

Reconstruct
the
Fourth
International!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 10 / 25¢

OCTOBER 15-NOVEMBER 14, 1979

Ted Kennedy: Enemy of the Working Class

Every day it's clearer that Teddy Kennedy will challenge President Carter for the Democratic nomination for next year's elections. Many workers believe Kennedy will fight for their interests. Others believe that he is a little better than Carter and definitely preferable to a Republican. The truth is that Kennedy is a loyal supporter of capitalism. To drum up support Kennedy has spent the last few months talking out of both sides of his mouth: telling workers he will support reforms and increased social services and assuring businessmen he can be relied on to force workers to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. See page 3.



Peruvian People Battle IMF

See page 10



Peasants demonstrate for land reform.

We Pay for Their Crisis

CAPITALISTS PLAN MORE HOSPITAL CLOSINGS

By a REVOLUTIONARY
HOSPITAL WORKER

All over the country health-care for U.S. workers is under attack. Philadelphia has closed its public general hospital. Chicago's Cook County Hospital may close in October. Detroit General, that city's only public hospital, may move out of the city. New Orleans' Charity Hospital suffered a cut in beds. All in all, hundreds of hospitals have been closed down. Between 1975 and 1977 alone, over 200 hospitals were forced to close.

The picture is worst in New York City. Up till now, it has had the highest number of hospitals: 17 public and 71 private hospitals. There is an average of 5.5 hospital beds for every thousand New Yorkers compared with 4.4 beds per thousand nationally. New York City also has over 50,000

unionized hospital workers—the largest number of any city—a gain the largely Black and Latin workforce won during the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s.

So in New York the capitalists and their government politicians are moving the hardest to close hospitals, cut services and lay off hospital workers—all in order to make all workers pay for the crisis of U.S. capitalism. **Since 1975, over 25 New York City hospitals have closed and over 7,000 hospital workers have been laid**

off. Thousands more jobs have been lost due to attrition. The majority of these hospitals have been public and the overwhelming majority of workers laid off are Black and Latin.

Currently, New York City Mayor Edward Koch is trying to close 14 more hospitals—all located in predominately Black and Latin working-class communities—and lay off 4,000 more Black and Latin hospital workers. Koch has stated that he hopes to have only one public hospital open in each of the five bor-

(Continued on page 5)

**SECCION EN
ESPANOL**

Revolutionary Strategy for Gay Liberation

WHY WE'RE MARCHING OCT. 14

See pages 8-9

our readers write...

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

"I would be happy to join in building a revolutionary party"

Dear Chicago RSL,
It sure was good to hear from you. We are all fine. We haven't had any more trouble than usual from the Klan! I'm sending you the literature of theirs that you were interested in, also, a newspaper clipping that you might enjoy reading. We

have been hearing rumors about an upcoming Klan march in Anderson, do you know anything about it?

I am very interested in what the RSL stands for, and in what they are doing. I totally agree with all that you said in your explanation of the organization. And, yes, I would be happy to join with all of you in the building of a revolutionary party.

I was very interested in what you said about prison conditions. I agree that people need to be educated to the facts about prison life and the daily struggles these people must endure. It's hard for me to imagine the courage and determination these people must have. To continue, to have such courage when so much has been taken away from you is almost unimaginable to me. I am also interested in the different ways support is given to these prisoners. I would appreciate any information you might have about this.

We would be happy to have you come and show the slides and help teach us more about the Klan. I know very little about the history

of the Klan, really. Let us know when you might be able to be here. There are questions I have about other things (besides the Klan) that I would like to discuss with you when you come. The "Klan" is only one part of the things that I do not believe should be allowed to continue. I feel I need to make myself more knowledgeable about a lot of things before I can effectively talk to and hopefully help teach other people. I sometimes have trouble expressing myself, I hope you understand what I'm trying to say.

Several people have expressed interest in this issue of the **Torch**. Could you send a dozen copies, that many I know I can sell quickly, and will send the money right back to you.

S., R. and C. said to tell you hello and that they are looking forward to seeing you in the near future.

Keep us informed of the upcoming demonstrations and we'll be there!

Your friend,
B.
Muncie, Indiana

Prisoner comments on August 8th Brigade

Dear Torch,

I just received the September/October issue of **Torch** and I was shocked and surprised to read the August 8th Brigade's letter to you all and your reply. I do not care to take sides because unity

is my game and I only know what the letter said and your reply answered, but I have the feeling you all got done wrong and your reply in my opinion called it right. Whatever, it is over now and with my hugs to make you all feel

better I send advice if I may? Don't just drop this—study your errors and your correct work, engage in self-study from this, and if necessary, do self-criticism. Obviously you did do something wrong—you let the reformist line win, no matter how, find out why. Brothers and Sisters, don't cry in your beer. I feel a great deal for you all and with you, especially now that I know you have been hurt, but ain't gonna let you give up or listen to your sniveling—there is work to do and you do it pretty good.

We have our differences you all and I, but I have a great deal of love for you all—you care and have always supported me and my Brothers and Sisters, and I deem you worthy of my love and respect. Turn this bad thing into a good thing—examine yourselves, don't cover yourselves with rhetoric, really look at yourselves and if necessary, correct yourselves, and go on—there is much to do and we learn things more than often the hard way in this business, don't give up just get better and stronger. Never fear mistakes, ain't nobody perfect and we learn from mistakes if we are really revolutionary. I felt your offer of continued help was very good no matter what—I trust you will stick by that offer cause they may need it and it would be the right thing, the revolutionary thing, to be there if they need and want you.

Love and Rage,
Carl Harp

Fund Drive Meets Its Goal But We Still Need Money!

The League's drive to raise \$15,000 has succeeded. At press time, late-arriving pledges have put us over the top with \$15,133 collected. Additional late pledges should raise this total by a few hundred dollars.

But despite our success, our financial condition remains serious. We are struggling to meet rising costs in every part of our work: office rents, printing costs, etc. And many of our members, who have given large sums to help our work, are on temporary or permanent layoff because of the current recession. The \$15,000 we just raised was the minimum needed to continue our work.

Yet the need today is to expand our revolutionary organizing in every area. The U.S. is heading into a deep economic crisis and the capitalists are stepping up their attacks. Women, lesbians and gay men, Blacks, Latins, undocumented workers, people on welfare are all fighting back. Unorganized workers are fighting to build unions. The unemployed will be organizing for jobs. All of these struggles need a revolutionary leadership that can make clear their common interests and weld them into one unified struggle against the capitalists.

Building a revolutionary party that can provide this leadership is the RSL's job. Yet to do our work effectively, we need to do much more than we are doing today. And this will take much more money.

So we again appeal to all our readers: Please give to the fund drive—or give again. No amount is too small to be of help. Send check or money order to: TORCH, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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Klan must be fought politically

Editor, the **Torch**:

Because of the RSL, we were both at the Muncie and Ft. Wayne, Indiana, demonstrations against the Klan (reported in the September 15/October 14 **Torch**). Each mobilization was a victory in its own way and the RSL played a key role in both places. The article on Muncie was accurate and it raised useful questions and lessons from that experience. But our impressions of Ft. Wayne differ in fact and in emphasis from the **Torch** report.

To us, the crowning success in Ft. Wayne came after the Klan completed their march and got into their cars, protected by the cops and not seriously threatened by the crowd. After the Klan had gone, and for over an hour, about 40 of us from Detroit, Muncie and Chicago talked with about 200 people who had come to observe the march.

There were loud arguments and quieter debates followed attentively by dozens in the crowd. One key discussion we participated in had about 75 listeners. We argued with a white working class Vietnam vet who thought that America is the best and freest country in the world, despite the fact that it's run for the rich. One of us compared our present capitalist rulers and the former British rulers of the

American colonies. He pointed out that these British rulers allowed some freedom but were prepared to use government violence to suppress it when their profits were threatened.

Drawing this lesson from American history really turned the corner. We saw many people nod their heads and say, "Yeah, that's right, they'll do that to us too."

There were also several hard-core racists in the crowd, including Klansmen. At no time did we see them get support from the listeners, although a few whites did say that they were concerned that Black kids in all-white schools might be the first step towards slums. Other Marxists then started conversations with these few whites about slums coming from unemployment, housing manipulation and racial oppression. In these conversations and arguments, leftists—especially a former Red Tide member—succeeded in making it clear that the racists were NOT pointing at the real causes of white (or Black) working people's problems.

RSLers and friends sold about 75 **Torches**. About 30 people signed up to be contacted to help oppose the Klan in the future. This happened as a result of the entire day's activity, not

(Continued on page 4)



Ted of t

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Senator Edward Kennedy is moving in to snatch Democratic Party presidential nomination away from President Carter. On September 7, Kennedy told the press he was "reconsidering" his support for Carter's election. Since then, he has made a series of speeches in New York City and Boston to raise business and labor support for his campaign.

Although Kennedy has yet officially entered the race, labor leaders and Black leaders around the country are already beating the drums in support of his campaign. One AFL-CIO official declared: "We had been hoping from all over the country that union leaders, who they said their prayers last night, would say, 'Pls God, let Teddy run.' Their prayers have been answered."

Officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) are running up Kennedy supporters in Iowa, California and Florida. Doug Fraser, head of the United Auto Workers (UAW), announced on September 7 that his union would be "neutral" for Kennedy. Among Black leaders



Senator Kennedy is making a plan is no different from

percent of the Black Congressional Caucus are supporting Kennedy against Carter.

The reasons behind Kennedy's decision to challenge Carter are obvious. Recent polls show that only 19 percent of the people that Carter is doing a good job of president. Carter is running behind Ronald Reagan, the current Republican Party front-runner, and about even with other Republican candidates.

Meanwhile, Kennedy has

Join in "Party"

of the Klan, really. Let us know when you might be able to be here. There are questions I have about other things (besides the Klan) that I would like to discuss with you when you come. The "Klan" is only one part of the things that I do not believe should be allowed to continue. I feel I need to make myself more knowledgeable about a lot of things before I can effectively talk to and hopefully help each other people. I sometimes have trouble expressing myself, I hope you understand what I'm trying to say.

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Keep us informed of the upcoming demonstrations and we'll be there!

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(Continued on page 4)



Both Kennedy and Carter want to make the working class shoulder the burden of the crisis of the capitalist system. But Kennedy, unlike Carter, has the ability to fool many people into thinking he is a "champion of the oppressed." He bears a magic name that conjures up the prosperity and liberal reforms associated with John and Robert Kennedy in the 1960s. In particular, many Black voters believe Kennedy will defend the victories of the civil rights movement, which are now under attack. But despite his slick rhetoric, Kennedy remains a loyal servant of the ruling class.

Ted Kennedy: Enemy of the Working Class

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Senator Edward Kennedy is moving in to snatch the Democratic Party presidential nomination away from President Carter. On September 7, Kennedy told Carter he was "reconsidering" his support for Carter's reelection. Since then, he has made a series of speeches in New York City and Boston to raise business and labor support for his campaign.

Although Kennedy has not yet officially entered the race, labor leaders and Black leaders around the country are already beating the drums in support of his campaign. One AFL-CIO official declared: "We had been hearing from all over the country that union leaders, when they said their prayers at night, would say, 'Please God, let Teddy run.' Now their prayers have been answered."

Officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) are rounding up Kennedy supporters in Iowa, California and Florida. Doug Fraser, head of the United Auto Workers (UAW) announced on September 26 that his union would be "neutral" for Kennedy. Among Black leaders, 75

two-to-one edge over Carter in the polls and is a heavy favorite over any Republican opponent. Finally, he realizes that the capitalists themselves are fed up with Carter, who is incompetent and cannot even give the appearance of being a strong leader.

Kennedy is a loyal supporter of capitalism and the ruling class. He supports the ruling-class offensive against workers and oppressed people in this country and around the world. Both he and Carter want to make the working class shoulder the burden of the crisis of the capitalist system.

But Kennedy, unlike Carter, has the ability to fool many people into thinking he is a "champion of the oppressed." He bears a magic name that conjures up the prosperity and liberal reforms associated with John and Robert Kennedy in the 1960s. In particular, many Black voters believe Kennedy will defend the victories of the civil rights movement, such as affirmative action, which are now under attack.

Kennedy's major problem in finding his way into the White House is winning the

ing why any businessman would vote for him."

The ruling class knows very well that Kennedy supports capitalist rule. But they fear he may make too many promises, and raise too many hopes among working and poor people in order to win the election. Once in power, Kennedy might have to pay his political debts by supporting reforms which the ruling class can't afford to grant. Even worse, he could provoke a new wave of worker rebellions if he tries to break his promises and crack the whip for the ruling class.

To get elected, Kennedy must convince the working class and sectors of the middle class that are being

hit hard by the economic crisis that he will defend their interests. At the same time, he must reassure the capitalists that the promises he makes in his campaign are meant for mass consumption, and that he will be able to successfully ignore them once he is elected.

When he's been on the campaign trail, Kennedy has been playing the role of defender of the oppressed to the hilt. Last December he openly challenged Carter at the Democratic mini-convention in Memphis, Tennessee, saying: "...there could be few more divisive issues than a Democratic policy of drastic slashes in the Federal budget at the expense of the elderly, the poor, the

black, the cities and the unemployed."

He also declared: "We cannot accept a policy that cuts spending to the bone in areas like jobs and health, but allows billions of dollars in wasteful spending for tax subsidies to continue, and adds even greater fat and waste through inflationary spending for defense."

In his speech to Massachusetts labor leaders on September 28, 1979, he stated: "Some people would have us believe that the problems of inflation are too difficult, too complex to come to grips with. During the Depression, we didn't say the problems were too complex or too deep. We didn't say the American people are in malaise. We said let's come to grips with our problems."

But when his audience is more "select," he sings a different tune. For example, he told the *New York Times*: "I believe we're facing difficult economic problems today to which there are no magic

(Continued on page 17)

"GOLD FEVER" STRIKES CAPITALISTS

By TERRY WALSH

Gold is now selling near \$400 an ounce after reaching a record price of \$442 on October 2. In January, the price of gold was \$226 an ounce. Most of the price jump has been in the last two months.

During this time, there has been frantic trading, days with price fluctuations of almost \$50, and hours during these days when there were no sellers of gold to be found, and no agreed-on prices. Newspaper headlines have been shouting about "The Gold Rush of 1979" and "Gold Fever."

This is all happening because investors are looking at the economy and seeing increasing inflation, recession and unemployment, low productivity—and no end to it in sight. They're worried about the possibility of a world economic breakdown and want to put their money into something which will always be valuable. So they're buying gold.

They are buying not only gold, but silver, copper and diamonds. (Prices for all of these have gone up dramatically in the last two months.) For the capitalists, buying gold represents wanting to "take the money and run" when the economy collapses.

The lack of confidence on the part of the investors is not only an effect but a cause of economic instability. Every time a capitalist invests in gold, it reduces the amount invested in factories, housing, and development of resources. Without investment in productive resources, there is no way the system can pull itself out of economic trouble. All the money going into gold is going out of the productive part of the economy. To the extent that this continues, the economy will become more and more fragile, more and more ready to collapse into a depression.

This is happening on an international scale, too. The international monetary sys-

tem is built on the flow of currencies from one country to another as countries buy goods, pay debts, etc., from each other. Before, when the price of gold has gone up in terms of dollars per ounce, it went down in terms of other currencies, such as the German mark, the Swiss franc, and the Japanese yen. That is, the dollar was worth less gold, but in other countries the money was worth more gold.

This isn't happening now. The price of gold is increasing in all kinds of currency. The dollar is going down in relation to the West German mark, but both are going down relative to gold. What's going on is that increasingly the capitalist investors have lost faith in the value of their own or any other currency.

For example, the price of oil has always been set in dollars. Now, OPEC is saying that the price of oil should be determined by the value of a package that includes several currencies and gold. The value of all currencies is declining and world trade is slowing down.

If this speculative buying of gold, decreasing value of currencies and slowdown in world trade were to continue at the same rate it has in the last two months, economies would soon begin grinding to a halt, the world monetary system would collapse and capitalism would be on the brink of a world depression. This probably isn't going to happen that quickly. There are agreements among nations to stabilize each others' currencies. The capitalists are organized and will cooperate for a while with each other. Already, the price of gold has gone down slightly as the International Monetary Fund has been discussing a "currency stabilization plan."

But the capitalists' lack of confidence is justified. They don't have any real answers to the crisis in their system and they know it. The pieces of a world depression are all present, they just aren't in place yet.



Senator Kennedy is making a big issue of health care. But his plan is no different from Carter's.

percent of the Black Congressional Caucus are supporting Kennedy against Carter.

The reasons behind Kennedy's decision to challenge Carter are obvious. Recent polls show that only 19 percent of the people think Carter is doing a good job as president. Carter is running behind Ronald Reagan, the current Republican Party front-runner, and about even with other Republican candidates.

Meanwhile, Kennedy has a

confidence of sections of the ruling class that remain suspicious of him.

The *Wall Street Journal* declared: "If Mr. Kennedy had in fact been running the present administration rather than merely influencing its decisions, there is every reason to believe its present economic and foreign policy problems would be worse, not better." A leader of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce asserts: "If he were a national candidate, I would have a hard time understand-

Racists Attack Blacks in Boston

Crosses Burned in New York Area

In Boston on September 29, racist terror was escalated to new heights by a sniper shot at an inner-city high school football game in mostly-white Charlestown. The game, between the teams from Charlestown and Jamaica Plains High School, had been without incident when a single bullet fired at the Jamaica Plains huddle struck Darryl Williams, a Black 17-year-old sophomore. The shot shattered Williams' spine and paralyzed him from the neck down. Three white teenagers were arrested for the shooting, but not surprisingly, were released on bail.

This brutal attack is the latest in a series of racist assaults. Ten days earlier, a school bus carrying Black children to a court-ordered desegregated South Boston school was stoned; days before that, James Kelley, the leader of the South Boston Information Center and the South Boston Marshalls (a racist para-military group) had incited whites to racist violence.

Boston's Mayor Kevin White has shown he condones this terror by defending James Kelley's job on the City Economic and Industrial Council. At first, White admitted the attack on Williams was racially motivated, but he then turned around and denied it. Despite White's pleas for "quiet" and against any protests, a multi-racial demonstration of 800 people marched in the South End on Monday, October 1. The protesters, demanding an end to the violence, threatened to disrupt Pope John Paul II's visit that day. Later in the week, on three successive

days, hundreds of Black students from Jamaica Plains, Hyde Park, Roxbury and Dorchester schools gathered at city hall, demanding protection in the schools. Mayor White has now called a "summit meeting" of local community leaders, as well as numerous other do-nothing meetings, in an effort to defuse the protests and buy time till things cool down.

Unfortunately, the opportunity for a large multi-racial demonstration in Charlestown itself was missed. As one of the white working-class areas involved in the inner-city busing program, Charlestown has been the breeding ground for rac-

ist gangs. But large numbers of white working-class residents were appalled by the shooting. A mass demonstration of Blacks and anti-racist whites there could have won the sympathy of many Charlestown residents. This would have put the racists on the defensive on their own turf and could have begun an aggressive movement of Black and white people to fight the racist violence. Only this kind of movement, independent of city hall politicians and relying on its own strength and not the racist cops, can take the steps necessary to end the attacks.

Racist attacks in the New York metropolitan area have also increased in the past few months. In August, 15 incidents of racist arson and vandalism were reported in Long Island's Suffolk County, three times as many as last year. Crosses have been burned recently in front of

two Black-owned homes in Brooklyn, one in Staten Island, and at least five in Long Island, including one at the home of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) regional representative. Also, on September

21, guns were fired into two Black families' homes in Plainfield, New Jersey, part of over a week of nightly racist violence against Black residents in that town.

On August 10, in Yonkers, New York, Tom Porter, an IBM executive, and Audrey Porter, a registered nurse, watched their \$70,000 home burn to the ground just hours after they moved in. The Porters are Black; the neighborhood is more than 90-percent white. On September 21, David Sicard and Renee Burwell's \$47,000 house on an all-white block in Rosedale, Queens (a section of New York City), was fire-bombed in an attempt to scare the Black couple.

In response to the Rosedale fire-bombing and the other racist attacks, the NAACP held a demonstration on September 29. About 400 people marched in Queens and rallied in a neighborhood church.



Cross burned in Valley Stream on Long Island.

DETROIT ROCK AGAINST RACISM HOLDS FIRST CONCERT

The Detroit-area Rock Against Racism (RAR) held a free concert on Belle Isle September 29. RAR is a new group in Detroit. The concert showed the group's potential, as well as serious weaknesses, which must be overcome.

RAR is modeled after the British RAR, in which musicians play anti-racist music and do benefits for the movement against the Nazis. In Detroit, supporters of a number of left groups—Red Tide, Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Communist Party Marxist Leninist (CPML), International Socialists (IS), and the Revolutionary Socialist League—have played a key role in

getting RAR off the ground.

This unity is one of the strengths of the group. Supporters of different left organizations have been able to work together to fight racism despite having differences on many important questions.

At the free concert, this cooperation was needed when some Nazis and right-wing youths showed up. One Nazi was bloodied up and his knife taken from him by the security squad. Some other right-wingers tried to attack the RCP's literature table, but were eventually forced to leave the area. The security squad was able to keep the concert from being disrupted, although in the

future it will have to be tighter to take on better-organized right-wing attacks. The fact that different groups and individuals joined together to fight the right-wingers represents a small but important step forward.

The attempted disruptions also point out the seriousness of the right-wing threat. It is crucial that youth and other working-class people be politically convinced of the need to fight these racist right-wing scum. The major weakness of the Detroit RAR so far is that it has done no political organizing against the KKK and Nazis.

As the economic crisis gets worse, a lot of people will be looking for answers.

The racists say: "Attack Blacks and other nationalities." We must say: "Unite Black and white and all nationalities to fight the capitalists for what we need." If we can show people that fighting racism is part of the solution to the crisis affecting all of us, then we can out-organize the racists. But free concerts by themselves will not build a movement.

The future direction of RAR is now under discussion. It could become a serious anti-right-wing organization in which militants and leftists organize together to fight racism. But it's not clear if this will really happen. The RSL is fighting for this perspective.

our readers write...

(Continued from page 2)

simply the talks in the park. But it wouldn't have happened without the active, aggressive give-and-take in that park after the Klan left. Such political activity is crucial to our ability to unite more and more workers against the capitalists and against such harmful, dangerous scum as the Klan. This was the real success of Ft. Wayne. Yet it wasn't even mentioned in the *Torch*. Why not?

As we said, the Ft. Wayne crowd never touched or seriously threatened the Klan before, during or after the march. We DID beat the Klan politically but the Klan was not driven off the streets in either place. (The crowd in Muncie probably would have attacked and whipped the Klan by the end of the march except for the SWAT/police team guarding them.) Yet the *Torch* front page says, "...the Revolutionary So-

cialist League led demonstrations that DROVE the Klan off the streets of Muncie and Ft. Wayne, Ind." (Our emphasis.) Why did you print this?

The Ft. Wayne article's headline, "Cops Go Home, Leave the Klan to Us," doesn't seem to us to reflect the most important aspect of what happened. The League did lead this chant as the Klan got into their cars. But neither of us saw or heard any of the rest of the crowd join this chant. To pick this out as the headline implies that the crowd really wanted to get at the Klan. We didn't observe this readiness for a physical attack on the Klan. So we don't understand why someone picked this particular chant to headline the article.

Yours in the struggle,
John G.
Earl S.
Chicago

RSL replies:

Overall, JG and ES's letter is an accurate account of the discussions that took place between some of the demonstrators in Ft. Wayne and the crowd of onlookers and participants. In Muncie, once the Klan had left, the cops made official-sounding announcements about how the demonstration was over. As a result of this, a lot of people who had come out to oppose the Klan went home. In Ft. Wayne, however, the cops scurried off just as fast as the Klan. And the demonstrators and onlookers were left in the park.

The RSL took the opportunity to turn this into a Black and white unity rally. As the Ft. Wayne article stated, RSL speakers addressed the crowd explaining the need to organize to fight the growing right-wing

movement and the U.S. government. People from Ft. Wayne also spoke to the crowd about the need to unite to oppose the Klan. As the rally neared its end, a sign-up sheet was passed around and many people bought the *Torch/La Antorcha*. About the same time, JG, ES and other demonstrators went over to the crowd of onlookers and began the discussions which JG and ES described in their letter.

Because of the work done around the Klan march, including the press releases and interviews with the local news media before the march, the anti-Klan demonstration and rally, and the discussions with the crowd, a lot of important political education was done. The JG and ES letter points to an important part of that work. The letter makes the broader point that political education is a crucial part of our anti-Klan work in gen-

eral. The brief article in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha* did not fully address this.

In trying to draw out the importance of political education, however, ES and JG tend to underplay the militancy of the demonstration. The "cops go home" chant, for example, was picked up by a number of Ft. Wayne residents who had joined the demonstration. While nobody was planning to actually fight with the Klan, young Black and white people were more than willing to let the Klan know just how much they hated them.

Furthermore, while nobody physically pushed the Klan off the streets of Muncie or Ft. Wayne, the cops and the Klan, seeing opposition, got the march done with as soon as possible. They were unable to use their marches to recruit. And in Muncie, a rally that the Klan planned never came off.

Frank Hopkins
for the RSL

CAP H

(Continued from page 2) oughs of New the near future. doesn't happen workers will be drastic cuts in services and the workers will be

First big lie Excess be

There are two sons the govern for hospital c first is "excess" ident Jimmy C that there are 10 beds nationally referring to hosp are not used. Eight thousand beds are supp York state, with in New York C eral, state and ments all claim beds are a m sky-rocketing h

But the truth are not any real In hospitals t infested and ru as Kings Cour lyn, where 29 food poisoning ber) beds stand in the better ho as Columbia-P Rockefeller Un pital) there are for elective (no admissions.

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Cuts in Med care payments that go beyond payments. For tually cut, \$2 winds up at oth as patients beg the hospitals w is dropping. I Blue Cross/Blue

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ins were fired into two families' homes in field, New Jersey, part er a week of nightly violence against residents in that town. August 10, in Yonkers, York, Tom Porter, an executive, and Audrey a registered nurse, ed their \$70,000 home to the ground just after they moved in. Porters are Black; the borhood is more than cent white. On Sep- er 21, David Sicard and Burwell's \$47,000 on an all-white block sedale, Queens (a sec- of New York City), was bombed in an attempt to the Black couple response to the Rose- fire-bombing and the racist attacks, the CP held a demonstra- n September 29. About people marched in ns and rallied in a borhood church.

ACISM

T

racists say. "Attack s and other national- We must say: "Unite and white and all na- tivities to fight the capis- s for what we need." If can show people that ng racism is part of the ion to the crisis affect- of us, then we can rganize the racists. But concerns by themselves ot build a movement. e future direction of s now under discus- It could become a us anti-right-wing orga- on in which militants leftists organize to- r to fight racism. But ot clear if this will really en. The RSL is fighting his perspective.

The brief article in last h's *Torch/La Antorcha* ot fully address this.

trying to draw out the stance of political edu- n, however, ES and JG to underplay the mili- of the demonstration. cops go home" chant. (ample, was picked up number of Ft. Wayne ents who had joined the nstration. While no- was planning to ac- fight with the Klan. g Black and white peo- here more than willing to e Klan know just how they hated them.

thermore, while no- physically pushed the off the streets of Mun- Ft. Wayne, the cops e Klan, seeing oppo- , got the march done as soon as possible. were unable to use marches to recruit. And nounce a rally that the planned never came off.

Hopkins
e RSL

CAPITALISTS PLAN MORE HOSPITAL CLOSINGS

(Continued from page 1)
oughs of New York City in the near future. Even if this doesn't happen, New York workers will be faced with drastic cuts in healthcare services and thousands more workers will be laid off.

First big lie: Excess beds

There are two main reasons the government gives for hospital closings. The first is "excess beds." President Jimmy Carter claims that there are 100,000 excess beds nationally. He is referring to hospital beds that are not used day-to-day. Eight thousand of these beds are supposedly in New York state, with 2,500 or so in New York City. The federal, state and local governments all claim that excess beds are a main cause of sky-rocketing hospital costs.

But the truth is that there are not any real excess beds. In hospitals that are rati- fested and run-down (such as Kings County in Brook- lyn, where 29 workers got food poisoning this Septem- ber) beds stand empty. But in the better hospitals (such as Columbia-Presbyterian or Rockefeller University Hos- pital) there are waiting lists for elective (non-emergency) admissions.

If the government spent the money to bring the quality of care in the worst hospitals up to the level of the best hospitals, all the empty beds would disappear and there would still be wait- ing lists for elective admis- sions. Instead, the govern- ment denies funds to the worst hospitals and then uses the resulting empty beds as the excuse to close them down.

But government involve- ment goes deeper than this. The government is responsi- ble for creating the rotten hospitals and their empty beds in the first place. This is primarily done through manipulating the Medicaid/ Medicare reimbursement rates.

The law allows the gov- ernment to decide how much money each individual hospital will receive in Medi- caid/Medicare reimburse- ments. When the govern- ment decides to close a partic- ular hospital, it pays that hospital at below the going rates. The hospital is forced to cut services, to lay off workers and, eventually, to close. All 25 hospitals that have closed in New York City in the last four years were forced to because the gov- ernment decided to pay Medi- caid/Medicare below the going rates.

Cuts in Medicaid/Medi- care payments have effects that go beyond government payments. For every \$1 ac- tually cut, \$2 to \$3 more winds up at other hospitals as patients begin deserting the hospitals where quality is dropping. In addition, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, the

largest medical insurance company for employed work- ers, only pays the going Medi- caid/Medicare rate. When the government cuts its rates, Blue Cross/Blue Shield cuts theirs too. This means even less money goes to the poorer, working-class hospitals, while even more money ends up in the best hospitals.

Second big lie: Rising labor costs

The second main reason the government gives for closing hospitals is sky- rocketing labor costs: "If hospital workers would not demand and get so much money, costs would go down and hospitals would stay open." This too is a lie. About 53 percent of all hospi- tal costs are what are called "labor costs." But this 53 percent includes doctors' salaries, which are about 12 percent of the total. This leaves only about 40 percent. Of this 40 percent, more than half goes to pay the salaries of middle- and upper-level management. Only about 17 to 23 percent of all hospital costs goes to pay workers' wages.

Hospital workers' wages have risen less than the per- centage rise in hospital costs generally. According to one union study, hospital work- ers' wages have contributed only one percent to the rise in hospital costs. And in real life, hospital workers have been laid off by the thou- sands and have suffered pay- less paydays and wage cuts—all while hospitalization costs have gone up.

The overwhelming amount of money spent on health- care ends up in the hands of the big corporations who have invested in the health- care industry: drug, insur- ance, real estate, medical equipment and hotel supply companies. This is true whether a hospital is public or private, profit or non-pro- fit. In every case, supplies, machines and services are bought from profit-making corporations. In every case,

around 50 percent of all money is spent in this way.

Truth behind the cuts

The major corporations are making billions on their healthcare investments. In 1975, over \$118.5 billion was spent on healthcare and over half of that ended up in the hands of big business. A pill that costs less than one cent to produce can cost over \$1 to a hospital patient. Then why is the government seek- ing to cut healthcare? The entire U.S. capitalist system is in crisis. The economy is in a recession that threatens to turn into a depression.

To try to save its system, the government wants to cut back public spending as much as possible. It is cut- ting back on schools, roads, clean environment. And it wants to cut back on health- care. In 1975, the govern- ment paid for 40 percent of all healthcare expenses. This amounted to \$40 billion. The figure is even higher today. Companies that pay their employees' Blue Cross are finding their costs rising too. Increasingly they are trying to force workers to pay part of the premiums and want medical costs cut by lowering the quality of care.

Carter: "Make the workers pay"

But whatever cuts the government makes, it wants to make sure the workers pay the most, while the capital- ists pay as little as possible. This is what is behind every single healthcare insurance plan. Look at Carter's "Cat- astrophic Illness" plan. This bill states that all medical bills over \$2,500 in a single year would be paid by the government. In other words, after a working-class family had bankrupted itself paying hospital bills, the govern- ment would step in to make sure all hospital bills were paid, and most of that



money would end up in the pockets of big business. The bill would not increase or even maintain the present quantity or quality of health- care—it would only pay off anything over \$2,500.

Kennedy: "Make the workers pay"

Senator Edward Kennedy's National Health Insurance is also part of this strategy. Kennedy's bill would require health insurance for all em- ployed workers. It would force all employed workers to pay up to 35 percent of the premium—an amount the government would set based on a worker's wages. This would force the 20 million or so presently uninsured work- ers—the poorest of the em- ployed working class—to pay for health insurance they can't afford. At present, these workers have no way to pay their hospital bills so the capitalists often take a loss. But, under the Kennedy bill, the capitalists would get their money.

Kennedy's bill would not increase the amount of healthcare or provide for im- proved quality of care for the working class. In fact, this bill would lead to fewer ser- vices for all workers. The Kennedy proposal would set up a national "cost contain- ment" program. At the pre-

sent time, various govern- ment agencies run one-third of all general hospitals. Under the Kennedy bill, the federal government would have effective control over every single hospital in the U.S. The government would then have even more ability to lay off workers, close hospitals and cut services on a national scale.

Rich get world's best healthcare

These cuts will be a catas- trophe for all working-class people. But healthcare for the rich will continue to im- prove. At a time when the U.S. ranks 19th of all in- dustrialized nations in male life expectancy, 10th for maternal mortality and 15th in infant mortality, health- care for the rich is the best in the world. Every day we read of some new miracle cure, some operation costing hun- dreds of thousands of dol- lars, someone's arm or leg being sewn back on.

No hospitals are ever closed on Park Avenue, in Grosse Point or on Chicago's North Shore—only in work- ing-class neighborhoods. The more the government cuts workers' healthcare, the more the government will make sure the capitalists get the best healthcare there is.

There is no hope for good healthcare under capitalism. Only a government run by the workers will ensure quality healthcare to everyone who needs it.

The first thing a workers' government would do is take the profit out of healthcare. The whole working class would decide what services were needed, where they were needed, and how much was needed. There would be a national healthcare plan—not to put profits into the hands of the capitalists, but for the benefit of all.

To get quality healthcare, we workers must make a socialist revolution to take this country out of the hands of the capitalists and run it for ourselves. We in the Revolutionary Socialist League are fighting today to make this a reality tomorrow. Join us!



Left: Detroit hospital workers take over mayor's office in March 1979 protest against layoffs. On September 29, 300 members of UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main) and AFSCME Local 457 (hospital workers) marched together chanting "Save Detroit General—Save Dodge Main." Both are threatened with closing because of the capitalist crisis.



Native Americans charged with murder

Native American prisoners have been beaten viciously and several put in isolation at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla since the prison was locked down following the killing of a guard this past June 15. Two Native Americans, James and George Simmons, have been charged with murder, and the state is demanding the death penalty.

William Cross, the guard who was killed, had called Native Americans racist names and desecrated their sweatlodge, which is used for religious observances, by putting out the fire.

The prison is still locked down. Officials started to let some prisoners out of their cells in mid-September. But they say things won't be back to "normal" before Christmas. George Simmons remains in isolation. Since he is acting as his own attorney in his trial, this prevents him from preparing his defense. Simmons has asked for a change of venue, on the grounds that he can't get a fair trial in a racist prison town. It was denied. Send protests to: Gov. Dixy Lee Ray, Olympia, WA 98504. Write to: Native American Prisoner Support Group, 1818 20th, #105, Seattle, WA 98122.

Sexist harassment continues at Dwight

Sexual intimidation and abuse of women prisoners continues at Dwight, Illinois. At this prison, the state's largest for women, one-fourth of the guards are male. Last April, an assistant warden was transferred to a men's prison because he conducted late night raids, supposedly in search of contraband. More recently, at least six women filed complaints of being forced to perform "deviate sexual acts" for male guards. As a result, Major Denver Waekly, the highest ranking guard, and Dennis Klosteroff, chief of Internal investigations, have been suspended. Klosteroff's job was to investigate abuses against prisoners!

U.S. jails PSP leader

Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was arrested September 24 for contempt of court. Mari Bras, who is a lawyer, didn't show up for the trial of his client, Pedro Balges. Balges is one of 21 demonstrators arrested last spring in protests against U.S. naval bombardment of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The court trumped up the contempt charge by calling the case at a time when they knew Mari Bras and Balges were in Cuba for the Nonaligned Conference. Mari Bras has chosen to stay in jail rather than accept bail conditions which prevent him from leaving Puerto Rico.

In brief...

The U.S. Justice Department is arranging transfers to federal prisons for TDC prisoners who either testified in the Ruiz v. Estelle case or were on the final witness list. Some have already informed the Torch/La Antorcha that they do not intend to accept the transfers but will stay in TDC and fight. Paul Brown, a long-time activist, had his arm broken when a guard slammed a cell door on it October 1. He then lay in the hospital for at least two days before receiving any aid.

On September 18, Malik J.S. Muhammad was sentenced to one year, after a judge reduced or dismissed the charges against him stemming from the revolt in the Somers, Connecticut, state prison last December. About 40 Somers guards, calling themselves the Vigilante Force, are waiting for a chance to lynch Muhammad. In the meantime, there are rumors they plan to plant contraband in his cell to get him busted. There are also reports that if their plans don't succeed, the Vigilantes may pressure the state to get Muhammad transferred to a federal prison.

Rick L. Goodard has been transferred from the federal penitentiary at Springfield, Missouri, to Marquette prison in his home state of Michigan. Goodard is supposed to have killed a guard at Marquette a few years back. That's why he was sent to the federal prison at Marion in the first place. Now he is accused of stabbing a guard in the dining room at Marion on June 14. The keepers shipped him back to Marquette because they figure he'll get killed there.

Since July 1, 1979, federal prisoners have only been allowed to send five free letters a month. In addition, unless they sign papers allowing officials to read their incoming mail, they are being threatened with not receiving it. So far, prisoners have struck in protest at Lumpoc, California; Leavenworth, Kansas; and Atlanta, Georgia.

—AL & NB

Women Organize to Take Back the Night

By LAURA WADEBAY

Over 300 people, mostly women, rallied and marched in downtown Chicago on September 28. This was the date set for "Take Back the Night" actions all over Illinois. Besides the Chicago demonstration, there were marches or indoor events in Springfield, Champaign, Evanston, and Davenport, Iowa. The Chicago action was organized by the Take Back the Night Coalition, made up of a number of feminist groups.

The goal of this and other "Take Back the Night" actions is to fight sexist terror

against women, particularly rape. The leaflet the coalition distributed to publicize the rally, printed in English and Spanish, said that 950 rapes were reported to the Chicago Police Department in the first eight months of 1979. The newspapers and television stations in Chicago have carried a lot of coverage of rapes lately, and Joseph DiLeonardi, Mayor Byrne's new chief of police, is making a lot of noise about how he needs more men and money to undertake a major crackdown.

Nationally, the largest "Take Back the Night" demonstration has been in Bos-

ton. Last August 18, 5,000 women marched there, largely in response to the rape/murders of 13 Black women over the past few months in Boston's Roxbury section.

In Europe and the U.S., organizers of "Take Back the Night" actions have not yet come up with a clear strategy on how to stop rape. Some activists say that the aim of the movement is to get the cops to deal with rape more seriously and to put more women on the force. Others say that the marches should raise women's consciousness of their ability to protect themselves.

The marches in Chicago and Boston were for women only (the rallies were for men, too) in order to get across that women don't need to rely on men for protection. We say working-class women and men need to organize, both for practical defense against sexist terror against individual women, and to defeat the bourgeoisie's hold over our class. □



Boston Take Back the Night Demonstration, August 26, 1978.

WBA TAKES AWAY JAMES SCOTT'S RATING

By LEE RAMIE

James Scott is a lean, mean, light-heavy-weight boxer, with fast hands and a crunching punch. Before September 28 of this year, he was the number two ranked fighter in his division, just behind "white-hope" Mike Rossman. Scott was in line to fight the aging champion, Victor Galindez, sometime in 1980.

James Scott is also a prisoner at the Rahway state prison in New Jersey, doing 30 to 40 years for armed robbery. In the last couple of years, the World Boxing Association (WBA) staged 16 bouts with Scott inside the prison walls. Scott won all 16 fights impressively, and the WBA and television milked his story for all its worth.

Scott was good publicity for boxing. And he seemed to be no real problem to the WBA honchos—they were pretty sure that Rossman would beat Galindez in their third rematch (each had beaten the other once before), and that Rossman could take Scott. But a few weeks ago, Rossman's "comeback" was wrecked by an unknown club fighter named Ramon Ranquello, who kayoed Rossman in six rounds. The new consensus was that Rossman had had his bell rung once too often and was through. That left Scott at the top of the list, next in line to fight Galindez—who he could probably beat.

That left the WBA with a big problem: Scott won't get out of prison any time soon, and the idea of having a prisoner be World Champion didn't sit well with the WBA. So on September 28, the WBA stripped Scott of his rating, barring him from championship fights so long as he is in prison. Bob Lee, New

Jersey deputy athletic commissioner (who voted against the move), said: "The matter wasn't brought up until the last minute at the convention... They just rammed it through."

One week before the WBA action, Scott had applied for bail so he could leave prison and take a championship fight. That request was denied by a judge who called him "a danger to society." Scott will, however, continue to fight professionally. He said: "The week before last they denied me bail, last week they took my rating away. I worked so hard for it and white folks just took it away from me over a conversation. They waited for me to win a lot of fights and then took my rating away. The Black people all over the country don't get justice. If the WBA wanted me not to fight, they should never have rated me." □

NOTICE

We are sorry to announce we have been forced to switch to Bulk Mail rate for free subscriptions. That means it may now take up to two weeks for your issue of the Torch/La Antorcha to reach you.

We changed to Bulk Mail to save money that could be better used—like being able to continue our policy of free subs to prisoners. If, however, you can afford to send us \$1.50 to cover postage for a year, we can send your paper by First Class. (Do not send us cash!) One more thing: Let us know what's happening where you are, and tell us what you think of the Torch/La Antorcha.

By ADEL

Seven well-known international lawyers made a tour of this past August to study political repression across the world. They studied court transcripts, newspaper reports, and government charges of "injustice" in the trial process, and in the prison. Inside the prison, they studied conditions in Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. And the U.S. charged the U.S. with a "policy of extermination of Americans."

The members of the panel were: Harish Chandra of the High Court of India; Per Einarsson, judge of the Court of Appeal in Sweden; Richard L. French, British lawyer; Justice in the Government in Nigeria; Arthur McSweeney, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal, Trinidad; and B. Senegalese lawyer.

This panel of international lawyers in this country brought a petition to the United Nations entitled "Rights Violations in the United States," which was presented to the UN in December.

The panel's report was written in careful language. Every word was supported by clear and concise evidence. There were no accusations against judges and lawyers, gentlemen all. None of them wanted to get rid of the prisons. The U.S. government is some reforms. Their report says they have been saying a lot of things and the prisons are holes!

Institutional racism

All over the world, international lawyers and abolitionists are working to bring about a change in the way the courts and the prison system operate. The report says that the Black people all over the world are being systematically excluded from the courts and the prisons. The report says that the Black people all over the world are being systematically excluded from the courts and the prisons. The report says that the Black people all over the world are being systematically excluded from the courts and the prisons.

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AWAY RATING

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INT'L. PANEL CHARGES RACISM IN U.S. PRISONS

By ADELE LOHMAN

Seven well-known international lawyers and judges made a tour of U.S. prisons this past August. They visited political prisoners all across the country. They studied court documents, trial transcripts and government reports on prison management. Their report charges "institutionalized racism" in the U.S.—in the trial process, in sentencing and in the prison system. Inside the prisons, "physical conditions violate the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners." And the seven lawyers charge the U.S. government with a "policy of systematic extermination of the Native Americans."

The members of the panel were: Harish Chandra, judge of the High Court of Delhi, India; Per Eklund, retired judge of the Court of Appeal, Sweden; Richard Harvey, British lawyer; Sergio Insunza, former Minister of Justice in the Allende government in Chile; Ifeanyi Ifebigh, Nigerian lawyer; Sir Arthur McShine, retired Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal, Trinidad and Tobago; and Babagar Niang, Senegalese lawyer.

This panel was invited to this country by sponsors of a petition to the United Nations entitled "Human Rights Violations in the United States," which was presented to the UN this past December.

The panel's report is written in careful lawyer-language. Every statement is supported by what they call clear and convincing evidence. There are no revolutionaries among these judges and lawyers. These gentlemen all support capitalism. None of them wants to get rid of the courts and the prisons. They just want the U.S. government to make some reforms. All the same, their report says what we've been saying all along: The courts are one big railroad and the prisons are hell-holes!

Institutionalized racism

All over the country, the international lawyers found racism and abuse of political power in criminal proceedings, so that "the minimum internationally recognized standard of due process has been denied certain accused... The trial of blacks by all-white juries is hardly a circumstance which can inspire belief in the possibility of obtaining justice."

The report presents evidence that Blacks are systematically excluded from juries when the defendant is Black. The open racism they saw in the courtroom on the part of judges and prosecutors, the panel concluded; gets defendants convicted regardless of the evidence.

Sentences are 20-percent longer for Blacks than for whites, they found.

New class of political prisoners

The seven jurists found what they called a new class of political prisoners in the U.S.—leaders of prison



struggles who are singled out for "cruel and unusual punishment solely because of their political activity while in prison." They comment that the keepers "seem to regard the mere articulation of a complaint as a disciplinary offense." Among others, the report names: the Pontiac Brothers, the Reidsville Brothers, the August 8th Brigade and the Atmore-

Holman Brothers.

The lawyers visited three of the 17 Pontiac Brothers who are under indictment as a result of the July 22, 1978, rebellion at the Pontiac, Illinois, state prison. From their interviews with the three, they concluded that the rebellion was "the culmination of sustained racist and brutal administrative practices by prison authorities, the overcrowding of the facility, the unsanitary conditions which prevailed

The seven jurists found these types of conditions throughout the prison system. They list such abuses as: medical maltreatment, racist abuse, which includes placing Black prisoners in cells with whites who are known racists, forced labor in prison factories and prison farms, and outright murder of prisoners by the keepers. For example, prisoner leader George (Chagina) Dobbins and two other Black prisoners were found murdered shortly after the January 1974 uprising in Alabama's Atmore prison. The warden had told Chagina "you're a dead man." The report states: "No one has ever been charged with their deaths."

Behavior modification units

The lawyers also report on the infamous behavior modification units that "are de-



Overcrowded cellblock in Alabama prison.

signed to break the prisoner physically and psychologically." They are for "a class of prisoners with whom disciplinary problems are anticipated," in other words, political prisoners. A 1978 report from the Trenton, New Jersey, state prison superintendent is quoted as saying: "The Management Control Unit exists in part to neutralize the more violently oriented revolutionary and terrorist factions which regularly find their way into our correctional system."

The panel was not allowed to see the Control Unit at the Marion federal penitentiary. But they heard "numerous complaints about the degrading, dehumanizing treatment... These included, solitary confinement for 23 hours a day, frequent beatings by guards, slave camp conditions of work, shake-ups and searches including those of visitors covering every part of the body, the anus included...."

Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the four Puerto Rican Nationalists recently released, told the panel that "on three occasions when his wife visited him at Marion she was made to strip naked in the presence of male guards." The report states that in his two years

in the Control Unit, Cancel Miranda witnessed "tear gas attacks upon prisoners, the throwing of urine on prisoners by guards, suicides, denial of medical treatment and innumerable other atrocities carried out by the prison authorities."

The seven international jurists "respectfully recommend" that the UN investigate "these well-attested human rights violations." We don't think petitions to the UN will do much for prisoners. The UN never has and never will take action against political prisoners.

But the panel's report can be used to expose and document what they call the "brutal and degrading" conditions in the prisons. Seven liberal judges and lawyers investigated justice in the U.S. Their conclusion: institutionalized racism.

The jurists want to reform the institutions. What they don't understand is that the institution is the capitalist state. The courts and the prisons are an organic part of capitalism. They can't be reformed. The working class has to tear them down, along with the rest of the system! □

Demonstration On November 3

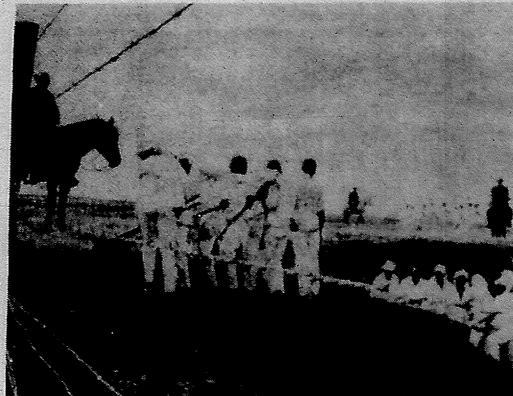
Illinois Prisoners Continue Struggle

On September 23, Death Row and segregation prisoners at Stateville prison in Illinois seized eight hostages and demanded decent conditions, including more showers and more recreation. After hours of negotiations, the hostages (four guards and four prisoner workers) were released unharmed. Then the state announced its changes: more security and less recreation. As we go to press, no charges have been announced against the prisoners involved in the uprising.

On September 29, Dick Gregory spoke at a Chicago fundraising rally for the Pontiac 31, sponsored by Concerned Friends and Family. About 200 to 300 people attended. Gregory linked the Pontiac Rebellion to the struggle at Reidsville, Georgia, and to the accelerating collapse of the U.S. economy and society as a whole.

Attorneys for the 17 Pontiac Brothers facing murder charges have been fighting out discovery motions to prepare for trial in Chicago. They have defeated many of the state's attempts to deny them essential information. The prisoners were granted an order letting them tour the prison with their attorneys in early October. Trials for the other 14 prisoners indicted for the July 1978 rebellion are scheduled to be held downstate.

The November 3rd Coalition has called a rally on November 3 to support the Pontiac Brothers and to oppose the notorious Marion Control Unit at the federal prison at Marion, Illinois. Demands include: "Free the Pontiac Brothers," "Close the Marion Control Unit," "Stop the Death Penalty," and "Smash the Frame-Up—Put the State on Trial." There will be a march followed by a rally at the federal building in downtown Chicago. □



Texas prison farm.

Working-Class Strategy for Gay Liberation



Socialist Revolution Is the Solution

The following is a shortened version of a talk by Bruce Glauber, which was prepared for a New York City RSL forum in June 1979. In the past month, this talk has been repeated at RSL forums on gay liberation in Chicago and Los Angeles. The shortened version printed here is based on a summary given in Spanish at the Los Angeles event.

The subject of tonight's forum is "The Revolutionary Struggle to Smash Gay Oppression." For us, the goal of the fight for lesbian and gay liberation can be summed up in four words: Death to the Closet!

The "closet" is the word used by lesbians and gay males to describe what it's like living in this anti-gay capitalist system which forces us to keep our lives a secret. For millions of lesbians and gay men, living in this society means being trapped in a closet; a small dark room where you keep things hidden, things you're afraid that others will see. It means having to hide an important part of our lives and experience. It means being forced to pretend all the time to be someone different. This is life in the "closet." It is life for most gay people today.

I don't mean death to some closets but not to others. I mean death to every closet in which any lesbian or gay male is held prisoner by this society. And I don't just mean open up the door a little. I mean **tear down the walls!**

No lesbian or gay male will be free until all gay people can come out of the closet, that is to say, can be openly gay, whenever, wherever and however we choose. Wherever there are any people at all, there are gay people, and the RSL is for the fight that it will take, by any means necessary, for all gay people to be able to come out of the closet and be open and proud.

Death to the closet!

Now, if "Death to the Closet" will ever be a reality, one of the things needed is the freedom to come out on the streets—without fear or threat of being harassed, attacked or murdered. Another thing that is needed is "Death to the Closet" on the job. We also mean "Death to the Closet" in the schools, especially the high

schools and junior high schools where the closet is so intense and the fear and intimidation of young gays is designed to break their spirit.

To tear down the closet doors as I am describing will require a massive campaign throughout society, organized in every factory, every school, every community. It will require an uncompromising struggle against any attempt to keep gays in hiding, to intimidate us, to make us settle for anything less than full freedom to be gay and proud.

In particular, there will have to be militias or defense guards to drive anti-gay fascist goons, the Klan and Nazi lynch mobs off the streets. There will have to be a massive education campaign throughout society about homosexuality to expose all the anti-gay lies and fight the prejudice. Our goal must be to enable **everyone** who wants to come out of the closet, to be able to. To do this, we will have to sweep away everything that stands in their way.

This is the kind of struggle we in the RSL are fighting for. It is the kind of struggle necessary to smash gay oppression in all its forms. We need a massive change throughout society as it now exists, to mobilize all the people and the resources of society to fight for liberation—for what people really need. And all of this is possible.

But today, all of society as it exists under capitalism, is not organized for

what people need, but instead for the bosses' profits and power. To implement the kind of program for gay liberation that I have described, it will require a revolution, to turn the present society upside down. We need a revolution that will make people and what we need the first priority of society as a whole.

Capitalists need gay oppression

We in the Revolutionary Socialist League think the struggle for gay liberation is very important, and not just for lesbians and gay men, but for the whole working class and all oppressed people. Why is it so important?

First, and most immediate, is the need for all workers and revolutionaries to unite to smash the right-wing and government attacks on lesbians and gay males, which are growing and which will continue to grow as the capitalist economy falls apart.

Why do the right wing and the capitalist state spend so much time attacking gays? Because they need to undermine the ability of the working class to organize and fight back. They need to blame oppressed people for the increasing social crisis, to take the blame off themselves. They try to divide and conquer workers and the oppressed

by teaching us to fight each other instead of fighting the capitalists. The way to defeat the attacks and save ourselves from being crushed in the approaching economic crisis is to fight for unity among all workers and oppressed people. An attack on one is an attack on all!

Second, the struggle for lesbian and gay liberation is important to all workers because gay oppression is not incidental to capitalism, but is typical of the ways the rulers seek to control the working class.

From the beginning of recorded time, the history of the human race has been a history of oppression—of class society—of the oppression of the majority of working masses by a minority class which controlled society and used its power to exploit the majority. Modern society is also a class society. It is capitalism, where all the wealth of society is controlled by a handful of people—the capitalists—and the majority of people—the workers—have almost nothing.

And this class society, this capitalist system, functions on the basis of oppression. It needs all the oppressive institutions it can get, like the church and the family. It needs sexism so it can tell women: "You're just a woman, and all you can ever be is a wife and a mother." It needs racism to control a whole section of super-exploited workers. It says: "Because of your color you have to work harder and get paid less." It needs the oppression of young people, to keep youth powerless, no more than the property of their parents. And the system needs gay oppression. The whole system is strengthened by isolating anyone who is different from what we are supposed to be, anyone who breaks the rules. It calls us abnormal, sick, perverted, and puts us outside "respectable" society.

In fact, the system has to keep all the hidden desires and needs that people have in the closet. If you have homosexual desires—hide it! If you are a woman who doesn't want to just cook and clean—hide it! If you love more than one person, and don't believe in marriage with one person all your life—hide it!

And it's not just sexual desires which they want hidden in the closet. Capitalist oppression denies all our aspirations for freedom, for a different life, for a better life. All our dreams of what we could be, with freedom to develop and grow, to open up the closet doors on all our human needs and desires—sexual, emotional, creative, intellectual—all of this potential is denied. We are kept slaves to the system, slaves who have nothing and will get nothing. All of us live in a closet.

But there's something else. We think the fight for gay liberation is crucial not just because of what we're fighting against, but because of what we're fighting for.

Today the possibility exists to build a society without classes, without slavery and oppression. I'm talking about socialism—a society where all the wealth of society is owned collectively by the majority of people, the working class.

Now, I'm not talking about Russia, or China, or Cuba, or any of the countries that claim to be socialist. The system which exists there is also capitalist, state capitalist, because workers in those countries do not rule, do not own or control the wealth of society. In all those countries, like here, a small handful of people control the state, the workers have almost nothing, and must sell their labor power for a wage. Also, in all those state-capitalist countries, gay people, women, and national minori-

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Photo by JEB from Eye to Eye, Portraits of Lesbians

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ties continue to be very oppressed. That's not what we're fighting for. In a socialist society every man and woman will be able to develop their full potential. Human needs will come first. People will run the factories, the factories won't run the people. And all of this is possible. Not only do we have all the necessary technology for a socialist society, but we also have the people—the working class—to bring it about.

The main obstacle standing in our way is the capitalist system. The first step for our liberation must be a socialist revolution to smash capitalism and establish a workers' state.

Gay liberation necessary for socialism

Now, if that workers' state is going to succeed, if the working class is going to remain in power and succeed in running society collectively, that workers' state will have to fight to liberate each and every section of the working class. It will have to eliminate all forms of oppression that are holding workers down—anywhere. How can a class run society for itself if it's being oppressed and held down?

One of the first things it will have to do, for example, is shorten the workweek to give all workers the time needed to do the work of running society—organizing the factories, organizing the transportation system and so on—the time to have the meetings of the factory committees and so on where the workers will be making the decisions on how to run things.

Another thing the workers' state will have to do is take all the steps necessary to wipe out all forms of racism, sexism, and so on, that are still in the working class itself. It will be impossible to run things collectively if whites are fighting Blacks, men are fighting women, straights are fighting gays.

All the sexism and racism that has been drilled into the working class

under capitalism won't disappear automatically—they will have to be fought. But unlike society under capitalism, the possibility will exist to wipe them out. Society will not need racism and sexism or any oppression to keep itself running as it does under capitalism and with the resources of all of society, the workers' state will be able to take every step necessary to wipe out all oppression.

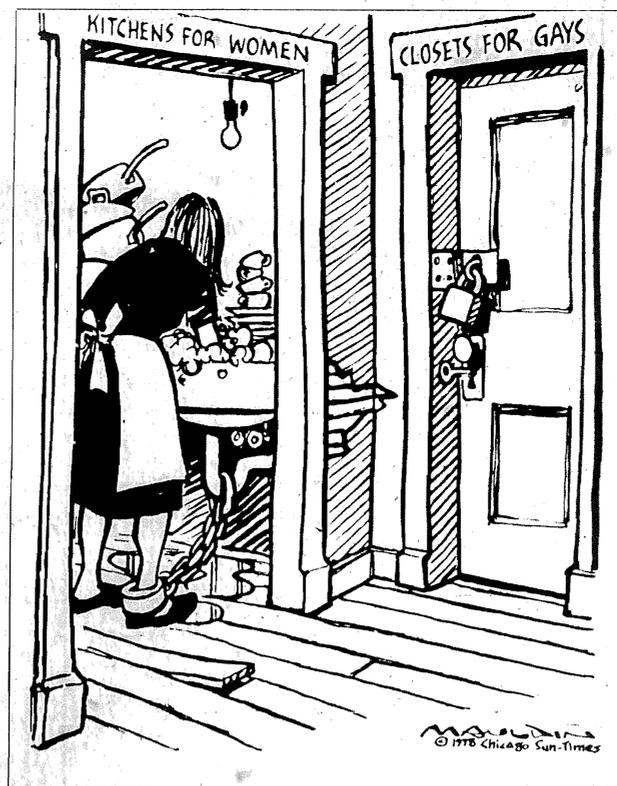
And that includes the fight against lesbian and gay oppression. The kind of massive campaign that I described at the beginning of this talk will have to be put into action. We do not think socialism will succeed if this fight—"Death to the Closet"—is not done. Unless the workers' state fights to liberate the whole class, to eliminate all the divisions and oppression created under capitalism.

If lesbians and gay males are sold out, the whole working class will suffer, gay and straight. The fight for gay liberation is not separated or isolated from the needs of the rest of the working class. It is tied by a million threads to the struggle to smash all the social institutions that keep the entire working class oppressed: marriage, the family, the church, the oppression of women, the oppression of children and youth, as well as all the unequal and authoritarian relationships all these institutions create.

If the workers' state sells out the fight to tear down the closet door it will sell out all other kinds of liberation and freedom.

And if the workers' state does not fight to tear down the closet doors, and all the other oppression in society with it, it will make it impossible for the working class to be free and will open the door to society falling once again into the hands of a small minority who will use the state to oppress the majority. It will open the door back to the same old crap—to capitalism.

This is why the Revolutionary Socialist League thinks the fight for gay liberation is so crucial for the whole working class and the struggle for socialism. It's why everywhere we go, in every struggle we are building,



we raise the fight for lesbian and gay liberation.

Until now, the capitalists have been very successful in dividing us—straight against gay, Latin against Black, Black against white, men against women. And unless unity is built among us we will never win. But out there in the streets, society is exploding, with rebellions of gays in San Francisco, Blacks in Alabama, Chicanos in Houston. And all of those people out there are fighting the same enemy—capitalism—but

they don't all know it yet. To unite those struggles so we can win, it will take more than words. Unity will have to be built in the struggle itself. We must find ways to enter these struggles and unite them concretely.

This is what the RSL is trying to do when we talk about the fight for lesbian and gay liberation in the auto factories, for example, or when we chant anti-Klan slogans at gay demonstrations. The RSL also believes that the unity in action we need cannot be achieved without the leadership of a revolutionary party.

We must build an organization of the most revolutionary-minded people, the people like yourselves who want to tear the system down. We are building an organization of trained, professional revolutionaries. A working-class organization that is made up of gays, straights, Latins, Blacks, Asians, whites, women and men. An organization that will say in every struggle: "The Solution is Revolution!"

Some of you may think this all sounds like a fantasy, and that it will never happen. We say: "Nothing is guaranteed." But we also say that it is possible. It can be done, and the only way we will ever get anything is if we fight for it.

That fight is already going on. And it will quickly grow to such an intensity that no one will be able to escape it. What capitalism has in store for lesbians and gay males is not just more closets, but concentration camps and ovens. What capitalism has in store for all of us worldwide is depression, brutality and death. We will all be fighting just to stay alive.

The question is, will we be fighting just defensively, separated and isolated from each other? Or will we fight on the offensive, fight for a solution, fight to save the world? That is our choice. Either we win the fight for socialism or the human race is doomed.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is out there fighting in the struggles of today, and we will be there tomorrow and on until we win. And wherever we go, our call is for a socialist revolution, to put workers and oppressed people in power, to wipe all oppression off the face of the earth, and to free the human race.

Why We're Marching Oct. 14

On October 14, the Revolutionary Socialist League will be marching in Washington in a revolutionary contingent, united by the slogan: Lesbian and Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Other slogans of the contingent include:

- Working and Oppressed People Unite to Smash All Oppression!
- No Support to Capitalist Politicians!
- Unite to Fight the Right-Wing Attacks—Smash the KKK! Smash Racism! Smash Sexism!
- Defend the San Francisco Rebellion!
- Full Rights for Gay Youth, Lesbian Mothers, Transpeople and All Specially Oppressed Lesbians and Gay Males!

The RSL has fought inside the March movement for a strategy meeting the needs of the vast majority of gay people—those who suffer from sexism, racism and economic oppression, as well as specific anti-gay prejudice. We have worked to convince people of the impossibility of winning gay liberation apart from the struggles of women, oppressed nationalities and the working class as a whole. We have argued that the main demand of the March—"An end to all social, economic, judicial and legal oppression of lesbians and gay men"—could be won only by fighting to build a united movement of the working class and all oppressed people to smash our common enemy: the capitalist class, its courts, cops and politicians.

In this struggle, we have been opposed by the official March leadership. The perspective of these forces—the National Gay Task Force, the Gay Rights National Lobby and those working in alliance with these groups—has been to try to deliver the movement into the hands of our enemies. They have demanded that the March movement be tailored to the specifications of "liberal" Capitol Hill politicians, spreading the lie that appeals to Democratic Party politicians will win meaningful gains. They have called for "working within the system"—the same system responsible for ever-increasing attacks on lesbians, gay males and all working and oppressed people.

This is a dead end for our struggle.

The Stonewall and San Francisco Rebellions did more to win concessions and change people's consciousness than a dozen gay civil rights bills. While right-wing violence grows, official March leaders condemn those calling for self-defense and shamelessly turn their backs on the 21 persons indicted for the San Francisco Rebellion. "Party" for women and Third World people has been used to mask the leadership's refusal to link forces with actual struggles against common enemies like the Ku Klux Klan and "Right-to-Lifers," or government attacks on healthcare, education, jobs and other basic needs of the working class.

Today, many lesbian and gay activists do not yet recognize that those leading the March are our enemies. There is not yet a clear understanding that lesbian and gay oppression is part and parcel of the entire capitalist system. Nor is it understood that this system is not reformable; that sexism, racism, exploitation, poverty, repression, militarism and ever-growing rot are the very lifeblood of the capitalist system. They will be eliminated only when capitalism itself is eliminated. To do this will take the building of a united, revolutionary movement, which champions the struggle against all oppression, and fights to overthrow capitalism through working-class-led socialist revolution.

Contrary to the lies of the official March leadership, we must tell people the plain, hard truth:

• That our strength lies in our unity as working and oppressed people and in our independence from capitalist politicians, who enter our movement only to betray it.

• That we have no stake in this society, which exists only by crushing and exploiting us.

• And that we must unify the struggles of all oppressed people, under the leadership of a revolutionary working-class party, to overthrow this system and build a new one in which we can be truly free.

The RSL will be marching in Washington to make sure that this truth gets told.

Peruvian People Battle IMF

By ALBERTO SUAREZ

A three-month-old strike by Peruvian teachers is turning into a major test of strength between the working class and left-wing parties on the one hand, and the military government, on the other. The teachers' union (SUTEP), parents' organizations and a broad coalition of opposition political parties have joined forces in support of the strike. On September 3, 32 left-wing politicians and activists in the capital of Lima began a hunger strike in support of the teachers. Since then, solidarity strikes and local hunger strikes have spread across the country.

The military government has decided to go all out to defeat the strike. The government believes that if it can smash the teachers, it will seriously demoralize the opposition. This, it hopes, will bring the opposition from gaining more support between now and elections scheduled for next May.

The teachers' strike is the latest in the continuing struggle the Peruvian workers have waged against an austerity plan imposed on Peru in 1977. The plan was imposed by the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) and supported by the Peruvian military regime.

Modernization fails—military takes over

Peru had been under the rule of an agrarian oligarchy and its military henchman until 1962, when Fernando Belaunde Terry and his Popular Action Party were elected into office. Belaunde represented the infant domestic bourgeoisie that was trying to modernize Peru. The Belaunde government was unable to achieve the reforms it wanted primarily because of the resistance of the oligarchy. It also faced tremendous popular pressure in the form of peasant rebellions and guerrilla struggles led by Hugo Blanco. Blanco is internationally connected with the Socialist Workers Party and the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In October 1968, the military, led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, overthrew Belaunde because of his failure to solve Peru's problems. Velasco and his cronies were not the typical right-wingers the Latin American officer corps abound with. They were "radicals." In fact, some of them were influenced by APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—American People's Revolutionary Alliance). APRA is associated with the European social democrats. It began as a radical force in the 1920s, but has since moved to the right.

Velasco's program called for a "third way" between capitalism and communism. His regime introduced agrarian reform with heavy emphasis on cooperatives, and industrial and mining reform



5,000 peasants celebrating land seizures, September 1977.

that included "worker participation" and profit sharing, and the nationalization of some foreign holdings. These reforms benefited only a small part of the population, including the industrial bourgeoisie.

Peru's economy looked prosperous on the surface. But low food supplies, inflation and a negative balance of payments were beginning to plague the economy. The military thought that by exporting petroleum, copper, and anchovies they would overcome these problems. They also tried to create new industries. In doing so, they made Peru one of the biggest debtors among underdeveloped countries.

By 1975, inflation, the balance of payments and the budget deficit got worse. In August of that year, General Francisco Morales Bermudez overthrew the Velasco regime. Morales Bermudez immediately purged leftist officers, allowed the prices of basic consumer goods to increase, increased taxes and cut the budget. But the expected revenue from oil, copper and fish failed to materialize.

The Morales Bermudez regime tried to borrow money from the IMF, but found its demands too stiff. Then it borrowed directly from U.S. banks. These banks, fearing an overthrow of the rightist regime, agreed to lend him money. But they set a series of conditions that included: a) A stabilization program milder than the IMF's; b) better treatment of foreign investment; c) partial denationalization; d) monitoring of Peru's economy by the U.S. banks.

The effects of the program were disastrous for the Peruvian population. By 1976, the economy had all but stopped growing; unemployment had jumped sharply; 45 percent of the workforce was underemployed. Real wages fell 25 percent between 1973 and 1976. Though the balance of payments did improve a bit, the balance of trade and the service payments on Peru's debt worsened.

The military again had to look for loans. This time, the private bankers refused to lend. As a result, the regime had to go to the IMF. As pre-conditions for the loans, the IMF demanded that the Peruvian govern-

ment: 1) Cut all subsidies to the public sector; 2) allow the prices of fuel, transportation, basic foodstuffs to rise and cut all subsidies to them; 3) eliminate the purchase of capital goods for the public sector and sell some of the state firms to the private sector; 4) tighten up the tax system; 5) devalue the Peruvian currency (the sol) by 30 percent; 6) limit wage and salary increases to 10 to 15 percent.

Mass upsurge answers IMF squeeze

These conditions were so drastic that the finance ministers resigned twice in 1977. Some of the proposals, however, were put in effect, which then provoked a mass upsurge from the Peruvian people. In July 1977, there was a general strike led by the Comando Unitario de Lucha (a coalition of left groups, which included the Communist Party—CP). On the second day of the strike, the CP withdrew from the strike. The army arrested hundreds of workers and killed at least nine persons. The labor laws were suspended, and 6,000 workers who participated in the strike were fired.

By October of that year, the IMF and the Morales Bermudez dictatorship reached an agreement and Peru received a \$100 million loan. By the end of that year, repression was so bad that even some ex-army officers who had formed the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Socialist Revolutionary Party) were exiled.

By February of 1978, the military announced their Tupac Amaru Plan. The main points of the plan were the encouragement of private domestic and foreign investment, regional development, and municipal elections. APRA liked the last two points and approved the plan. In fact, the APRA-controlled labor federation called for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to write a new constitution for Peru. APRA offered its large and disciplined base as a civilian support group for the military.

Again on May 22-23, the Comando Unitario de Lucha

led a general strike that postponed the elections for the assembly for two weeks. The workers blocked the roads to Lima, the capital, and stopped all transportation. They burned foreign banks and warehouses. The army responded by killing and wounding many, and arresting hundreds. Owners were given permission to fire those who participated in the strike. Labor and leftist leaders were deported.

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Left won 28 percent of the seats. Hugo Blanco's Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil y Popular (FOCEP—Workers', Farmers', Students' and People's Front) won 12 percent of the seats; the Unidad Democratico Popular (UDP—People's Democratic Unity) won eight percent. Several factions of the Communist Party and others won the rest.

Hugo Blanco ran for the assembly on a platform that emphasized "no compromise with reformism." He changed the slogan he had used for decades, "Land or Death," to "Take Power." He also formed the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers' Party) from left-wing splits from other organizations. FOCEP itself split in two, with Genaro Ledesma leading a social democratic faction. Recently, Ledesma expelled Blanco from FOCEP.

APRA and the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC—People's Christian Party), a rightist organization, dominate and manipulate the assembly, which began meeting in July. They have stacked the committees so that it will remain "respectable." The sergeants-at-arms are APRA goons who have been used to beat strikers. They are commonly known as the "bufalos." On top of all this, the military says they will not agree with a new constitution if they do not get veto power over the proposed civilian government.

CP betrayal leads workers to defeat

In January of 1979, the workers attempted to go on a general strike. But even before the strike began, the military began to take repressive measures. The CP-controlled unions betrayed the strike. The workers were defeated.



Striking miners march in Lima in September 1978.

It was not until June of this year that the working class began recovering from this setback. The first challenge to the military came from the powerful teachers' union, SUTEP, which has 140,000 members. The teachers went on strike asking for a 100-percent salary raise, the rehiring of those fired in last year's strike and the reopening of a teacher's college.

The military dictatorship sent out armored cars and troops into the streets to try to break the strike. Hugo Blanco was arrested and then released after a strong popular protest. Members of the political police shot at Genaro Ledesma and Javier Diez Canseco, another leftist leader. Many labor leaders were arrested. Although the military allowed the teachers a 20-percent salary raise, the teachers are still on strike.

Teachers' strike part of mounting opposition

The teachers' strike was not a limited action. At the same time the teachers struck, 25,000 Social Security workers went on strike also. Their strike was broken when APRA, which controls their union, had the strike militants fired. Three days later, 10,000 university workers went on strike. On June 12, the labor and community organizations in the province of Tarapoto declared a general strike.

Despite these actions, the teachers' strike seemed to be falling apart in August. Then in September, the support from the left and the "hard line" decision of the government stiffened the resistance of the teachers. As a result, the strike has become a test of strength between the military regime and its opponents.

Opposition to the regime is also mounting among the Indians, many of whom are outside the mainstream of Peruvian economic and political life. The APRA-PPC-dominated assembly has proposed that Spanish be the only official language, to the exclusion of the Indian languages of Quechua and Aymara. There are several million Indians whose first language is not Spanish. So, the Indian organizations have declared that if the Indian languages are not recognized as official, they will paralyze the city of Cuzco. □

DICT
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Guyana, formerly a colony of England, became independent in 1966. Since it has been ruled by neo-colonial regimes: Forbes Burnham, Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC) has maintained hold by fomenting racial tension between Black, East Indians, the two sectors of the Guyanese people.

In the past, Black Guyanese have tended to support the military while East Indians have supported the People's Progressive Party (PPP). The PPP, traditionally opposed to military rule, has been in power but in recent years has given him "critical support." The following article printed from Forward Paper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.

The frightening threat of an extremely repressive dictatorship hangs darkly over the heads of the Guyanese masses.

Signaled by the repressive terror which the Prime Minister Forbes Burnham has unleashed against the working people and left-wing cultural groups in that country.

During recent months the regime has sought to suppress the opposition press, to win opponents of the government have been arrested and locked up, and meetings, marches and demonstrations have been smashed up by armed government thugs.

Behind the PNC's suppression of repression is the severe crisis of Guyanese capitalism. As a result of the case of Jamaica, the Guyanese economy has been particularly hard-hit by the opening crisis of international capitalism. Guyana has a national debt of over \$1 billion Guyanese (\$400 million U.S.) and the government refuses to pay a minimum wage of \$14 Guyanese (\$5.60 U.S.) per week.

Also, like its Jamaican counterpart, the Burnham government, in alliance with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has sought to put the full burden of the crisis squarely onto the backs of the working masses. This has resulted in sky-rocketing prices of essential goods, crippling shortages of food and other essential items, and widespread corruption. A thriving black market, a freeze in the public sector, which accounts for 80 percent of the entire economy, and other terrible hardships for the working people.

Working people fight back

The Guyanese oppressed masses, and especially the organized working class, have sternly resisted the attacks by the regime.

As far back as August 1977, thousands of cane cutters struck to back demands that the government pay their bonuses. Beginning in July this year, the left organizations renewed pro-

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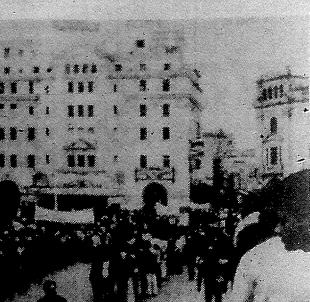
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Teachers' strike part of mounting opposition

The teachers' strike was not a limited action. At the same time the teachers struck, 25,000 Social Security workers went on strike also. Their strike was broken when APRA, which controls their union, had the strike militants fired. Three days later, 10,000 university workers went on strike. On June 12, the labor and community organizations in the province of Tarapoto declared a general strike.

Despite these actions, the teachers' strike seemed to be falling apart in August. Then in September, the support from the left and the "hard line" decision of the government stiffened the resistance of the teachers. As a result, the strike has become a test of strength between the military regime and its opponents.

Opposition to the regime is also mounting among the Indians, many of whom are outside the mainstream of Peruvian economic and political life. The APRA-PPC-dominated assembly has proposed that Spanish be the only official language, to the exclusion of the Indian languages of Quechua and Aymara. There are several million Indians whose first language is not Spanish. So, the Indian organizations have declared that if the Indian languages are not recognized as official, they will paralyze the city of Cuzco. □



in Lima in September 1978.

DICTATORSHIP THREAT LOOMS IN GUYANA

Guyana, formerly a colony of England, became independent in 1966. Since then it has been ruled by the neo-colonial regime of Forbes Burnham. Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC) has maintained its hold by fomenting racial tension between Blacks and East Indians, the two major sectors of the Guyanese people.

In the past, Blacks have tended to support the PNC, while East Indians have supported the People's Progressive Party (PPP). The PPP traditionally opposed Burnham but in recent years has given him "critical support." The following article is reprinted from *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.

The frightening threat of an extremely repressive dictatorship hangs dangerously over the heads of the Guyanese masses. This is signaled by the reign of terror which the People's National Congress (PNC) government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham has let loose against the working people and left-wing political groups in that country.

During recent months, the regime has sought to muzzle the opposition press, left-wing opponents of the government have been beaten and locked up, and protest meetings, marches and demonstrations have been smashed up by armed government thugs.

Behind the PNC's stepped-up campaign of repression is the severe crisis of Guyanese capitalism. As in the case of Jamaica, the Guyanese economy has been particularly hard-hit by the deepening crisis of international capitalism. Guyana today has a national debt of more than \$1 billion Guyanese (\$400 million U.S.) and the government refuses to pay a minimum wage of \$14 Guyanese (\$5.60 U.S.) per day.

Also, like its Jamaican counterpart, the Burnham government, in alliance with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has sought to put the full burden of the crisis squarely onto the backs of the working masses. This has resulted in sky-rocketing prices and crippling shortages of food and other essential items, widespread corruption, a thriving black market, a wage freeze in the public sector—which accounts for 80 percent of the entire economy—and other terrible hardships for the working people.

Working people fight back

The Guyanese oppressed masses, and especially the organized working class, have sternly resisted these attacks by the regime.

As far back as August 1977, thousands of cane-cutters struck to back demands that the government pay up their bonuses. Beginning in July this year, the left organizations renewed protest



actions including demonstrations and public meetings. Most recently, in August, masses of workers throughout the sugar industry and the publicly-owned sections of commerce struck to support striking bauxite workers and to fight the public sector wage freeze.

PNC moves to naked dictatorship

In the face of this growing popular opposition to its bankrupt rule, the Burnham government has been forced



Forbes Burnham.

to turn sharply toward a naked one-party PNC dictatorship.

Despite its "Marxist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric and posturing, the PNC government has been quietly laying down the framework for such a regime over several years now:

- The security forces have been directly subordinated to the PNC.
- American gangster David Hill's "House of Israel" thugs have been recruited as strong-arm men for the regime.
- Repeated episodes of PNC election fraud have made all elections into a sham.
- Parliament has been made into a PNC rubber stamp.

Should Burnham succeed in establishing a nakedly reactionary dictatorship, he will use this to smash the Guyanese workers' power to resist his attempt at a capitalist economic recovery. The Guyanese masses' living standard will be forced down to the point of starva-

tion and the rate of exploitation of the workers will be brutally intensified.

This would represent an enormous defeat for the Guyanese working people and for the entire Caribbean working class and its allies. It would greatly strengthen the more openly reactionary governments of the region in countries such as Barbados and Trinidad and reinforce the present rightward march of the Manley regime in Jamaica.

Smash Burnham!

To avoid this defeat, Burnham must be overthrown and replaced by a workers' and small farmers' government. A revolutionary united front of the working and oppressed people of Guyana under the leadership of a revolutionary workers' party must be created. As an immediate task, this united front would strive to build armed workers' defense guards to protect working people's organizations and struggles.

The House of Israel and other pro-government gangs must be smashed and broad masses of workers mobilized in demonstrations, mass meetings and especially an insurrectional general strike aimed at booting out the reactionary regime.

The firmest working-class militants in this struggle must band together and move rapidly toward the formation of a revolutionary workers' party. In struggle, this grouping has to lead the working class and its allies away from all ties with the capitalist class. The dependence upon the capitalists, which the Stalinist-dominated Guyanese left practiced through their class-collaborationist policy of "critical support," only served to demobilize and disarm Guyanese workers, leaving them open to the government's terror campaign.

Only in practice can worker-revolutionaries convince the rest of the oppressed masses that nothing but a Guyanese workers' and small farmers' government within the framework of a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean can solve the present capitalist crisis that is sweeping the world and especially oppressed nations like those in the Caribbean. □



Class struggle grows in El Salvador

The dictatorship of General Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador is close to collapse. On September 27, 10,000 demonstrators marched in San Salvador, the national capital, calling for the overthrow of the regime. The march was the largest in a series of militant actions against the government.

On September 14, government troops fired on 2,000 demonstrators, killing three and wounding 30. The marchers shot back and set fire to more than a dozen cars and trucks before retreating. Since then, gun battles between government troops or police and leftists have broken out nearly every day.

Workers are playing a key role in the struggle against Romero. The September 14 demonstration was organized by the militant teachers' union. Coalitions of workers, students and peasants have occupied factories and churches in San Salvador and other cities. Strikes have broken out everywhere over the past year.

The U.S. ruling class fears that the working class may take over leadership of the opposition movement and lead a socialist revolution in El Salvador. It is trying to convince Salvadorean business leaders to follow the example of their counterparts in Nicaragua and try to build a "broad opposition front" led by the capitalists to head off the threat of revolution. Ambassador Frank Devine is encouraging talks between business leaders, church authorities and the conservative Christian Democratic Party in hopes of replacing Romero with a liberal capitalist regime.

But the Salvadorean capitalist class is too tied to the Romero government for such maneuvers to have much chance of success. As the *New York Times* admitted: "While Nicaraguan leftists and rightists united against a hated dynastic dictator, a clear class struggle has erupted in El Salvador, with most of the private sector backing the military regime and the radicalized opposition... seeking to overthrow the entire system."

French troops topple Bokassa

On the evening of September 20, around 1,000 French troops landed at the airport of Bangui, the capital of what was then called the Central African Empire. Included in their baggage was David Dacko, a cousin of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa, and a long-time lackey of French imperialism. Dacko declared the deposition of Bokassa and proclaimed himself president of the Central African Republic.

Although the people of the Central African Republic hailed the downfall of Bokassa, they are turning against Dacko. On September 23 hundreds of demonstrators protested Dacko's decision to retain most of Bokassa's imperial cabinet. The day before, the Oubangui Patriotic Front (Oubangui is the African name for the Central African Republic) issued a statement condemning Dacko's regime and demanding the withdrawal of French troops.

There's no need to mourn the downfall of Bokassa, a butcher who personally participated in the slaughter of 400 high school students last April. But the French ruling class's effort to install a puppet regime in the Central African Republic must be condemned. The French government had supported Bokassa ever since he took power in 1966. They decided to get rid of him only after popular resistance to Bokassa, including strikes by workers in Bangui, began to grow in January. Such resistance was a threat not only to French control of the Central African Republic, but also to its neo-colonialist empire throughout Africa. Although France granted political independence to its African colonies in the 1960s, it still maintains over 11,000 troops to back up pro-French governments in 20 African countries.

U.S., Vietnam block Kampuchea aid

The Kampuchean people face extinction as the result of imperialist rivalries over control of what remains of their country. Representatives of the former Pol Pot regime and officials of the Heng Samrin government, set up by the state-capitalist Vietnamese ruling class after their conquest of Kampuchea in January, both agree that two million Kampucheans are facing starvation. As many as four million have already died in the past four years.

Various relief agencies are ready to ship in food to enable the remaining Kampucheans to survive. But the U.S. and the Vietnamese puppet government are holding up the aid program while they quarrel over who will control it. The U.S. is using the plight of the Kampuchean people as a club to force Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea. The Vietnamese and their puppets want control of the program to prevent any supplies from reaching the Pol Pot forces. The Vietnamese even began a new offensive against the Pol Pot forces on September 24, which can only increase the death toll. All these maneuvers amount to acts of genocide against the Kampuchean people.

—PB

On July 19, 1979, the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), overthrew the dictatorship of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

The new government of Nicaragua, the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN), was formed on June 17 in Costa Rica and took power on July 20. It is a coalition of the FSLN and sections of the capitalist class who opposed Somoza's rule. Three of its five members, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, Sergio Ramirez Mercado, and Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, are pro-capitalist politicians or business leaders. Two others, Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Moises Hassan Morales, are members of the FSLN.

Nevertheless, the FSLN leaders are the real rulers of Nicaragua. They control the newly-formed Sandinista Liberation Army, the only organized armed force in Nicaragua. Moreover, they have the overwhelming support of the workers and small farmers in Nicaragua.

The new government has introduced several radical reforms. The most important of these is the nationalization of the enormous holdings of the Somoza family and its supporters, which include some 400 factories and up to 70 percent of the cultivable land. Finance Minister Joaquín Cuadra Chamorro estimates that over 30 percent of the economy is now in the hands of the state. In addition, the regime has abolished the death penalty, granted freedom of the press, allowed opposition political parties to form, as well as introducing other reforms.

But the leaders of the FSLN have made it clear that they are not moving to overthrow the capitalists and have no intention of setting up a workers' and peasants' government. Humberto



Moises Hassan.

Ortega Saavedra, commander-in-chief of the army and one of the nine leaders of the FSLN's Joint National Directorate, has stated: "We could do away with the bourgeoisie because we have enough support from the people. But ... the bourgeoisie has a major role to play in the reconstruction." Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock, another member of the Directorate, adds: "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza."

The growing economic crisis in Nicaragua is beginning to reveal the contradictions built into the FSLN's policy of collaboration with the capitalists. The economy was blown apart during the liberation struggle. Somoza and his supporters wrecked the country before their defeat, bombing cities into rubble, looting the treasury, and selling off their cattle herds, coffee crops and other resources. As a result, 35 percent of the people depend on government food handouts to survive, at least 17 percent are unemployed, and 750,000 have no housing.

As the economic crisis deepens, the FSLN will face conflicting claims of its supporters. Its allies among the capitalists will demand a crackdown on the workers and small farmers to enforce "reconstruction." The workers and farmers themselves will expect the FSLN to provide them with jobs and food at the expense of the capitalists.

Three Months After the Revolution

Sandinistas Preserve Capitalism in Nicaragua

Such conflicts are particularly dangerous to the FSLN because it has not yet consolidated its hold over the country. The capitalists still retain control of their property, their political organizations and newspapers, and have important footholds in the government. Many workers and peasants still have their weapons, while a number of the unions, Civil Defense Committees, and other organizations set up by the workers in the course of the struggle against Somoza are not yet under the full control of the FSLN.

Workers and peasants continue struggle

Workers and peasants have already begun taking militant actions which threaten the FSLN's policy of collaboration with the capitalists. Landless farmers near Leon have seized estates belonging to the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. Workers are demanding back pay, higher wages, and better working conditions. They are organizing new unions and occasionally taking over factories to enforce their demands.

Moreover, leftist groups opposed to the government's policy are gaining some support among the workers. On August 15, the Simon Bolivar Brigade (a group which claims to be Trotskyist) led an anti-government demonstration of 3,000 workers in Managua, the national capital. Some of the protesters carried signs reading: "The revolution is in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and "Power to the proletariat." The Maoist People's Action Movement has encouraged strikes in nationalized factories, and land seizures in the countryside.

The capitalists realize they need the FSLN to keep the workers and peasants in line. But they oppose further concessions to the masses, and are organizing an opposition movement to increase their power. On September 7, one section of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie met to form a new opposition party, the Social Democratic Party. At the meeting, they chanted anti-FSLN slogans, such as "Democracy yes, communism no!" A leader of the party, Luis Rivas Leiva, called for "social and economic consolidation and reinforcement of capitalism under bourgeois democracy." In addition, other right-wing opponents of the FSLN are demanding the formation of a 33-member Council of State, including representatives of all the capitalist opposition parties.

In short, the FSLN faces opposition from both left-wing and right-wing opponents of its policies. At present, both are too weak to challenge the FSLN's control of Nicaragua. But the economic crisis will increase the pressure on the FSLN.

It's possible that the FSLN leaders will try to resolve their problems by kicking the anti-Somoza capitalists out of the government, taking over their property, and setting up a state-capitalist regime. But so far, their actions, particularly their dealings with the U.S. ruling class, indicate this isn't very likely.

The FSLN leaders realize they must get the economy going again to achieve political stability in Nicaragua. To accomplish this, they are counting on loans and grants from the U.S. On September 25, three members of the provisional government met with President Carter, who promised them up to \$100 million in aid.

The FSLN leadership insists it will take no aid with "strings attached." After the September meeting with Carter, Daniel Ortega Saavedra claimed that the U.S. was placing no conditions on its aid. But the FSLN has already made several concessions to imperialist banks and corporations in Nicaragua. Although it nationalized banks controlled by Nicaraguan capitalists, it left those run by the imperialists alone. It has promised not to expropriate U.S. corporations in Nicaragua.

It has even offered loans to U.S. companies whose property was damaged in the liberation struggle, like Ralston-Purina, so that they can begin operations again. No wonder U.S. business leaders like James R. Hammond, head of the Council of the Americas, a business association for U.S. corporations operating in Latin America, is saying "American business is generally positive about Nicaragua."

As long as the honeymoon between the U.S. State Department, the U.S. capitalists and the provisional government continues, the FSLN has every reason to maintain its alliance with the Nicaraguan capitalists.

But the FSLN is taking steps to remain top dog in the alliance, and to ensure its control over the workers and peasants. First, it is tightening its control over the military, which is the basis of its power. The FSLN is forming a professional army of about 5,000 troops. At the same time, it is disarming the popular militias. Already, about 6,000 members of the militias have lost their weapons. According to FSLN leader Luis Carrion, others in the militias will receive military training but will not be "permanently under arms."

The FSLN is also denying the capitalists in the provisional government any control over the army. On September 7, when the army held its first parade, the nine members of the FSLN Joint Directorate were named commandants of the army. Not a single member of the provisional government was allowed on the viewing stand.

To maintain its support among workers and peasants, the FSLN is taking a harder line against the capitalists in its public statements. An editorial in *Barricada*, the FSLN newspaper, on September 7, condemned all capitalists as exploiters of the people. In addition, Daniel Ortega Saavedra

has denied that the FSLN has signed "an agreement of any kind with businessmen or sectors of private enterprise," and attacked the anti-Somoza capitalists, saying: "...they never played a firm role in the liberation process."

FSLN trying to control mass organizations

In the countryside, the FSLN is distributing the land of Somoza supporters to landless and poor peasants. On September 7, Wheelock called for the organization of a National Association of Small and Medium Sized Coffee Producers in a meeting with several hundred coffee growers. By building a stable political base among the small farmers, who are reaping real gains from the regime, the FSLN will be in a better position to deal with both the anti-Somoza capitalists and the growing working-class movement in the cities.

The FSLN is also trying to take over the mass workers' organizations. It is

Twelve Questions and Answers

By PAUL CARSON

What are the different strategies being proposed?

The strategy of the Sandinistas is to build a broad alliance of all the forces that were opposed to Somoza, including the bourgeoisie. They reject the idea that a socialist revolution, led by the working class, is needed today. Key to this strategy is the idea that a section of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is progressive.

The other strategy, which the RSL supports, is for the working class to lead the small farmers in overthrowing the entire capitalist class and build a workers' state. There is no such thing as a "progressive bourgeoisie" in Nicaragua. The bourgeoisie is the class enemy. The only way to win and hold onto democratic rights, better working conditions, or any other lasting reforms, is to smash the bourgeoisie.

What is the role of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie?

The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie has played a reactionary role in the past. They have opposed any struggles on the part of the working class or small farmers. They are afraid of the potential power of the workers and small farmers, and they relied on Somoza and U.S. imperialism to keep the working class under control.

The bourgeoisie changed its attitude toward Somoza when the crisis became sharp in recent years and, especially, when it became clear that Somoza was unable to control the working class.

After the workers and farmers showed their militancy in the 1973-74 strikes, organizing drives, and land seizures, then the liberal capitalists began to build their opposition. Their hope was to get the workers and small farmers to trust them.

Through all of this, the bourgeoisie's aim was to keep control over the working class. As events moved further, it became clear that Somoza was an obstacle to their maintaining

control. He was hated by the people, he was incapable of establishing stability in the economy, and he was creating conditions that could lead to an insurrection that would not only topple Somoza, but the whole capitalist class as well. The only way to head this off was to break with Somoza and try to gain leadership (or part-leadership) of the anti-Somoza forces. In addition, Somoza began to try to push important capitalists aside and give Somoza family businesses free rein.

Why does the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie appear left-wing today?

They have to. The people are fighting for what they need: democratic rights, land to the small farmers, an end to the 60-hour week and much more. The people expect the new revolutionary government to win these things for them. For the bourgeoisie to be part of this government, they have to pretend to stand for all kinds of wonderful things. The key to their strategy is to divert what could be a socialist revolution into a bourgeois anti-Somoza movement. This is why the industrialist Robelo built a Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, led a general strike last year, and so on. Robelo and the other capitalists will stop being democrats when they get a chance to crush the working class.

How does the strategy of the Sandinistas play into the hands of the bourgeoisie?

The Sandinistas are helping the capitalists fool the people into thinking they are the "democrats" and "revolutionaries" they now claim to be. This hides the class line and prevents the workers and peasants from seeing who their real enemies are.

The Sandinistas are nationalizing Somoza's property. But they are leaving the remaining capitalists alone. The capitalists' role in the government will be to use their power to protect their property.

Where will this strategy lead?

If the strategy is followed to its conclusion, it will lead to the bourgeoisie establishing control, repressing the working class, and building ties to world imperialism.

Has the Sandinista strategy been tried before?

Yes, many times. And it always leads to the defeat of the workers. The communist parties and the Maoists believe that in many, particularly underdeveloped countries, the revolution has to occur in two stages.

The first is a so-called democratic, anti-imperialist stage, in which the workers and peasants must ally with the so-called national or democratic capitalists against imperialism or fascism. Only afterwards can the revolution move into the socialist "stage." In some countries where the working class is relatively strong, this strategy takes the form of the Popular Front. The workers' parties form an alliance with bourgeois parties, support capitalist governments, and try to hold back the workers' struggles to avoid alienating the capitalists.

Usually there is a period of disorientation, during which the capitalists regroup their forces. Eventually they crush the working class. The Popular Front led to disaster in Spain in the 1930s. The workers were disoriented by their leaders, and the bourgeoisie crushed them under Franco.

Salvador Allende, the reformist leader of Chile from 1970 to 1973, also had a policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie. The workers in Chile were capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, but they were held back by Allende. The alliance with the bourgeoisie was ended when the workers and Allende were crushed by a military coup.

In other countries, such as China and Vietnam, communist parties have organized peasant-based armies on the basis of bourgeois-democratic as opposed to socialist slogans. These movements have fought and kicked out the imperialists and landlords, but

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FSLN troops and residents of Masaya line up beneath portrait of slain freedom fighter at festival celebrating Sandinista victory.

calling on newly-formed unions to join the Sandinista Labor Federation (CST). It is also asking the four already-existing trade union organizations to merge with the CST. In addition, the FSLN is building Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) to carry out services like food distribution, vaccinations and literacy campaigns.

The major motive for this drive is to bring the many organizations created by the workers themselves firmly under FSLN control. Carrion wrote in *Barricada*: "We ask that the CDS increase their discipline daily, that they be attentive to the orientations and directives of the FSLN."

By gaining control of these organizations, the FSLN will be able to apply a brake on the strikes, factory occupations and other militant actions that threaten its alliance with the capitalists. It will also be able to cut down

the influence of leftist opposition groups active in the working class.

In the course of carrying out these policies, the regime has occasionally supported workers in conflicts with their employers. For instance, when the staff of a private college demanded back pay, the government turned over administration of the school to workers and teachers until their wages were repaid.

An editorial called "What Is To Be Done?," which appeared in *Barricada* on August 14, warned the capitalists that "It is dangerous not to heed a workers' assembly." But it also assured them that "It's not as if the workers today have carte blanche [a blank check] to do anything they want." And it advised the workers themselves to "...seek harmony in work and justice in order to consolidate and deepen the revolution."

In fact, the FSLN wants to hold back

the struggle of workers against the capitalists. When asked about the increasing conflicts between workers and factory owners, Humberto Ortega Saavedra replied: "In order to keep the struggle from becoming more acute, it is necessary to implement the program supported by the FSLN and the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. Then we must struggle against various kinds of deviations."

Moreover, the FSLN condemns left opponents who organize workers against "harmony in work and justice" with the capitalists. It expelled non-Nicaraguan members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade after the August 15 demonstration. And it attacks other leftists as "fake revolutionaries," who "run around workplaces claiming to lead our workers and peasants, with schemes that are divorced from what can justly be demanded under these circumstances."

ve Questions and Answers on Nicaragua

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In other countries, such as China and Vietnam, communist parties have organized peasant-based armies on the basis of bourgeois-democratic, as opposed to socialist, slogans. These movements have fought and kicked out the imperialists and landlords, but

they did not lead to socialism. Instead, they led to the establishment of state-capitalist regimes that continue to exploit the workers and peasants. In either case, the theory of the two-stage revolution has never led to the victory of the working class and the establishment of socialism.

Couldn't the Sandinistas take over completely and build socialism in Nicaragua like Castro did in Cuba?

There are two parts to the answer. First, Castro didn't build socialism in Cuba. He built a state-capitalist society in which the state is controlled by a small ruling class and the workers are exploited.

Before the revolution, Cuba was ruled by Fulgencio Batista, who was very similar to Somoza. The Cuban capitalist class was weak and closely tied up with Batista and U.S. imperialism. They did nothing to overthrow Batista.

When Castro took power, the imperialists took a very belligerent attitude. In response, Castro turned to Russia, moved against the local capitalists and built a state-capitalist society.

The Sandinistas might do the same thing, but we don't think this is likely at this time. So far, every move the Sandinistas have made has been to maintain an alliance with the traditional capitalists and reach an accommodation with U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the U.S. seems to have learned something in 20 years and is taking a "friendly" attitude, offering aid, etc.

Finally, the traditional capitalists in Nicaragua played a part in getting rid of Somoza and are still fairly strong. To move against them would require mobilizing the workers and peasants. But this runs the risk of the workers taking power themselves. The Sandinistas are afraid of this. As long as the imperialists are offering aid, we think the Sandinistas will try to avoid this risk and maintain the alliance with

the capitalists.

How would a revolutionary party act in Nicaragua today?

First, it would tell the truth about the capitalists and expose the class-collaborationist policies of the Sandinistas. It would reject any kind of popular front, as well as moves toward state capitalism. Second, a revolutionary party would try to organize workers and peasants into their own mass organizations, independent of the capitalists and the government.

It would also try to prevent the workers from being disarmed. In short, while supporting the gains of the revolution, a revolutionary party would organize for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a real workers' government.

Isn't it better to compromise and avoid provocative actions that strengthen the right wing and provoke U.S. imperialism?

Revolutionary Marxists are not opposed to compromises that move the struggle toward socialism. But the compromises of the Sandinistas aren't serving the cause of building socialism. They will either lead to reinforcing traditional capitalism or building state capitalism in Nicaragua.

Fighting for state power for the workers will not be easy. If there was a socialist revolution, there would be an international campaign to starve Nicaragua out. If they expropriated the bourgeoisie, and expropriated all U.S. property, then the U.S. would try to crush them.

There would only be one way to fight this. Spread the revolution. There are strong opposition movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. A socialist revolution in Nicaragua could lead to successful revolutions in those and other countries, once the example had been set and workers saw it was possible.

Has the strategy been tried before?

Yes. It is the strategy of the Russian Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky rejected any two-stage theory. Russia was underdeveloped, the working class a minority, and all the arguments about why socialism is not yet possible, which are used about Nicaragua today, were made by the majority of socialists in Russia then. But the Bolsheviks led the workers in seizing state power, fought the attempts of the world bourgeoisie to invade Russia, and built the Third International to try to spread the revolution.

What should revolutionaries in the U.S. do to help the Nicaraguan revolution?

The number one task is to oppose U.S. imperialism and defend the right of Nicaraguans to determine their own future. But revolutionaries in the U.S. should also publicize the facts about the revolution, expose the political role of the Sandinistas and be ready to organize support for workers and peasants against the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

What is the most urgent task in Nicaragua today?

Building a revolutionary party. The workers and small farmers are militant. What is needed is an organization to politically lead the workers to revolution. It is possible to build such a party as the struggle develops. But to do this, it is critically important that the policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie be criticized and exposed. If this is done, the most advanced workers and other militants will begin to see through the treacherous policy of the Sandinistas and look for a truly revolutionary alternative. These militants can then be organized into a party that can lead the workers and peasants in a fight to seize state power for themselves. If this isn't done, the workers and peasants will struggle heroically, but will eventually be crushed, as has happened so many times in history.

New Steel Agreement Hits Apprentices, Craft Workers

By DAVE WARREN
and SALLY DAVIS

On September 21, over 200 union members of United Steelworkers union (USWA) Local 1010 in Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, protested a new sellout by USWA President Lloyd McBride. In a secret meeting with the basic steel companies, McBride signed an agreement that attacks apprentices and craftsmen. It will restrict entry into the skilled trades, and is particularly designed to exclude women, Blacks and Latins.

Section C, as the new agreement is called, hits the apprentices the hardest. After six months in an apprenticeship program, an apprentice can no longer transfer crafts. Moreover, an apprentice who withdraws from an apprenticeship program for any reason will never be allowed into an apprenticeship again.

In 1974, the steel bosses signed the Consent Decree, which forced them to hire women, Blacks and other oppressed people into the trades. They are now working to take back the small gains that were won since then. They want to run women out of the steel mills and make the craft jobs as white as

possible.

In the past, many young apprentices who had trouble with the math equivalents would withdraw from an apprenticeship program, prepare themselves better, and later reapply for that apprenticeship or another one. Also, women who needed more than three months' maternity leave, wanted out of a particularly sexist department, or wanted to drop an apprenticeship for other reasons, would also withdraw and then reapply. Section C prohibits this. It makes it very easy for the companies to set people up to fail, kick them out of the programs and out of the mill altogether.

In addition to attacking the apprentices, Section C also hits the craftsmen. It prohibits them from transferring from one craft to another and will make it almost impossible for a craftsman to transfer shops.

Attacking the skilled trades is just the beginning of the 1980 contract take-away. The companies' attack on the crafts is an open statement of their drive to control the workforce. Keeping the skilled workers in line is setting the stage for the attacks on production workers.

The demonstration on September 21 was called to protest Section C. While it was spirited and a step forward, it was not enough. In particular, it was organized in the most timid and narrow way possible. The leaders of Local 1010 organized the protest. President Bill Andrews spoke at the rally and Joe Gyro, chairman of the Grievance Committee, led the chants on the bullhorn. But they didn't want to take official responsibility for it and didn't put out the leaflets calling the protest in the name of the local. Instead, they called the demonstration through the grievance structure. In addition, Andrews narrowed the demonstration to the issue of Section C and refused to try to bring production workers into the protest.

The leaders of the local should have made the protest call in the name of the local at the plant gates, and built it around the slogan: "Skilled and unskilled, unite to stop the attacks on all steelworkers!" Production workers will be next on the bosses' chopping block. The craft demonstration should have been organized as a full union protest to begin to organize the ranks for the contract fight.



Demonstration by Local 1010 members against Section C.

The protest was more a ploy in the conflict inside the United Steelworkers bureaucracy than an attempt to organize steelworkers to fight the companies. Local 1010, the largest basic steel local, is one of the strongholds of the Ed Sadlowski/Jim Balanoff opposition to the McBride leadership. Balanoff, who is director of the USWA's District 31, used to be president of Local 1010. (Balanoff showed up at the start of the protest, but did not march.) Andrews, the current president of the local, was part of Balanoff's team when Balanoff ran the local. Balanoff and his people organized the 1010 protest over Section C to try to embarrass McBride and build the opposition forces. Mobilizing the ranks to fight for their needs comes in a poor last place in this bureaucratic hanky panky.

Steelworkers need to organize to kick out McBride and

democratize the union. We need to fight for the right to vote on the national contract and to smash the no-strike agreement, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). We need to mobilize to fight the company attacks and for a decent contract. The fight against Section C must be part of the larger fight for control over working conditions.

In this fight, District 31 could take the lead. Local leaders are due to meet in December to talk about negotiations and to vote on the "right to ratify." Will Balanoff lead the district in a fight for the right to ratify? Will he mobilize the rank and file? We doubt it. For all his left-sounding talk, Balanoff would rather maneuver among bureaucrats than unleash the power of the ranks. Once in motion, the ranks might just decide to go farther than Balanoff wants. □



LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Strikers battle cops in New Haven

On October 9, striking workers at the Olin Corporation's Winchester arms plant in New Haven, Connecticut, fought a new attempt by the company to use scabs to break their strike. Cops in riot gear attacked the strikers. Five pickets were arrested and one woman striker was hospitalized after being hit by a scab car.

The 1,350 workers at the plant have been on strike since July 15 over a speedup demand the company introduced in contract negotiations. In a plant where more than two-thirds of the workers are over 55 years old, the company wants the right to fire anyone who can't meet higher production quotas.

The October 9 clash followed a series of legal maneuvers by the company aimed at breaking the strike. Early in the strike, Olin got an injunction limiting pickets to 20 per gate and keeping all other strikers 500 feet away. On October 1 the strikers, joined by workers from all over New Haven and surrounding towns, blocked off all traffic to the plant. Mayor Frank Logue ordered the plant closed after police told him efforts to protect scabs would provoke a riot. After four days, the company got a court order preventing the mayor from keeping the plant closed. Now the company is bringing in scabs under police protection. But the October 9 action showed that the workers are ready to take on the cops to protect their jobs and working conditions.

AFL-CIO joins pay board

On September 28 leaders of the AFL-CIO agreed to serve on President Carter's new Pay Advisory Committee, which will have responsibility for enforcing wage-price guidelines. To win AFL-CIO support for the board, Carter promised to create

some jobs. In return, the labor leaders agreed that "a period of austerity is necessary." Nobody actually committed himself to anything.

In the past, pay boards have always been a device for covering up attacks on the workers. The government brings labor leaders onto the board to police wage guidelines. When workers fight back against the guidelines, the hacks walk off the pay board and talk militant, but do nothing to break the guidelines. The AFL-CIO, the president, and businessmen all know how to play this game. There is no reason to expect they will change the rules this time around.

Nevertheless business leaders are screaming about the agreement. Business Week called it "a sellout of the nation's interests by a President who is so hungry for votes that he is apparently willing to pay any price for them." Irving Shapiro, head of the giant DuPont de Nemours firm, complained: "This is a deal designed to line up the AFL-CIO."

In fact everybody is playing politics with the pay board. Carter is making a desperate bid for labor support in the face of Senator Kennedy's challenge to his renomination. The AFL-CIO is maneuvering to gain all the promises it can from both Kennedy and Carter before committing itself to supporting either. And business leaders are warning all the candidates—Republican and Democratic alike—that they expect a crackdown on the working class no matter who wins the November election.

UAW sells out autoworkers

It appears that the United Auto Workers (UAW) will go through this year's contract negotiations without a strike—the first time this has happened in 15 years. The UAW signed a contract with General Motors on September 14, and settled with Ford on October 5.

UAW leaders claim no strike was necessary

because they won a big settlement, including wage increases of up to 55 percent over three years. They also argue that they won a significant victory in gaining increased pension benefits for retired workers. Both claims are lies.

Although prices are zooming up at a 14 percent annual rate, the wage increase in the contract is the same three percent "annual improvement factor" autoworkers have been getting for 20 years. The rest of the raise represents cost-of-living (COLA) increases accumulated over the 1976-79 contract—money workers were already receiving before the old contract expired. In addition, the contract includes a small raise in the COLA rate which the UAW says will bring in an additional eight cents an hour by the third year of the contract.

Pensions for retired workers will go up 30 to 35 percent under a modified COLA formula. While this is a gain for retirees, it will not keep their pensions even with inflation. Moreover, the auto companies won't pay a cent for it. Instead, they will tap active workers' COLA benefits, at the rate of 14 cents an hour by the end of the contract, to cover the cost.

Newly hired workers will actually have their wages slashed. Under the old contract, they began work earning 45 cents an hour less than the normal base rate for their classification. Under the new one, they will earn 60 cents an hour less. Under the old contract, the new hires recovered the difference after a 90-day probation period. Under the new one, the company pockets the difference. New hires will also have to wait a year to get full sickness and accident benefits, instead of the former seven months.

In short, UAW leaders are selling out active Ford and GM workers, particularly young workers, to win a few dollars for the retirees who are their main base of support. Chrysler workers can expect a worse deal. The UAW has already hinted it will go easy on the ailing company to "keep it in business."

—PB & AL

Rally at U.S. Steel Women

By LISA LEMEL

Several years ago U.S. Steel, along with other steel companies, was forced to hire a meaningful number of women for the first time since World War II. They didn't like it and figured a loop-hole: They had to hire a certain number of women but if they could fire them before they could fire them, they could fulfill their quota each year and still not increase the number of women in the workforce.

At U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago, a lot of the company harassment of women has focused on one simple need of all steelworkers: a clean place to wash. The smell and filth of the mill, so you can walk out the gate feeling like a human being.

Things are so bad at South Works that a few weeks ago women in one washroom gathered kindling wood to burn the place down in hopes of getting a new one. Now, a plant-gate rally being organized to try to get a fire under U.S. Steel's ass.

Many women at South Works have no washrooms at all. They are forced to carry or wear their work clothes, helmet, workboots and other safety equipment home. While they are at work, their clothes or other personal belongings of theirs are easily stolen.

The washrooms that do exist are overcrowded. In one area, 200 women share facilities built for 100. In another, 40 women share one shower, one toilet, and two wash basins. Recent janitors have been laid off and conditions have gotten worse. Mice and fleas have infested the wash-houses.

Many of the washrooms are far from the worksites. In one area, they are over a half mile away, in back of two abandoned facilities. B



More than 2,500 militant demonstrators battled policemen and National Guardsmen on October 5 and are now occupying the two nuclear construction in Seabrook. National Guard and by police states. At one point, the demonstrators were beaten back by a large hole in the fence. But they were beaten back by a demonstration was sponsored by the Action at Seabrook, a facti

Rally at U.S. Steel South Works

Women Workers Demand Decent Washrooms

By LISA LEMEL

Several years ago U.S. Steel, along with other steel companies, was forced to hire a meaningful number of women for the first time since World War II. They didn't like it and figured out a loop-hole: They had to hire a certain number of women, but if they could fire them or force them to quit, they could fulfill their quota each year and still not increase the number of women in the workforce.

At U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago, a lot of the company harassment of women has focused on one simple need of all steelworkers: a clean place to wash the smell and filth of the mill off so you can walk out the gate feeling like a human being.

Things are so bad at South Works that a few weeks ago women in one washroom gathered kindling wood to burn the place down in the hopes of getting a new one! Now, a plant-gate rally is being organized to try to set a fire under U.S. Steel's ass.

Many women at South Works have no washrooms at all. They are forced to carry or wear their workclothes, helmet, workboots and other safety equipment home. While they are at work, their clothes or other personal belongings can easily be stolen.

The washrooms that do exist are overcrowded. In one area, 200 women share facilities built for 100. In another, 40 women share one shower, one toilet, and two wash basins. Recently, janitors have been laid off and conditions have gotten worse. Mice and fleas have infested the wash-houses.

Many of the washrooms are far from the worksites. In one area, they are over a half mile away, in back of two abandoned facilities. Be-

sides having to walk this far just to go to the bathroom, women steelworkers risk getting raped and assaulted.

Women being forced out

These conditions are no accident. They are designed to force women out. Women have been struggling over washrooms for two and a half years. Three grievances have gone to the third step of the grievance procedure, involving the plant's top labor lawyers and management. One of these grievances was to have a simple Kotex machine installed. The company has spent 100 times as much money fighting this grievance as it would cost them to comply.

An ad hoc group of women working with the Women's Committee has been meeting this summer to deal with the washroom situation. In August, they went to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to file complaints. But after finding that these government agencies would take months to process complaints, and usually don't do anything with them in the end anyway, the women were more open to other tactics.

The group accepted a Revolutionary Steelworker supporter's suggestion that we hold a plant-gate rally, and ask our union, Local 65 of the United Steelworkers, to support us.

Plant-gate rally

Having a demonstration at the company is an important tactic. Demonstrations mobilize the rank and file to vo-



calize their complaints directly to the company and teach all union members to get organized. Also, press coverage of a plant-gate rally will give U.S. Steel a bad name and increase our leverage. Having a demonstration mobilizes women to fight discrimination in a way which cannot be done through a grievance or com-

plaint. The group decided to work for union endorsement of the rally but to make it clear that the rally would be held in any case. On September 19, three rally supporters met with the Executive Board of Local 65. President Alice Peurala's response was to stall. She wanted a full meeting of the Women's

Committee to discuss the rally, postponing it at least two weeks. She also suggested filing a fourth grievance, this time alleging sex discrimination.

On September 24, the Women's Committee did meet and endorsed the rally. It is now scheduled for October 17. Women will try to get the full support of the union at the October 10 general membership meeting, too close to our press time for us to report on.

Part of the motion for the rally was that the Women's Committee elect a group to organize the rally and hold a press conference. Although many of the women involved voted for Peurala in the last election, they did not think she would pull together the rally and did not want her to be spokesperson for it.

The plant-gate rally at South Works is a very small event in the long run. But it is an example of women workers organizing themselves, and their union, to fight capitalist attempts to push them out of a job. These kinds of actions teach people the power workers have when they band together. It is on the basis of that understanding that revolutionaries can win workers to the struggle to overthrow the capitalist class as a whole. □

SHUT DOWN ALL NUCLEAR PLANTS!

By PAT NELSON

Every day there is more and more evidence that the ruling class is unable or unwilling to control nuclear materials in a manner which will not endanger people's lives.

• September 17: The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) ordered the shutdown of a uranium fabricating plant in Erwin, Tennessee. A two-month inventory at the Nuclear Fuel Services plant showed that at least nine kilograms (approximately 22 lbs.) of bomb-grade uranium was missing. This is just the latest incident for this plant. Records show an unexplained loss of close to 250 pounds of 96-percent fissionable uranium in the last 11 years. That is enough fuel for six atomic bombs! Nuclear Fuel Services, a subsidiary of the Getty Oil Company, is trying to determine if the highly-radioactive material could have been released as a gas into the atmosphere.

• September 25: Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt ordered National Guardsmen to seize a plant in midtown Tucson which was leaking radioactive tritium and contaminating the surrounding area. The guardsmen packed over 1,000 gallons of the material, which is used in the manufacture of self-illuminating signs and watch dials, into large drums which were then hauled to the Navajo Army Depot near Flagstaff, Arizona. The plant, operated by the American Atomic Corporation, was ordered closed June 16 by the Arizona Atomic Energy Commission after tritium contamination was found in the vicinity. A cake prepared in the central kitchen of a

Tucson elementary school was found to have tritium levels almost three times the allowable level for drinking water. The kitchen is across the street from American Atomics.

The company had been ordered to move the tritium out and decontaminate the plant by October 19, but they recently applied for a 13-month extension of that deadline. Saying that he believed that the corporation had no intention of meeting the deadline, the governor ordered a state of emergency and sent in the troops.

• September 28: Clean-up operations at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear plant are being complicated by a hard-to-fix leak which threatens to dump more radioactive water into the environment. The leaking water, which was contaminated during the accident at the reactor on March 28, will reportedly exceed storage capacity by early December. Unless they find someplace else to put it, this water will end up in the Susquehanna River, which surrounds the facility. The staff of the NRC, however, claims that the water can be shunted to the undamaged reactor at the site and that no danger exists.

Public awareness of the dangers of nuclear materials has been growing since the accident at Three Mile Island. The press has been reporting more and more incidents involving all phases of the nuclear industry. But it is highly probable that these mistakes, oversights or whatever, have been going on for years—exposing the population to unknown levels of all kinds of radiation. The capitalist class cannot be trusted with our health. All nuclear facilities should be shut down!



More than 2,500 militant demonstrators against nuclear power battled policemen and National Guardsmen at Seabrook, New Hampshire, on October 5 and 7. The protesters were attempting to occupy the two nuclear power plants that are under construction in Seabrook. They were turned back by the National Guard and by policemen from five New England states. At one point, the demonstrators succeeded in cutting a large hole in the fence surrounding the construction site. But they were beaten back by a charge of 200 policemen. The demonstration was sponsored by the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, a faction of the Clamshell Alliance.



members against Section C.

democratize the union. We need to fight for the right to vote on the national contract and to smash the no-strike agreement, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). We need to mobilize to fight the company attacks and for a decent contract. The fight against Section C must be part of the larger fight for control over working conditions.

In this fight, District 31 could take the lead. Local leaders are due to meet in December to talk about negotiations and to vote on the "right to ratify." Will Balanoff lead the district in a fight for the right to ratify? Will he mobilize the rank and file? We doubt it. For all his left-sounding talk, Balanoff would rather maneuver among bureaucrats than unleash the power of the ranks. Once in motion, the ranks might just decide to go farther than Balanoff wants. □



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EDITORIALS

Stop the Threats Against Cuba!

The U.S. government has manufactured a diplomatic crisis over the presence of a brigade of Russian troops in Cuba.

The charges by the U.S. imperialists are ridiculous. The U.S.-government claims that a brigade of Russian troops in Cuba is a "combat brigade" and represents a threat to the security of the United States. The brigade is tiny—about 2,000 to 3,000 men; the Pope's trip to the U.S. involved a larger invasion force!

The Russian and Cuban governments say the brigade is in Cuba to train Cuban troops. The 1972 edition of *The Almanac of World Mil-*

tary Power, published by retired U.S. Army colonels, also called the 3,000 Russians "instructor-advisors." The brigade has no airborne or seaborne capacity—so it can't go anywhere but Cuba. And if it could, it could be wiped out by the police force of any major city anyway.

It is the height of hypocrisy for the U.S. to whip up this "issue." The invasion threat in the Western Hemisphere and the Caribbean comes from the U.S., not from Cuba.

The U.S. has invaded countries throughout Latin America (and the world) for decades. Within the last 20 years, the U.S. invaded Cuba

in 1961, and threatened to repeat the next year. The Marines went into the Dominican Republic in 1965. This summer, the U.S. imperialists tried to set up an international force designed to intervene in Nicaragua. This fall, Congress has talked about reserving the right to invade Panama to run the canal.

Today, hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops are stationed in countries around the world, along with heavy bombers, nuclear missiles, and every other kind of armament. The U.S. even has as many combat troops in Cuba as make up the Russian brigade—3,000 at the Guantanamo naval base, and now

more are being sent.

The Russian troops have been in Cuba for years—the U.S. admits they may go back to 1962. So why have the U.S. imperialists made this an issue today?

The right wing of the capitalist class and its agents who are against the SALT treaty are using the issue to try to scuttle the treaty. The ruling class as a whole is happy to use it as an excuse to convince us that the Russians are threatening us and we must prepare for war. And they want a pretext to send more ships and planes throughout the Caribbean, to assert U.S. power after the defeat in Nicaragua and re-

cent moves to the left in several Caribbean countries. On October 1, President Jimmy Carter announced a new military command for the Caribbean and stepped-up maneuvers in the region.

Finally, the issue is being used as a cheap ploy in the campaign getting underway for next year's elections. Carter and Senator Frank Church (Dem.-Idaho) want to prove that they are "tough" and willing to "stand up to the Russians."

Stop the threats against Cuba! The U.S. should get out of Cuba and shut up. The U.S. has no business interfering with Cuba in any way. □

RMC Capitulates to SWP Majority

One of the fundamental differences between the Revolutionary Socialist League and almost the entirety of the so-called Marxist left is the issue of state capitalism.

In our view, socialism has nothing in common with the rule of society by a state controlled by a small elite. We do not believe that countries like Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc.—countries where a bureaucratic ruling class controls the state and manages the economy, while the workers remain powerless and exploited wage-earners—are socialist in any sense. These countries are **state-capitalist** countries.

The question of state capitalism is a question of fundamental aim and program. It involves the very nature of socialism, the proletarian revolution and the strategy for building a revolutionary party. It is for this reason that recent developments inside the largest so-called Trotskyist group in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have particular significance.

At the SWP's recent national convention, the leaders of a grouping which claimed, like the RSL, to be fighting for a state-capitalist analysis, abandoned their position and announced that they now believed that Cuba, Russia, China, the countries of Eastern Europe, and so on, are "workers' states." They did this despite having written documents during the SWP's pre-convention discussions putting forward a state-capitalist analysis.

This former tendency inside the SWP, known as the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC), had its origins in the RSL. Some of its leaders even played a significant role in developing our analysis that the so-called socialist countries are really state-capitalist.

As it became clear that the struggle to build the RSL was not going to be easy, they organized a faction to oppose the course the League had set for itself.

The League majority ar-

gued that our task had to be to build the RSL as a rounded Bolshevik organization. This meant engaging in all aspects of revolutionary work, for example, building our press, organizing in the factories and unions, training our cadre in a broad range of tasks, as well as developing our theory. Moreover, we argued that these tasks were inseparable—that each aspect of our work could only be carried out in a revolutionary manner if it were tied to the others.

In contrast, the RMC advocated a two-stage approach: first studying and developing theory and only then building an organization and developing its practice. Specifically, they advocated an exclusive orientation to what they called "worker-intellectuals." For example, they opposed publishing the Spanish section of the *Torch/La Antorcha* on the assumption that all worker-intellectuals read English.

Eventually, they resigned from the RSL and formed the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. They announced they would study and write books as the best way to build a revolutionary tendency and fight for a state-capitalist analysis. For over two years, they studied and wrote a lot of documents, but soon despaired of building an independent political organization.

Instead, they decided to disband and join the SWP, saying they would fight for their state-capitalist analysis inside it. Some even thought they would win over the SWP leadership to their position. What we wrote in the *Torch/La Antorcha* at the time has proven true: "...the SWP majority cannot lose the debate on Russia. The people recruited to the SWP do not look at the world from the point of view of the working class. They don't believe the working class can run society. It will be impossible for the RMC to convince such people that the state-capitalist countries

are not workers' states."

The RMCers capitulated to the SWP because they never understood the connection between theory and practice. They never understood that the question of state capitalism is not an abstract theoretical question separate from political practice.

Having a state-capitalist analysis of the so-called socialist countries means more than recognizing that these countries are state capitalist. It means fighting for a totally different type of society.

Marx and Engels were not fighting to build state-capitalist societies in which the workers would be exploited in a capitalist manner under a socialist disguise. They were not proposing that a bureaucracy built out of the middle class should seize power and rule "for" the workers.

Marx and Engels fought for true proletarian revolutions in which the workers themselves would overthrow the capitalists, set up a state controlled by the working class and use it to build a stateless and classless society. Marx and Engels repeated that nobody could do this "for" the workers, that the workers had to do it for themselves.

Those organizations that

contend that the state-capitalist countries are socialist or workers' states are not Marxist. Since theory and practice cannot be separated, such organizations actually fight for state capitalism, not for socialism and communism.

The SWP, for example, believes that a bureaucracy can rule for the workers. They believe that workers' states can be established by middle-class nationalists seizing power based on the support of the peasantry, and by invasions of state-capitalist armies.

To the SWP, there is no need for working-class revolutions, no need for the working class to be led by a Marxist/Leninist/Trotskyist revolutionary party, no need for the working class to **consciously** seize state power, suppress the capitalists and run society for themselves.

The SWP's practice is consistent with this. This is why the SWP is totally uncritical of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua even though they are middle-class nationalists who in fact are rebuilding Nicaraguan capitalism.

The SWP's practice in the U.S. is also consistent with its pro-state-capitalist point of view. If one believes that a "workers' bureaucracy" can and should rule "for" the

workers, then it makes sense to try to build up a section of the labor bureaucracy that talks "left" and claims to be socialist.

This is what the SWP strategy really amounts to. This is why the SWP never calls for a socialist **revolution** in the U.S. It is why the SWP sells out the struggle for gay liberation—to improve its image with "respectable" trade union bureaucrats. The left-sounding bureaucrats the SWP will build up have no intention of mobilizing the workers to overthrow the capitalists and establish a proletarian dictatorship. They will use their power and influence to try to control the workers, to prevent them from carrying out a proletarian revolution.

In the coming years, the SWP will try to build up these "socialist" liberals and reformists and will police the left like they did in the 1960s. This role, covered by Marxist phrases, makes the SWP a deadly enemy of the working class.

Those who are fighting for proletarian revolution, who believe the working class and oppressed people can and should rule society, should reject the SWP and all the other organizations that support state capitalism and join the RSL. □

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On September 27, 1979, the night before he spoke to Massachusetts labor leaders, Kennedy addressed the conservative Investment Club in New York. "We are making a clean break with the New Deal," he said, "and even the 1960s. A top priority on our economic agenda must be a major new national commitment to the twin goals of productivity and innovation. That means new incentives for savings and investment, for entrepreneurs and business firms." Kennedy is already on record as saying that business should get first priority in any tax cut in order to spur investment.

Kennedy has been moving to narrow the differences of any substance between him and Carter. The liberalism that the Kennedy name is associated with was supported by the ruling class in the 1960s, but Carter's policies are a more accurate picture of the consensus among capitalists today.

Kennedy has begun to say that the major difference between him and Carter is the question of "strong leadership." In other words, that Kennedy will be able to win support for all the programs of self-sacrifice that Carter keeps praying for us to accept.

Kennedy has admitted that he is in "substantial agreement" with Carter's foreign policy and economic program. In Memphis, last December, he condemned Carter's plan to cut social programs and raise the de-

fense budget. Now, he supports both Carter's three-percent hike in military spending and most of his austerity program.

Kennedy formerly attacked plans to build the MX missile as a step toward nuclear war. He has reversed his stand and now supports development of the missile. Likewise, in 1977 Kennedy condemned deregulation of natural gas prices as a windfall for the energy industry. But in 1979, he supports deregulation of oil prices, which will cause even greater hardship to workers struggling against inflation. And on the issue of national health insurance, the main bone of contention between Carter and Kennedy, Kennedy has revised his proposal so that it differs from Carter's only in detail (see article on page 1).

Kennedy against parole for prisoners

Kennedy's allegiance to the ruling class shows through clearly in his support for S.1437, a bill aimed at "reforming" the federal criminal code. S.1437 is a red-baiting, union-busting bill, which provides the government with all the weapons it needs to suppress opponents of its policies. Under Section 1722 of the bill, for example, if any violence breaks out on a picket line during strikes, or any company property is damaged, the FBI and federal

cent moves to the left in several Caribbean countries. On October 1, President Jimmy Carter announced a new military command for the Caribbean and stepped-up maneuvers in the region.

Finally, the issue is being used as a cheap ploy in the campaign getting underway for next year's elections. Carter and Senator Frank Church (Dem.-Idaho) want to prove that they are "tough" and willing to "stand up to the Russians."

Stop the threats against Cuba! The U.S. should get out of Cuba and shut up. The U.S. has no business interfering with Cuba in any way. □

workers, then it makes sense to try to build up a section of the labor bureaucracy that talks "left" and claims to be socialist.

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prosecutors can move in against the workers for attempted "extortion."

Another provision declares it a misdemeanor to "obstruct a government function by physical interference"—a provision aimed against anti-government demonstrators at any federal facilities. Moreover, the bill includes key sections of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, a relic of the worst years of anti-communist hysteria during the Cold War.

The hundreds of thousands of prisoners, mainly Black and Latin, in federal prisons would be among the first victims of S.1437. The bill completely eliminates parole for federal prisoners. Instead, prisoners can earn some time off for "good be-

havior."

Fortunately, S.1437 has not yet become law. Although Kennedy took the lead in getting the bill passed through the Senate, it has been bottled up in the House of Representatives for the past year and a half. But it does provide workers, Blacks, Latins and all groups fighting against capitalist oppression with a chilling vision of the reality that lies behind Kennedy's posturing as the "defender of the oppressed."

It's too early to tell whether the ruling class will back Kennedy or not. What is certain is that workers have no use for this kind of "savior." It is unfortunately true that many will support Kennedy nonetheless. Some will maintain their illusions

in him as a defender of their interests. Others will support him to keep a right-wing Republican out of office, hoping he will provide at least a little relief for their problems.

All will be making a serious mistake. The economy is stumbling downhill toward a full-scale depression. The capitalists are digging in their heels to protect their property and their power at the expense of the working class. Kennedy knows this very well. He is trying to convince the capitalists that, precisely because he has the loyalty of working people, he is the best possible candidate to carry out their offensive. Despite his slick rhetoric, he remains a loyal servant of the ruling class.

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