensation. These would be run by workers who would organize themselves in revolutionary councils in the factories and farms. It is reasonable and just to expropriate the imperialists who have over the years taken out many times their original investment as profits. Expropriation is the only way to end imperialist bleeding of the country's wealth.

Under workers' rule, full employment would be guaranteed by a massive program of public works at decent pay to do things like rebuilding the ghettos. The workweek would be shortened, and the work to be done shared out among all workers, without a pay-cut. Wages would increase to match each rise in the cost of living. Prices would be frozen, and all devaluations of the dollar cancelled. By taking over all the industry and the big agricultural plantations without compensation, a socialist government would be able to put idle land and machinery together with unemployed people to expand production.

These measures of revolutionary socialism are what is needed now to beat back the IMF and move ahead to solve the capitalist crisis in favor of working people.

International socialism

The fact is that the conditions of and the need for workers' revolution is highly developed on a worldwide basis, though not on a national basis. No single capitalist country, and especially not an underdeveloped country like Jamaica, has all the natural resources and other means of production on which to develop socialism. So no country is "self-reliant." All countries need to trade on the world market for many of the things their people need.

So powerful is the pull of the world market that even the state-capitalist countries are involved. This is why U.S. trade with Russia has been growing in recent years. This is also why Cuba and the United States are moving steadily toward "normalization" of political relations and the opening up of trade. Socialism can only be built on the basis of international working class revolution. Only when the world's wealth and the means of production are in the hands of the workers who produce them, will it be possible to



Birds of a feather—Michael Manley and friend, Andrew Young.

have equal trade between the people of the world without cut-throat competition and plunder intervening as at present.

Besides, the IMF and the armies of the Western imperialist nations are so powerful that they would try to starve out a revolutionary government in Jamaica. It is true that especially since the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the imperialists have had to draw back from openly overthrowing governments. They have had to rely more on reactionary puppets to do their dirty work, like the South African army in Angola.

In spite of this, the IMF and the imperialist armies are a real danger. To avoid bloody defeat by these reactionary forces, a revolutionary Jamaican government would have to work to build the rebellions and mass movements internationally and especially within the Caribbean as a means of

spreading the revolution and laying the basis for a socialist federation of the Caribbean. Such a federation would be able to hold out against the imperialists. It would also hasten the approach of the international socialist revolution to smash capitalism and imperialism worldwide.

It is because we understand that the revolution must be international that we dedicate ourselves to the building of an international revolutionary workers' party organized in every country of the world. Such a party would base itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism—that is, on the accumulated experience of the struggles of the international working class.

Especially favorable conditions exist in Jamaica today for building our section of the world revolutionary party. For the crisis of local capitalism is so advanced that the ruling class sees

only one way out: ruthlessly crushing the working people and mercilessly wringing every possible ounce of profit from them. The masses are being backed into a corner where they have to fight. And they have already begun to bravely resist the capitalists' attacks on their basic rights and living standards. The present strike wave and the April 17 ghetto rebellion are ample proof of this. The masses are learning by bitter experience that the trade-union leaders, Manley, the PNP and its supporters (like the WLL), and Seaga and the JLP, all defend the capitalists' interests and not theirs.

The fight back

The task of party-building now means uniting and organizing working people to beat back the IMF. While seeking to lead forward the workers' struggles to defend and improve their living standards, revolutionaries must teach them that the only permanent way to ensure these advances is socialist revolution—that is, workers' power.

One key step in the battle against the IMF is for revolutionaries and other conscious workers to organize a mass petition campaign in their unions calling for an emergency convention of delegates from all unions to discuss the present capitalist attacks and united action by workers to fight them.

Among the main items on the agenda of the convention would be:

1) Militant action to beat back the IMF, such as mass rallies, demonstrations, and a general strike.

2) The formation of a militant worker-controlled trade union federation as a means of building working-class unity against the capitalists and imperialists.

3) Organization of Councils of Unemployed Workers linked to the unions around the fight for jobs. On this issue, revolutionaries would be able to raise the call for the shorter workweek without loss of pay, proper programs of public works and other such demands. Councils of the unemployed joined with the unions will tie the frustrated, unemployed youth to the power of organized workers, creating a forceful combination to fight for jobs for all.

4) The calling of a meeting of worker delegates from unions throughout the region, and especially from countries under IMF attack—such as Guyana and Peru—to plan united militant action in defense of working and living conditions.

Revolutionaries must pay special attention to such work in the unions, aimed at strengthening their position in these basic working-class organizations, and building up a revolutionary wing in the working-class movement as the foundation of the revolutionary workers' party.

It is in this way that we will spur workers to take the offensive against capitalists and imperialists, and build the fight into a battle for socialism.

That is the real road out of the IMF trap. It is the alternative of the workers and small farmers, the creation of a new society based on equal rights and justice in Jamaica and all over the world.

DEFEAT BRIGGS INITIATIVE!

(Continued from page 4)
masses of people who are going to vote on this initiative when it's on the ballot in November. But I also think that they should be organizing among other workers, among other unions and trade unions. This is going on somewhat in the Bay Area but nowhere else in the state.

Torch: What do you think will need to be done in the fight against Briggs in general?

Steve: I think that beyond mobilizing our support among other workers in all of the sectors, that a real, a visible effort has to take place. We just can't pretend that they're playing nicely and we're playing nicely. And I think that the defeats this year for the gay community show that whenever you try to play along a nice line they are not playing a nice game. Basically, they are playing a right-wing, reactionary "get their jobs and get them out of our schools" game.

I think that the other

teachers and everyone who is involved in education in the state has to realize the implications of the Briggs Initiative for gay teachers, for non-gay teachers, for anyone who works in a school, or drives a school bus. And an education campaign has to go on with all workers in the public sector—in hospitals, in child-

care. In any place where you come in contact with the public—which will be the next targets of Briggs' attack.

Other than that, I think what has to be done is that the gay community and the anti-Briggs forces have to tie in to other groups in the state who also have interests that are being attacked, and make it a coalition effort. Make it an effort in which gays who happen to teach in schools or happen to be administrators or counselors in schools do not feel threatened; and where they realize that they are united with

women in the state who are being attacked, with third-world groups in the state who are being attacked, with other workers in the state who are being attacked. And that those bonds have to be made and they have to be made fairly quickly.

I think what is necessary therefore is a massive educational and a massive resistance effort to the Briggs Initiative, to show that people will fight beforehand and also will fight afterwards. And that we aren't going to be passively led out of the schools or out of any job. That we're gonna defend ourselves.

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