

Reconstruct
the
Fourth
International!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 5 / 25¢

MAY 15 - JUNE 14, 1979

Nuclear Energy Kills!

On May 6, over 100,000 people demonstrated in Washington against nuclear power. The week before, on April 28, eight demonstrations protested the widespread uranium mining on Native American land. Nuclear energy is based on the capitalist logic that it is cheaper to kill workers than to produce energy safely. *We must shut down all nukes now!*

See stories on page 15

FREE THE EL CENTRO SIX!

See page 3

AUGUST 8TH BRIGADE TRIALS BEGIN

See page 6



August 8th Brigade Defense Committee and RSL members picket Ulster County Courthouse.



Anti-nuclear demonstrators march on Washington, May 6.

Iran: National Minorities Fight Khomeini



Kurdish fighters taking on Iranian troops in Sanandaj.

See page 11

**SECCION EN
ESPANOL**

**our
readers
write...**

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

"Let the sleeping giant awaken"

Dear Torch:

How soon we forget! Where is the Chicano Movement that was so prevalent in the '60s and early '70s? Did it go out with a whimper, or did we of the "Sleeping Giant" go back to our everlasting siesta? Why are we so passive in regard to that "super racist" John Connally, as he travels around soliciting votes in his attempt to get to the White House? Have we forgotten that dark day when this bigot, while governor of Texas, ordered the Texas Rangers to break a strike in the valley? Many people were beaten and jailed. I still recall the hate and frustration that overcame me when I saw a picture of an old woman, handcuffed, with blood streaming down her wrinkled face. To be beaten by racist rangers for the offense of struggling for a better life seems to be what this "Capitalist Monster" (U.S.A.) is all about.

Democrats, Republicans, both parties are one and the same. The two-party system is nothing more than a big front to project a sign of democracy. As long as we continue to vote for one of the two rich man's parties, we of the working class, and minorities, can look forward to crumbs and leftovers. Sure, the constitution does say "of the people, by the people, for the people," or some shit like that. We should know by now that the constitution was signed by rich men and rich men only.

The constitution does not apply to us, members of the working class and minorities. When the constitution was put together, and then signed, the signees did have justice on their mind. But, say that word "justice" real slow and you come out with "just-us," which is what was truly on their minds; "just-them," the rich. Liberty is another word that was tossed around by those hypocrites of long ago. Liberty? What a joke! What of the many slaves most (if not all) of them owned and traded, like cattle? What of their liberty?

We, whose ancestors were Spanish conquistadors, and proud Aztec kings, and warriors, should unite forces and welcome the bastard Connally with shouts of "Racist!" Just track him down wherever he raises his bigot's head and shout him out of existence.

We are given a choice to vote for one party or the other (pick the lesser of two evils) when they are both the same. For myself, between voting for one or the other, I would not even bother to vote.

Let the "Sleeping Giant" awaken and let's all struggle together for a better society. A society with no bigots like John Connally. A society free from murdering pigs. A society with true justice for all, not just-them!

**Until Victory,
Ambrosio Butch Mendez
Ellis Unit
Huntsville, TX**

Auto local votes against new nukes

Dear Torch/La Antorcha, Members of my local union, United Auto Workers Local 869, have unanimously passed a resolution opposing further construction of nuclear power plants. At the April union meeting this resolution further stated "that the control over energy resources must be taken from the giant corporations and placed under public control so that adequate safe energy will be available to maintain human needs and full employment."

As for implementation, the motion called for the local communicating the resolution to state and national legislators and the International union.

Public control of energy and the maintenance of human needs and full employment is the last thing that concerns state and national legislators. The government Nuclear Regulatory Commission overlooks safety problems to ensure profits

for the utility companies. Our International union is now in the process of preparing a sellout for UAW members and to the benefit of the "giant corporations." Both the capitalists' legislature and UAW tops concern themselves with the profits of the corporations, not with the maintenance of workers' needs.

To put some teeth into resolutions to stop the capitalists from continuing to operate and build nuclear power plants and weapons we will need a more active implementation. UAW locals will have to mobilize their members to build and join militant demonstrations. The UAW could use this power to strike against the corporations and their government to shut the nukes down tight!

Unfortunately, the present leaders will not do what is necessary to shut down the nukes. They will not mobilize the members or use their

power. Workers must begin to take control of UAW locals to ensure that this organizing happens.

RL
Detroit

Racist crime at Clinton

Dear Torch:

My name is Mrs. X [Name withheld by request—Ed.] I am a proud and concerned Black mother. Often I visit my son at the Clinton Correctional Facility. Getting to Clinton is a long and physically depressing journey. But my son compensates for all the pain. When I am there and we are talking, I would always impress upon my son that he must carefully listen to the correctional authorities, so as to become a better human being. I truly believed for so long that correctional facilities were not punitive, that they were not filled with the scourge of white racist hate for Blacks. But now I believe this, as a result of my son's experiences at the hands of all-white keepers at Clinton.

My son belongs to the Rastafarian religion. Although I don't agree with his religion, I am open minded and human enough to recognize that people have a human right to their own. Rastafarians at Clinton have been and continue to be viciously persecuted by white racists because of their Rastafarian religion.

I was taken to tears when I learned from my son about the crimes against Black inmates who are taken to the observation and special housing units: beatings, making Black inmates crawl on their hands and knees and bark like dogs, making them say horrible dehumanizing things about their mothers, things like saying that their mothers are "Black whore bitches." When my son was taken to the isolation unit, his hair was cut off because, as he was told, "He did not look like a European, and the rule here is that he must." All the Rastafarians that are sent to Clinton are subjected to this type of racism.

I know that my son's life is in a lot of danger because he was raised in the family conviction that whites are no better than Blacks, and at Clinton it is expected of Blacks to conform to a philosophy that Black inmates be subordinate to the white race.

I and other relatives of Black inmates at Clinton are determined to expose to the world the terrible Racist crimes that are being committed against Black inmates.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. X
Bronx, NY

Texas prisoners oppose Klan organizing

Ellis Unit

Torch:

I've not been doing much of anything lately. Things here at Ellis have gone from bad to worse. There is too much talk about an inmate KKK chapter. The whites cannot get over the fact that the Chicanos here at the Ellis Unit will have nothing to do with the KKK.

I believe that the inmate chapter will get the blessings of the prison guards. My cell and the cells of many Chicano brothers were searched without notice or us being present. I feel something is up and the Chicano brothers are the ones catching more hell out in the field working. All you

hear from the guards is "Goddam Mexicans; sorry Mexicans," etc.

Needless to say that I feel if anything cuts loose the guards will make sure the KKK inmates have some good knives and make sure the Chicanos have none. Your brother in struggle,
Roberto P. Soliz

Ramsey Unit

To Torch/La Antorcha:

Hi Brothers and Sisters in the struggle. I will inform you that I received my copy of the paper today and I am happy to get it. At least the Torch/La Antorcha is not biased and prejudiced against the poor, oppressed and working class people of this country like the controlled newspapers, radio, TV stations and other news media of this country. This is because they are manipulated by the rich, greedy, imperialist profiteer gangsters who get rich by the hard work, low wages and high taxes that the poor and oppressed working class are subjected to in this country.

Also, some fools in Texas Department of Corrections tried to get me to join the Ku Klux Klan but they are my enemy and I hate them and will always continue to fight them. Why should I join an enemy that has enslaved and abused me in here for four and a half years? I shall always be with the poor and oppressed people. Yours in the struggle,
Joseph Tynes

In this issue . . .

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3 For socialist revolution in Nicaragua
Free the El Centro Six | 15 Uranium mining spreads death
No more nukes |
| 4 Peurla wins Local 65 election
USWA reform slates make gains | |
| 5 Fight for dictatorship of the proletariat
Jamaica: Solidarity rally for CMP strikers | FEATURES |
| 6 August 8th Brigade trial begins | 2 our readers write |
| 7 Court decisions strengthen capitalists
Free the Pontiac Brothers | 6 Break the Chains
Black Panther case... Puerto Rican
fighters... South Africa trials...
In brief |
| 8 Texas prisoner writes on gay oppression
Workers must support gay rights | 10 World in Revolution
El Salvador... Liberia... Russian
dissidents... May Day |
| 9 Age of consent laws attack gay youth
Chicago rally protests health care cuts
Defend Judge Wright | 15 Labor in Struggle
Rubber strike... Shipyard workers
defeated... Stearns scabs... Chile
... In brief |
| 10 Zimbabwe elections cover for white rule | |
| 11 Iran: National minorities fight Khomeini
U.S. plots looting of Mexico | |
| 12 Support national liberation struggles! | |
| 14 Farmworkers strike California growers | |

By TONY CURZ

On April 5, several H guerrillas of the San National Liberation (FSLN) took the city in a drive to overthrow brutal dictatorship of tasio Somoza Debayle routed Somoza's National Guard detachments over the Guard's local quarters and held the 10 days.

Somoza pounded with heavy artillery a Much of the city was destroyed. By April Sandinistas had to withdraw.

By comparison with September's offensive the FSLN took five this action was much modest. The guerrillas better armed this time like last September, tional Guard forced withdrawal.

Skirmishes are common in Leon, on the border Costa Rica, and elsewhere. However, the Sandinistas had wanted to damage National Guard at Esmeraldas. Unfortunately, this happened.

Victory to the Sandinistas

The Revolutionary Front League supports victory of the Sandinistas in their struggle against the Somoza dynasty. We want the FSLN because the removal of Somoza dynasty is the only way for the working peasants of Nicaragua. FSLN victory would be a big defeat for U.S. imperialism, which controls the world. It would spread revolution throughout Central America, an area ruled by U.S.-backed tyrannies.

However, we feel the FSLN's strategy is inadequate to such a victory. Sandinistas see the struggle primarily as a military one, that is, as a series of battles between the National Guard and their own limited forces.

But, as the battle for power showed, on strict military terms the FSLN guards are no match for the National Guard, which has planes, rockets, etc., aided by U.S. imperialism. Since last September the Guard's troops have increased by 40 percent. It is getting more arms from Israel and other U.S. allies.

So long as the FSLN continues to see the struggle primarily as a military one, it will continue to be outgunned. And in all probability it will be defeated.

As we see it, the struggle against Somoza is primarily a political task. As such it requires the mobilization of the workers, peasants and other oppressed people in mass uprising. As shown by the recent Revolution, the workers and peasants in their millions have the force with the power.

es ukes

panies.
nion is
of pre-
r UAW
benefit
ations.
legisla-
concern
profits
not with
workers'

th into
he capi-
ing to
nuclear
eapons
active
/ locals
e their
nd join
ns. The
ower to
orpora-
rment
down

present
what is
wn the
mobil-
se their

S

nds is
sorry

t I feel
se the
re the
some
e sure
one.
gle.

t

a:
ters in
inform
y copy
d I am
ast the
is not
adiced
ressed
ople of
e con-
radio,
news
This
anipre-
eedy,
gang-
y and
or and
ss are
untry.
Texas
actions
the Ku
re my
m and
o fight
ed and
or four
shall
or and

power. Workers must begin to take control of UAW locals to ensure that this organizing happens.

RL
Detroit

Racist crime at Clinton

Dear Torch:

My name is Mrs. X [Name withheld by request—Ed.] I am a proud and concerned Black mother. Often I visit my son at the Clinton Correctional Facility. Getting to Clinton is a long and physically depressing journey. But my son compensates for all the pain. When I am there and we are talking, I would always impress upon my son that he must carefully listen to the correctional authorities, so as to become a better human being. I truly believed for so long that correctional facilities were not punitive, that they were not filled with the scourge of white racist hate for Blacks. But now I believe this, as a result of my son's experiences at the hands of all-white keepers at Clinton.

My son belongs to the Rastafarian religion. Although I don't agree with his religion, I am open minded and human enough to recognize that people have a human right to their own. Rastafarians at Clinton have been and continue to be viciously persecuted by white racists because of their Rastafarian religion.

I was taken to tears when I learned from my son about the crimes against Black inmates who are taken to the observation and special housing units; beatings, making Black inmates crawl on their hands and knees and bark like dogs, making them say horrible dehumanizing things about their mothers, things like saying that their mothers are "Black whore bitches." When my son was taken to the isolation unit, his hair was cut off because, as he was told, "He did not look like a European, and the rule here is that he must." All the Rastafarians that are sent to Clinton are subjected to this type of racism.

I know that my son's life is in a lot of danger because he was raised in the family conviction that whites are no better than Blacks, and at Clinton it is expected of Blacks to conform to a philosophy that Black inmates be subordinate to the white race.

I and other relatives of Black inmates at Clinton are determined to expose to the world the terrible Racist crimes that are being committed against Black inmates.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. X
Bronx, NY

For Socialist Revolution in Nicaragua

By TONY CURZO

On April 5, several hundred guerrillas of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) took the city of Esteli in a drive to overthrow the brutal dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. They routed Somoza's National Guard detachments, took over the Guard's local headquarters and held the city for 10 days.

Somoza pounded Esteli with heavy artillery and jets. Much of the city was destroyed. By April 15 the Sandinistas had to withdraw.

By comparison with last September's offensive, when the FSLN took five cities, this action was much more modest. The guerrillas were better armed this time but, like last September, the National Guard forced them to withdraw.

Skirmishes are continuing in Leon, on the border with Costa Rica, and elsewhere. However, the Sandinistas had wanted to damage the National Guard at Esteli and force it on the defensive. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

Victory to the Sandinistas

The Revolutionary Socialist League supports the victory of the Sandinistas in their struggle against Somoza. We want the FSLN to win because the removal of the Somoza dynasty is likely to open things up in a major way for the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. An FSLN victory would also be a big defeat for U.S. imperialism, which controls Nicaragua. It would spread revolution throughout Central America, an area mostly ruled by U.S.-backed dictatorships.

However, we feel that the FSLN's strategy is an obstacle to such a victory. The Sandinistas see the struggle primarily as a military one, that is, as a series of battles between the National Guard and their own limited forces.

But, as the battle for Esteli showed, on strict military terms the FSLN guerrillas are no match for Somoza's Guard, which has tanks, planes, rockets, etc., and is aided by U.S. imperialism. Since last September, the Guard's troops have increased by 40 percent, and it is getting more arms from Israel and other U.S. allies.

So long as the FSLN continues to see the struggle primarily as a military showdown, it will continue to be outgunned. And in all probability it will be defeated.

As we see it, the struggle against Somoza is primarily a political task. As such it requires the mobilization of the workers, peasants and other oppressed people for a mass uprising. As was shown by the recent Iranian Revolution, the workers and peasants in their millions are the force with the power to

bring down any regime, no matter how powerfully armed. The Nicaraguan workers and peasants greatly outnumber Somoza's army. Organized, they could control practically every square inch of Nicaragua. And, like the Iranian workers, they have the power to shut down the country. If they were armed and mobilized, Somoza's defeat would be assured.

Masses must organize

At the present time, the FSLN has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. The task is to organize that support, to translate it from passive sympathy into active involvement in the struggle.

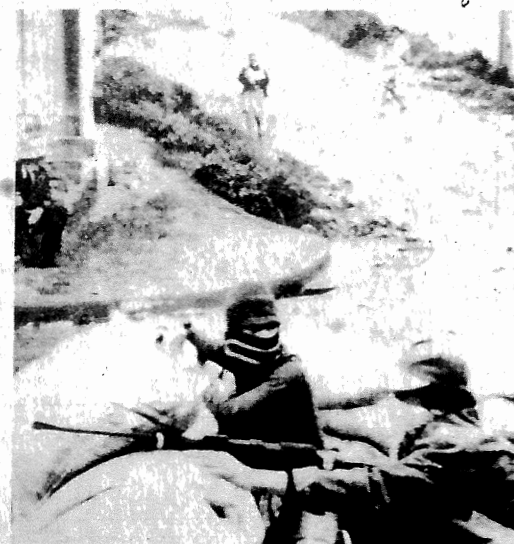
Among other things, this means organizing a network of workers' and peasants' committees throughout the length and breadth of Nicaragua. These committees (or soviets) would have to include all the workers and oppressed people—employed and unemployed, union members and unorganized workers, ethnic minorities, housewives and unemployed women, the youth, peasants and farm workers.

Organized in committees such as these, the masses could seize the factories and plantations and organize general strikes. They could arm themselves and defend their neighborhoods. They could organize the supplies of food and vital necessities.

Revolutionaries could use such committees to build a national workers' militia based on the trade unions, workers' parties and peasant organizations. By building workers' committees and a workers' militia, the working class and its allies would be in a position to shut down the country and organize a mass uprising. At the same time, they would be creating the democratic mass organizations that the workers would need to take over the government and society after a successful revolution.

Guerrillas alone cannot win

The FSLN is not doing any of this. Instead of mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants, it is launching a series of military attacks with its own limited forces. The pattern by now is well established: A few hundred Sandinista guerrillas enter



FSLN guerrillas, September 1978.

the cities and hold them for a while. The large majority of the population leaves as soon as the FSLN comes. The cities are then largely destroyed by Somoza's bombing raids. After a few days, the FSLN guerrillas are forced out by the National Guard. The population returns to the devastated areas and waits for the FSLN and the Guard to come back another day and repeat the cycle.

This method increases the

costs that the masses have to pay without getting them actively involved in the fighting. The bulk of the workers and youth remain outside the struggle like passive observers, while the commando squads take care of things. Such a method is unlikely to win. And the longer this cycle drags on without a decisive victory, the greater the danger of demoralization and defeat.

The reason the Sandin-
(Continued on page 17)

FREE THE EL CENTRO SIX!



Marvin Martinez speaking at organizing meeting for El Centro Six defense. Right: Lois Aarons of the RSL.

By GREGORIO GOMEZ

Six Nicaraguan workers who took part in the armed uprising against Somoza's military dictatorship during September of 1978 are being held in the detention camp of the U.S. immigration police in El Centro, California. They are charged with "illegal" residence in the U.S. The El Centro Six are Ronald Ballesteros, Alfredo Flores, Marvin Martinez, Jorge Paiz, Francisco Javier Picado and Juan Carlos Rivas.

The Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua and the Revolutionary Socialist League have initiated a campaign to get the Six released and win their right to political asylum.

The Six have been fighting for more than four months to gain political asylum and the right to work in this country. The U.S. imperialist government has refused to grant them asylum and is threatening to deport them to Nicaragua. If this should happen, they would end up in

the hands of the butcher Somoza.

Since they have been in jail, the Six have been victims of the repressive measures that the immigration cops let loose on all workers who are without "legal" residence. They are forced to work from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. for a pack of cigarettes. They are not allowed to read newspapers or revolutionary literature and their letters are opened and withheld. The food they are given lacks the nutrients needed for good health. As a result, they are often sick.

On Monday, April 9, Marvin Martinez, who had been tortured while a prisoner of the Security Office in Managua, stopped eating and began showing symptoms of a stomach ulcer and dehydration. The administration of the detention camp denied his comrades' demand that he be sent to a hospital. After four days, the Six decided to go on a hunger strike to gain their demands for better medical care and an adequate diet for their sick comrade. When the administration found out about it, they agreed to grant their demands. Since then, toward the end of April, the lawyer for the Six managed to get comrade Martinez released on bail. Now we are trying to raise the \$5,000 needed to get the other five comrades released.

The situation of the Six reflects the conditions of oppression which, both inside and outside of its jails, the capitalist system dishes out to millions of workers in North America. And as for workers who are without "legal" documents, or who are Black, Latin or Asian, the system exploits them with greater intensity. This is the same system, enforced by the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, which is the source of the unemployment, hunger and repression which has forced more than 76,000 Nicaraguans—workers, peasants and students—to go into exile. Currently there are 46,000 refugees in the Red Cross camp in Danli, Honduras, and 30,000 in the camp of Liberia in Costa Rica.

The Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua and the Revolutionary Socialist League understand that the situation of the Six represents an attack by the capitalist system against the Nicaraguan revolution and against the most oppressed workers in North America. We are planning meetings, demonstrations and other actions to get them all released. We call on workers and revolutionary organizations in the U.S. and in all other countries to support the struggle of the El Centro Six and all other Nicaraguan refugees.

Peurala Wins in USWA Local 65 Election

By JIM KELLY

CHICAGO—On April 25, Alice Peurala won the election for president of Local 65 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Alice Peurala is now the first woman president of a USWA local. She won because there was a moderate upsurge among the rank and file for more vigorous union leadership. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) and the Torch/La Antorcha supported Sister Peurala in the election.

The vote spread between Peurala and the two other

USWA Reform Slates Make Moderate Gains

In the steelworkers' union (United Steelworkers of America—USWA) elections on April 19, opponents of the Lloyd McBride bureaucracy made moderate but significant gains.

• In the largest local in the country, Local 1010, at Inland Steel's 18,000-worker mill in East Chicago, Indiana, Bill Andrews—a supporter of Ed Sadowski and District 31 Director Jim Balanoff—won a close re-election. Andrews is Black, and McBride's machine launched a racist campaign against him. McBride sent a personal letter to all 1010 members attacking Andrews.

• At the U.S. Steel works in Homestead, Pennsylvania, members of the Local 1397 Rank and File Caucus swept into office by a two-to-one margin, capturing nearly 70 percent of the vote. Homestead is the largest local in Pittsburgh's District 15, the International's home turf.

• In Ontario, Canada, Cecil Taylor, who advocates greater Canadian autonomy within the union, won the local presidency, leading a pro-Sadowski slate.

• In the Youngstown-Warren, Ohio, area (District 26), local insurgents beat the machine in every single local. Officers opposed to McBride held on to their posts in the iron ore mines, at the Bethlehem works at Sparrows Point, Maryland, and elsewhere. People affiliated with Sadowski won out in some of the five locals of Granite City Steel, outside St. Louis, Missouri, McBride's home district.

The Sadowski camp, on the whole, represents a lukewarm opposition to McBride's machine. It has little to offer by way of a program to solve steelworkers' needs. However, the defeats for McBride, and the division of the union bureaucracy between two camps, creates openings for rank-and-file steelworkers. □

candidates, Don Stazak and incumbent John Chico, was slight. Peurala got 1,205 votes, Stazak got 1,168 and Chico 1,075.

The programs of all the candidates were conservative. Chico ran on his do-nothing record. In his campaign he claimed his slate had "kept the plant open." He was referring to 1977, when U.S. Steel threatened to close South Works down rather than comply with Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) pollution control standards. The threats ended when U.S. Steel management forced the EPA to back down while making only cosmetic changes in pollution control. Chico didn't do a thing but worry about losing his soft union job in the event of a plant closure. He has also done nothing to stop the recently announced closing of the foundry except to beg the federal government to help out. Chico's record got him less than a third of the votes cast.

Both Stazak and Peurala ran on programs calling for union democracy and pledges to work hard. Stazak's variation particularly emphasized the union democracy issue. Although Stazak is a racist, he was able to get many Black votes that otherwise would have been cast for Peurala. He did this by pledging: "Whatever you guys want, even if I disagree, I'll go along with the majority." Stazak made his right-wing views clear by adding that he would seek out areas where the workers and management had common interests.

Peurala, on the other hand, is known at South Works for fighting U.S. Steel through the grievance procedure. Although she has never led any serious rank-and-file struggles that resulted in strikes, she has a reputation as a militant.

Both Chico and Stazak rebaited Peurala. Someone,

probably Chico, published a leaflet that, on one side, reproduced an election leaflet of a Local 65 griever who got the support of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and, on the other side, had a reprint of an RSC statement supporting Peurala. Peurala was very upset by this and told one RSC member that their support would probably cost her the election.

Although Peurala called herself a socialist when she spoke to *In These Times* newspaper, she refused to run as a socialist in the campaign when it was suggested by the RSC. And it is likely that she will continue many of the class-collaborationist policies of Chico. In the past, Peurala has stressed reliance on government agencies like the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the



Alice Peurala.

EPA and the provisions of the contract as the way to improve conditions. The RSC supported Peurala not because she is the correct leadership for workers' struggles, but because her election will open up the union to rank-and-file militancy.

If Peurala's speech upon taking office at the May 9 union meeting is any indication, the RSC policy was absolutely right. Peurala said she would open the union newspaper to the membership, would restore an active



Sadowski (left) campaigns for John Chico (right).

stewards' council, and would publish the current local agreement. She said: "arbitration, as a rule, benefits the company," and that she wants to "counter the bosses' offensive by mobilizing the entire membership." She told the meeting that members "shouldn't be surprised to see me on a picket line over issues like Three Mile Island" and that "I want to move the union down the road to the kind of politics that recognizes that what is good for U.S. Steel is not good for steelworkers." Words, of course, are not deeds, but there is no question that with a union president talking like this, the rank and file will have more of an opportunity to fight the company.

Other forces in the union apparently also thought Peurala's election would stir some rank-and-file action—and because of that, didn't support her!

Peurala is a supporter of Ed Sadowski, the man who ran against current USWA President Lloyd McBride in the last election. But Sadowski, who originally comes from Local 65 and was active in the recent campaign, supported Chico. The Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party (USA), both hard workers for Sadowski, also quietly supported Chico.

Despite the differences between the candidates, however, the whole election was a very low-level, nearly apolitical affair. The political consciousness of the leading layer of steelworkers is very conservative. The candidates knew this and so ran the lowest-level campaign they possibly could given their reputations.

Wrong group leading

The leading layer of steelworkers today consists of workers in their 50s. They were kids during the Great Depression. Many of them came out of the South or from Latin American countries where workers are even more oppressed than in the northern part of the U.S. The living standard of these workers reached its height in 1968 because of the high demand for steel during the Vietnam War. These workers have literally never had it so good. Not all older workers are politically conservative. But enough of them are, and combined with right-wing

white skilled tradesmen, they form a group of people who support the pro-company and pro-imperialist policy of the USWA bureaucracy.

In fact, many of these workers to this day think the U.S. government was right to invade Vietnam. Many of them call for an invasion of the Middle East to steal oil from the Arab countries. These backward people influence and educate many younger workers and make it difficult to fight the company's racism, sexism, speed-up, and unsafe working conditions. This misguided layer of steelworkers must be replaced by militants and revolutionaries who hate the companies' oppression and understand that mass struggle is the only way to defeat the mill owners.

We must try to educate, organize and then mobilize a younger, more radical, layer of steelworkers. These workers have a higher consciousness due to the effects of the civil rights, gay rights, women's rights, and anti-war movements.

This layer of steelworkers doesn't attend union meetings very often, but they hate the corrupt politicians and union hacks who run our lives today. These workers must take the union away from its current conservative leaders. Through struggle, they can be won to a revolutionary socialist strategy for overthrowing capitalism and ending the oppression of the working class all over the world.

The 1980 contract round will give us an opportunity to offer a fighting strategy that opposes the bureaucrats' sellout. In the 1980 contract negotiations, the union will have to take on the companies and the federal government. By then, we will probably be faced with mandatory seven-percent wage guidelines or a wage freeze. We will have to be strong in order to take on both of our foes. The real strength of the union is in the mobilization of the ranks under the leadership of revolutionaries who will fight instead of sell out.

The current elections in steel represent a slight move to the left which will give us a few more openings to educate the younger militants in struggle. This will prepare them for the revolutionary struggles to come, as the mill owners and the government try to make us pay for the growing economic crisis. □

TORCH / LA ANTORCHA Reprints Available Now!

15¢ each

- Black Women in South Africa: Revolutionary Fighters Against Oppression
- Black Lesbian Speaks Out
- Woman Be Free!
- Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution
- Why Marxists Support National Liberation Struggles
- Special Supplement: Has China Come Full Circle?
- Why Marxists Look to the Most Oppressed Workers
- For A Working-Class Strategy To Fight the Nazis
- Malcolm X: Revolution Knows, No Compromise



Order from: RSL,
PO Box 562, NY, NY 10036

“Those who r
struggle are r
be found still
bourgeois (p
bourgeois po
to the theory
curtailing Ma
reducing it to
the bourgeois
who extends
struggle to th
dictatorship

—V.I. L.

By PAUL BENJA

In this quotation
points to the dictat
the proletariat (or
class) as the center



V.I. Lenin.

ist revolutionary stra
is saying that work
win the class
against the capitali
by leading a revol
seize state power fo
selves. Once in pow
workers must sm
capitalist state and r
with a new state co
by the workers; a
ship of the proletari

The capitalist s
whatever form it app
a dictatorship of the
ist class over the wor
oppressed masses. I
gantic machine desi
protect capitalist
property. The found
the capitalist state
powerful repressive
tus—the army, the
and the courts—wh
capitalists use to k
working class unde
control. The state al
sists of a huge gov
bureaucracy that
charge of various t
sential to maintain
tailist rule. To win th
dom, the workers mu
state power and sma
capitalist state mac
But this is not eno
ensure their victory.

Once in power, th
ers will need to build
of their own to repl
old one. This new v
state, the dictatorship
proletariat, will hav
inter-related tasks. 1)

Fight for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

"Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found still to be within the bounds of bourgeois (capitalist) thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

—V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*

By PAUL BENJAMIN

In this quotation, Lenin points to the dictatorship of the proletariat (or working class) as the center of Marx-



V.I. Lenin.

ist revolutionary strategy. He is saying that workers can win the class struggle against the capitalists only by leading a revolution to seize state power for themselves. Once in power, the workers must smash the capitalist state and replace it with a new state controlled by the workers; a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The capitalist state, in whatever form it appears, is a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the workers and oppressed masses. It is a gigantic machine designed to protect capitalist private property. The foundation of the capitalist state is a powerful repressive apparatus—the army, the police and the courts—which the capitalists use to keep the working class under their control. The state also consists of a huge government bureaucracy that takes charge of various tasks essential to maintaining capitalist rule. To win their freedom, the workers must seize state power and smash this capitalist state machinery. But this is not enough to ensure their victory.

Once in power, the workers will need to build a state of their own to replace the old one. This new workers' state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will have two inter-related tasks. 1) It must

complete the destruction of the capitalist class; 2) it must supervise the construction of a new communist society. To defeat their revolution, the workers will need a repressive apparatus to defeat the capitalists' efforts to bring back the old society. The capitalists will try all sorts of tricks, sabotage, assassinations, counter-re-

volutionary uprisings to wreck the workers' government. The workers will need revolutionary armies and other weapons to suppress these counter-revolutionary activities.

At the same time, the workers must build new political institutions that will enable the workers and their allies to take over the job of running society. Some of these organizations will be created by the workers themselves in the course of making the revolutionary struggle. In every revolution that the working class has participated in, the workers have set up their own organizations—workers' councils (soviets), factory committees or other bodies—to organize the fight against capitalist rule.

After the revolution, these bodies can begin taking over the tasks of running society. Through them, the masses can train themselves to rule, rather than relying on professional bureaucrats and administrators. Over time, more and more workers and other oppressed people will

be drawn into these organizations. Eventually, the need for a special apparatus to run society, apart from the mass of people, will be eliminated. As the last remnants of capitalism are wiped out and the masses learn how to run society for themselves, there will be no need for a state apparatus of any kind. The state, as Marx and Engels said, will wither away.

Reform or revolution

The dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the dividing line between reformists and revolutionaries inside the workers' movement. The question comes down to who will rule society—the workers or the capitalists. The reformists tell the workers it is useless to fight for revolution, because the working class can't rule society and therefore there is no alternative to capitalist rule. They try to confine the class struggle to reforms the capitalists can afford to give,

instead of organizing a revolutionary movement to smash the capitalist system altogether.

For revolutionaries, the fundamental task is not to reform capitalism, but to overthrow it. The fight for reforms must be seen as a part of a strategy leading to the conquest of power. Through these struggles the workers can learn how to organize themselves and unite their forces against the capitalist class. But the goal must be to destroy capitalism, not reform it.

To do this, workers must build a revolutionary party which can lead the struggle against the ruling class. Revolutionaries can convince militants in the working class of the need for such a party only by making clear exactly what the goals of the revolution are, and how the workers can reach them. They must show workers that they must break completely with the reformists and, as Lenin said, extend the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat. □

JAMAICA: SOLIDARITY RALLY SUPPORTS CMP STRIKERS

A strike wave is sweeping Jamaica, W.I. The workers are striking against the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) wage guidelines. The Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (RML), our sister organization, has been mobilizing the workers in support of each other's struggles, to turn the individual strikes into a common struggle against the IMF and the government of Michael Manley.

A recent strike at CMP Footwear took some significant steps toward these objectives. Close to 300 workers from nearby plants attended an RML-sponsored rally in support of the CMP workers. The strikers agreed to an RML proposal for a rank-and-file-led Strike Committee, and elected some RML supporters to it. The strike ended recently, when the Industrial Disputes Tribunal ordered the workers back to work. The following article is slightly abridged from the April 27-May 26 issue of Forward, newspaper of the RML.

April 18 marked a small but significant step forward in the struggles of CMP Footwear workers and all other working and oppressed people throughout Jamaica. On this day, striking CMP Footwear workers—with the help of the RML Trade Union Committee (TUC)—staged a mass solidarity picket and meeting at the plant gate on Bell Road in the Industrial Estate. The event was attended by close to 300 workers from factories all



CMP worker lies on the ground after cop clubbed him, April 25, 1978.

over the area.

In organizing the action, the CMP Footwear Workers' Strike Committee had the benefit of the rich experience gained by the RML-TUC in helping workers at Combined Tobacco Company and Coca-Cola organize similar solidarity pickets earlier on. Several workers who had been present at these earlier events warmly greeted each other when they met at the CMP picket.

Following the chairman's opening remarks and welcome, a CMP woman militant came forward and explained the dreadful conditions that she and her co-workers have had to endure—for as many as 18 years in the case of some workers.

These include: no toilet paper in the bathrooms; no transportation in case of emergencies, such as workers falling sick on the job; the need to get a letter from management and be escorted to the gate by a supervisor when a worker has a visitor; and the starvation wages of as little as five cents for working on 36 pairs of shoes.

RML-TUC representative speaks

In her remarks, the RML-TUC representative explained that the attacks now facing CMP Footwear work-

ers were the same attacks that the capitalists were making on a lot of other workers through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreement. She stated that what was necessary to resist these attacks is unity of the working class—irrespective of different workers' trade union affiliation.

The RML-TUC spokesperson pledged the total support of the League for the cause of workers' unity and pointed to the CMP Footwear workers' action of forming a strike committee as an important advance for the working-class movement at this time. The comrade encouraged all workers and their organizations to continue. (Continued on page 16)



New trial in Black Panther case

On April 23, the Seventh Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals granted a new trial in the suit by survivors of the 1969 raid on Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters in Chicago. During the raid, cops killed BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The survivors sued former State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and other law enforcement personnel for \$47 million. They charged that Hanrahan's office, the Chicago Police Department, and the FBI conspired to murder Hampton and Clark.

The original trial lasted over a year. When the jury couldn't reach a verdict in three days, Judge Joe Sam Perry dismissed the case and charged the plaintiffs \$100,000 for court costs.

The appeals court noted that there was plenty of evidence to show a conspiracy to plan the raid and to conceal evidence afterward. It said Perry improperly let the government defendants withhold documents on their own claim that they were irrelevant. And it said Perry should not have dismissed the case. The court also threw out contempt citations against Panther lawyers Jeffrey Haas and G. Flint Taylor.

When the case is heard again, before a different judge, the Panthers' lawyers should be able to show even more clearly the existence of an illegal murderous conspiracy against the Panthers, coordinated on a national scale.

U.S. attacks Puerto Rican fighters

The U.S. ruling class and its hired servants in Puerto Rico have been stepping up their repression against independence forces since pro-statehood Governor Romero Barcelo took office. Last July 25, Arnaldo Darius Rosado, 23, and Carlos Soto Arrivi, 18, went to Cerro Maravilla in the mountains of central Puerto Rico with another man, supposedly to blow up a communications tower. Actually, it was a plan to lure the two pro-independence youths into a police trap and murder them. The third man was a police agent. The two youths were killed by police.

Although the cops and the governor claim the two youths died in a shootout, there is evidence that they were killed after they were arrested. The governor denied his part in the affair on Puerto Rican TV on May 3. But even the conservative press says he's lying. The case has become a rallying point for those fighting the increased repression.

On April 20, Puerto Rican freedom fighter William Morales was sentenced in Queens, New York, criminal court to five consecutive prison terms totaling 29 to 89 years.

South African militants sentenced

Eleven Black students were sentenced in Johannesburg, South Africa, on May 11 for taking part in protests that led to the 1976 Soweto uprising. The 10 men and one woman, aged 18 to 23, were organizers of the Soweto Students Representative Council. They had been found guilty of sedition on May 3, after a seven-month trial. In spite of their age (three had been under 18 at the time of the uprising), the prosecutor had asked for stiff sentences. But because of the large amount of world attention and support for the youths, the regime retreated. Prison terms ranged from five to eight years, but the judge, H. P. Van Dyk, suspended the terms of seven and reduced the others' terms, to two to four years. However, the students had already spend 28 months in jail.

In his decision, the judge defined sedition as any attempt to "assail, subvert or defy" the state. Given such a broad definition, the apartheid regime is likely to use sedition charges against Black freedom fighters in the future, instead of the Terrorism Act, which has come under increasing international attack.

In brief...

Native American activist Yvonne Wanrow, who was convicted of murder in 1973 by an all-white jury in Spokane, Washington, is finally free. In 1972, Wanrow shot a known rapist and child molester to death when he broke into the house where she was staying with her children. After her conviction, the verdict was overturned because the state had used illegal wiretapping, and a new trial was ordered. On April 26 she pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced to one year in jail and five years' probation. The jail sentence was suspended on condition that she do work in the community.

Three prisoners held 10 hostages for 12 hours in an administration building at Washington state's maximum security prison in Walla Walla. Carl Harp, Robert Washburn and Robert Green, Jr., surrendered after Prison Superintendent James Spalding agreed to look into their grievances and allow them to hold a press conference. Prison authorities used tear gas to force other prisoners out of the area where the hostages were being held.

—DC & AL

Stop the Legal Lynchings!

AUGUST 8TH BRIGADE TRIALS BEGIN

The first trial of a member of the August 8th Brigade is underway. Felix Castro is being tried in Kingston, New York (a small town in Ulster County, about 100 miles north of New York City). After two weeks of jury selection and testimony by prosecution witnesses, it is clear that Castro is being subjected to a legal lynching.

Castro is charged with first degree rioting, attempted coercion and unlawful imprisonment as a result of the August 8, 1977, prison rebellion at the Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York. On that day, over 200 prisoners seized several wings of the prison to protest Ku Klux Klan terror and organizing among guards inside the prison, as well as rotten prison conditions.

The rebellion was the climax of a four-year struggle to expose KKK activities. KKK guards beat prisoners, firebombed their cells, and openly wore their Klan hoods while on duty. A few days before the rebellion, a cross was burned on a hill near the prison. One of the key demands of the rebellion was that two particularly brutal KKK guards, sergeants Budd and Sluka, be fired immediately.

After 12 hours of negotiations and the release of 14 hostages, the prison keepers agreed to investigate the prisoners' demands. But instead of meeting the demands, the keepers brought charges against 43 prisoners. Ten were indicted on felony charges. Out of these 10 prisoners, the August 8th Brigade was formed to continue the struggle against the KKK and the state's frame-up attempt. Other members of the Brigade include Frank Abney, Andre Nieves, Ronald Tacardon, Eddie Pacheco, and Lorenzo Perez.

Throughout the court proceedings against the Brigade, it has been clear that the state is going all out for a conviction.

A motion to dismiss all charges against the Brigade due to the fact that they had been denied their right to a speedy trial was denied. New York law sets six months as the outside limit for bringing a defendant to trial. The Brigade has been waiting for trial for 18 months.

On April 16, the trial judge, John Clyne, denied a defense request for a postponement until the Brigade's chief lawyer would be available to represent them. Clyne then tried to force the Brigade to start trials with court-appointed lawyers, who admitted in court that they had not done anything



Felix Castro.

to prepare a defense for the Brigade.

After Castro's trial began on April 30, the state's railroad shifted into full gear.

The presiding judge, John Clyne, is a notorious right-winger brought in from Albany, New York, for the trial. Clyne, nicknamed "Maxie," has a reputation for handing down maximum sentences in the cases he hears.

Clyne and the prosecutor, Michael Kavanagh, have tried to block every attempt by the defense to uncover KKK sympathies among the prospective jurors and to expose KKK activity at Napanoch prior to the rebellion.

On May 3, Clyne gagged the defense attorney, refusing to allow him to speak to the news media.

Kavanagh dismissed the only two Black jurors who were available for Castro's trial. Although Castro is 32 years old and Puerto Rican, his jury is all white with an average age of about 56. No Latin jurors were made available for the trial and the prosecutor also dismissed every prospective juror under 40 years old. In effect, Castro is being denied his right to trial by a jury of his peers. A defense motion to change the location of the trials was denied by Clyne.

The actions of the judge and the prosecutor are typical of Ulster County, a racist stronghold. The Independent Northern Klans, Inc., were founded in Ulster County, where Kingston is located, in 1974. There is widespread knowledge of KKK activities, especially in the prisons that dot the county.

On May 2, a bomb threat was phoned in to the Ulster County courthouse where Castro is being tried. The caller threatened: "Whites have rights, too. We're serious. There's a bomb in the courthouse." A motion demanding a mistrial because of the effect on the jurors was denied.

However, the reason the Brigade cannot get justice in

Ulster County goes far beyond the activities of the KKK. The state is trying to blame the rebellion at Napanoch on a small handful of "agitators" rather than recognize KKK activities and the rotten conditions in the prisons. The judge and the prosecutor are trying to paint the rebellion as a conspiracy planned by a small handful of "radicals." This is a lie.

The courts are being used to single out the Brigade to teach a lesson to every prisoner who wants to fight back against the oppression and repression of the prisons. The courts are saying don't fight back or you will pay with your life. Most of the Brigade's six members face 25 years to life sentences under a "consistent felon" statute in New York. Out of the nine times that this statute was used last year in New York, Clyne enforced it six times.

Public support for the Brigade is growing. There are several organizations working in defense of the Brigade, including the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, initiated by the Revolutionary Socialist League, and the Inside/Outside Prison Coalition from New Paltz, New York. On May 2, a demonstration was held outside the Ulster County courthouse. Over 40 militants chanted: "Free the August 8th Brigade! Smash the KKK!" Demonstrations will be held every week until the trials are over.

In addition, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is getting involved in the defense. Charles Carter, the associate general counsel of the NAACP, said the organization is planning to challenge the Ulster County jury selection process during the next Brigade member's trial. They will also mount a nationwide publicity campaign around the defense.

To stop the state's legal lynching, a broad-based, united defense is needed. All left groups and militants should support the struggle to free the Brigade and smash the KKK. Their defense is part of the growing struggle against the capitalists' attacks and the racist right-wing movement in this country. Freeing the Brigade will be an important victory over the courts and the KKK.

To find out what you can do to support the fight to defend the August 8th Brigade, contact the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee. Messages of solidarity and contributions can be sent to: August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036; or call: (212) 869-9239.

Recent Decisions C

By DARRYL CLARK

In the past year and a half the Supreme Court has issued a series of decisions attacking the rights of press, prisoners and individual citizens. Here are some of the recent Supreme Court rulings:

• **May 1978:** The court ruled that cops can get a search warrant against a newspaper, invade the paper's files, unannounced, and tear it apart looking for photographs. In 1971 cops raided the office of the *Stanford Daily*, a college newspaper in California, looking for pictures of a student demonstrator.

In backing the cops, the court said that the police carry out such searches against anyone who claims to have evidence of a crime in their possession. They can do so even if the targets of the search are suspected of any involvement in illegal activities other words, the decision okays widespread unannounced police raids on groups or individuals if the government doesn't like them.

• **June 1978:** In another case involving the press, the court said that reporters have no greater right to investigate the U.S. prison system than the general public. They stopped a California TV station from filming the rotten conditions at Santa Rita Prison. The court's opinion stated prisoners' rights were tested because they always write letters and bad conditions!

• **April 1979:** The court reported breaking and entering by federal agents in order to install electronic bug equipment in suspected homes or offices. Does one really believe that agents won't pry into wherever they can find out they're inside?

In other cases, the court ruled that a defendant lacks money to hire an attorney can be tried convicted without a court-appointed lawyer, as long as the defendant is not actually sentenced to prison. In a case not yet officially announced, ABC-TV reported that the court is going to let prisoners, once convicted, lose their constitutional right to due process hearings and other "administrative procedures."

This is just the tip of the iceberg. In part of a broadside attack on our political rights, the court also ruled that agents who bugging don't have to minimize the irrelevant stuff they listen to. It said life sentences for possessing amounts of drugs are constitutional. It ruled that letters cannot trespass private property. It said Occupational Safety and Health Administration

ings! T 8TH ADE BEGIN

Ulster County goes far beyond the activities of the KKK. The state is trying to blame the rebellion at Napanoch on a small handful of "agitators" rather than recognize KKK activities and the rotten conditions in the prisons. The judge and the prosecutor are trying to paint the rebellion as a conspiracy planned by a small handful of "radicals." This is a lie.

The courts are being used to single out the Brigade to teach a lesson to every prisoner who wants to fight back against the oppression and repression of the prisons. The courts are saying don't fight back or you will pay with your life. Most of the Brigade's six members face 25 years to life sentences under a "consistent felon" statute in New York. Out of the nine times that this statute was used last year in New York, Clyne enforced it six times.

Public support for the Brigade is growing. There are several organizations working in defense of the Brigade, including the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, initiated by the Revolutionary Socialist League, and the Inside/Outside Prison Coalition from New Paltz, New York. On May 2, a demonstration was held outside the Ulster County courthouse. Over 40 militants chanted: "Free the August 8th Brigade! Smash the KKK!" Demonstrations will be held every week until the trials are over.

In addition, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is getting involved in the defense. Charles Carter, the associate general counsel of the NAACP, said the organization is planning to challenge the Ulster County jury selection process during the next Brigade member's trial. They will also mount a nationwide publicity campaign around the defense.

To stop the state's legal lynching, a broad-based, united defense is needed. All left groups and militants should support the struggle to free the Brigade and smash the KKK. Their defense is part of the growing struggle against the capitalists' attacks and the racist right-wing movement in this country. Freeing the Brigade will be an important victory over the courts and the KKK.

To find out what you can do to support the fight to defend the August 8th Brigade, contact the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee. Messages of solidarity and contributions can be sent to: August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036; or call: (212) 869-8239. □

Recent Supreme Court Decisions Strengthen Capitalist Rule

By DARRYL CLARK

In the past year and a half, the Supreme Court has issued a series of decisions attacking the rights of the press, prisoners and individual citizens. Here are some of the recent Supreme Court rulings:

• **May 1978:** The court ruled that cops can get a search warrant against a newspaper, invade the paper's office unannounced, and tear it up looking for photographs. In 1971 cops raided the office of the *Stanford Daily*, a college newspaper in California, looking for pictures of a student demonstration.

In backing the cops, the court said that the police can carry out such searches against anyone who they claim has evidence of a crime in their possession. They can do so even if the targets of the search are not suspected of any involvement in illegal activities. In other words, the decision okays widespread unannounced police raids on groups or individuals the government doesn't like.

• **June 1978:** In another case involving the press, the court said that reporters have no greater right to investigate the U.S. prison system than the general public. They stopped a California TV station from filming the rotten conditions at Santa Rita Prison. The court's opinion stated that prisoners' rights were protected because they can always write letters about bad conditions!

• **April 1979:** The court supported breaking and entering by federal agents in order to install electronic bugging equipment in suspects' homes or offices. Does anyone really believe these agents won't pry into whatever they can find once they're inside?

In other cases, the court ruled that a defendant who lacks money to hire an attorney can be tried and convicted without a court-appointed lawyer, as long as the defendant is not actually sentenced to prison. And in a case not yet officially announced, ABC-TV reported that the court is going to rule that prisoners, once convicted, lose their constitutional right to due process in parole hearings and other "administrative procedures."

This is just the tip of the iceberg. In part of a broadside attack on our political rights, the court also made the following decisions: It ruled that agents who are bugging don't have to minimize the irrelevant stuff they listen to. It said life sentences for possessing tiny amounts of drugs are constitutional. It ruled that picketers cannot trespass on private property. It said the Occupational Safety and Health Administration can't

make an inspection of a work place without a warrant (the one case where it limited government power—for the bosses!) And it ruled that if a government agency bugs you, against its own regulations but not against the law, the evidence is still admissible in court.

Other courts have been quick to follow the Supreme Court's example. In March 1979, a federal district court in Wisconsin issued the first court order in U.S. history banning an article before it was published. The *Progressive Magazine* wanted to publish an article exposing the fact that it is easy to make a hydrogen bomb, using only legal, public sources of information. The magazine wanted to run the article to build a case for control of nuclear weapons. Judge Robert W. Warren issued an injunction forbidding publication of the article, and ordering that all copies be locked up.

If reading this makes you feel paranoid, you're not crazy. All these decisions are an attack on the rights of all workers and U.S. citizens. They give local and

federal cops a free hand to spy on whoever they want. They lay the basis for government intimidation and censorship of the press. And they cut down the rights of anyone hauled into court or forced into prison by the government.

The reason? World capitalism is falling apart at the seams. In a frantic effort to prop it up, the ruling class is stepping up its attacks on working and oppressed people. This is going on in the U.S. too.

The *Torch/La Antorcha* has documented various aspects of this capitalist offensive around the country. But the ruling class knows that the workers and other oppressed people are not just going to lie down and take it. They realize that sooner or later the masses of working people in the country are going to fight back in a massive and powerful manner. So the capitalists are getting ready. They are chewing away at our political rights and building up the state apparatus in preparation for the coming battles. When the time comes, they want to have a tremen-

Free the Pontiac Brothers!



Frank Hopkins (left); Charles Hoover (right).

With the indictment of 34 prisoners for last July's rebellion at Pontiac prison in Illinois, and the opening of the trials of the August 8th Brigade in New York, it is more important than ever to support these brothers. On May 6, the Detroit RSL held a forum to build this support.

Speakers from the Concerned Family and Friends of the Pontiac Brothers were Gail Thorn and Charles Hoover, whose brother, Larry, is one of the indicted prisoners. Hoover spoke about the conditions at Pontiac and said the prisoners indicted were chosen because of their political activities. Also speaking were Nancy Thomas for the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee and Frank Hopkins for the RSL. Said Hopkins, "We will have to burn down the prisons and the whole capitalist system, and build a new socialist society on the ashes."

In addition, Mark Rogers of the Hector Marroquin Defense Committee spoke. Marroquin, a Mexican leftist, is facing deportation. At the end of the forum, funds were collected for the defense campaigns.

ous club that can bash down the workers and anybody else who resists their police-state plans.

Workers and all oppressed people should have no illusions in the courts or any other part of the capitalist state. Whatever form it

takes, it is really a dictatorship of the capitalist class (see article on page 5). It is our enemy. It must be smashed and replaced with a new one, based on the democratic organizations of the working class and all its allies among the oppressed. □

Texas Prisoner Writes:

"Homosexuals are oppressed by Texas guards just for being gay"

Dear Torch:

You are correct in your interpretation of complaints regarding building tenders using their position to extort sexual favors. Building tenders extort and coerce homosexual prostitution and conversion (pimping). Because some homosexuals have no families and relatives, or none that give a damn, and TDC pays inmates no wages, homosexuals are coerced by these conditions to submit to prostitution in order to supply themselves with deodorant, cigarettes, toothpaste, soap, hair grooming material, postage and stationery, body lotion, etc. TDC supplies none of the above to prisoners, for the exception of soap that causes skin infections in most inmates and toothpaste that removes all of the enamel from your teeth. These same conditions enforced by TDC enable building tenders to convert non-homosexuals to homosexual indulgence and practice. A building tender can, by way of his quasi-guard status, provide his gay lover with a "tailor made prison uniform," job assignments near him with all the convenience and privacy to satisfy his sexual appetite, while most guards like to watch

these sexual performances.

Homosexuals are oppressed by the Texas guards just for being gay. This oppression is double and triple what the heterosexual prisoner receives as a class. Black homosexuals are oppressed many times greater by prison guards for being gay than are their white homosexual comrades. Guards allow no Black aggressive-homosexual (the one who portrays male) to be a lover of a white passive-homosexual (the one who portrays female). In the Black/white situation as above described, the guard will "tar and feather" the aggressive-homosexual. However, if the female role in the relationship is a Black and the male is white, then it has the approval of guard status quo.

The Black passive-homosexual is held up to ridicule and mockery by prison guards who say that homosexuality is a characteristic and trait of the Black race. Black passive-homosexuals are encouraged to continue homosexuality. Every Christmas, Black aggressive-homosexuals at the Ellis Unit are selected to hang up the Yule time decorations. The guards will not permit any white aggressive-

homosexual to participate in the Yule time decorations simply because to him "homosexuality" per se is a derogatory stigma which he seeks to hide in his race and evince in any other race. White homosexuals are punished by the guards just for being gay, and encouraged to cease their homosexuality, "because you are a disgrace to the white race."

Homosexuals as a class are "segregated," they have no programs that address their specific condition and are not permitted to utilize the programs for non-homosexuals. No homosexuals are permitted to attend academic school, college, job vocational training, etc. If the gay prisoner attends church he is seated in a segregated area and watched by building tenders, guards and snitches. Wherever the gay prisoner works, sleeps, recreates, eats, urinates, defecates, etc., he is segregated and watched intensely. Job assignments that pay a pretty wage in the free world are denied homosexuals en masse and as a class. The reasons to justify this unnecessary arbitration by the Texas prison status quo is: "why if we put that there black bitch Mary in the shoe shop or dental lab, the ill old

black whore will suck and fuck everything out there, ain't that right gal? No sir, boss." In the Texas prison you have to call the guard "boss" like in slavery times, or you will be charged with: Disrespectful Attitude.

It's guaranteed that when a gay person enters the Texas Plantation he will leave here with no rehabilitation simply because there is no rehabilitation provided for gay people as a class in TDC.

Homosexuals are given job assignments such as: Horticulture (fucking with bullshit assed flowers), garden and other agricultural assignments, picking cotton, corn, etc. Most homosexuals are from Dallas, Houston; and San Antonio. These cities are the largest in Texas and they provide no jobs for persons skilled in "picking cotton." These people are not going back to an Asphalt Jungle looking for a job picking cotton.

The Texas homosexuals are inactive so far, however, if this is printed and gets in, it should activate some of the enlightened and educated Gay prisoners at Ellis, Phillips and Lupe. Are you there?

Emancipation!
Paul D. Brown

Workers & Oppressed People Must Support Gay March

On February 24, a national conference in Philadelphia called for a National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay rights on October 14. Since February, there has been increasing division between those who want the march to attack the many ways that society oppresses homosexuals and those who want to confine it to issues important to middle-class lesbians and gay men. A related controversy is whether to call for changing the age of consent laws. These are laws that make it a crime for youth to have sex.

On May 12, the Midwest regional meeting for the march was held. The meeting voted (26-21) to urge that the next national conference limit the march to a call to amend the 1964 civil rights act to include gays. But at the same time the meeting voted (40-6) to attack the racism and sexism of society while building for the march, and voted to urge transvestites and transsexuals to join.

Below we reprint slightly abridged versions of two RSL documents. The first is the RSL position paper for the Philadelphia meeting; the second is a statement that appeared in the Newsletter of the Chicago Organizing Committee—National March on Washington.

The Revolutionary Socialist League welcomes a national march for gay rights. In the past years, the right wing and the capitalists who support them have been mobilizing against the rights of gay women and men. The Anita Bryant crusade, the Briggs Initiative, the repeal of gay rights legislation in several U.S. cities all point to an active attack on the few rights gay women and men have won. We must beat back these attacks! A national march on Washington is long overdue. The march must be big, it must be strong, and it must be militant.

The attacks on gay rights do not come in isolation. Capitalism is falling apart. Everywhere, working and oppressed people are under attack. Prices are soaring. Thousands of people are being thrown out of work—especially women, national minorities and young people. The cities are falling apart. At the same time, the right wing is growing and becoming bolder. Abortion rights are being stripped away; women driven back into the home. The Nazis and the KKK openly march in the streets, calling for racist terror against Blacks and Latins. The list is endless.

The attacks against lesbians and gay men and all the oppressed are the same. The struggle is the same. Yet, one way or another, this system tries to keep everyone divided: straight against gay, men against women, white against Black, old against young. We need to unite! We need to draw other working and oppressed people into the fight for gay liberation. And we need to



RSL contingent in gay liberation march, July 1, 1978.

participate in the struggles of other sections of the working class.

Liberate all gay people

Our strength lies in tapping the power and anger of the entire working class and all oppressed people. First, we must make it clear that we are fighting for the liberation of all gay people. Our march (and our movement in general) must aggressively fight for the rights and needs of gay youth, lesbian mothers and gay fathers, trans-

vestites and transsexuals, Black, Latin and other specially oppressed lesbians and gay men. This means, for example, that we must take a clear stand against all age-of-consent laws. We must take a clear stand for the right of transvestites to dress as they please. We must take a clear stand for the rights of lesbian mothers and gay fathers to raise children. These are just a few examples of the kind of march the RSL believes we need to build. We must make it unequivocally clear to the most oppressed lesbians and gay men that this march

is their march.

More than this. Not only must our march mobilize the fighting anger of the most oppressed gay people, but it must reach out to and ally with other working and oppressed people as well. We have a common enemy—the capitalist system which oppresses us. We can win allies by making clear our support for the struggles of other oppressed people fighting for their freedom. For instance, we must clearly support the fight for women's rights, the fight against the Nazis and the KKK, the struggles against racist cop terror, strikes against inflation, unemployment, and union busting, the struggle to overturn Bakke, etc. Our strength lies in building unity among working and oppressed people in struggle.

Who would oppose repealing laws banning cross-dressing, "solicitation," or "loitering"? Who opposes winning the rights of lesbian mothers and gay fathers to raise children? Who opposes abolition of age-of-consent laws? **Only those people who want to keep the gay liberation movement "respectable" and middle-class.**

The capitalist class, Democratic Party politicians, and those who orient to them will tell us we will turn people off if we embrace the needs of the most oppressed gays and

the working class in general. They tell us this to keep our movement from becoming a serious threat to this system—capitalism. The capitalists and Democratic politicians enter our movement to hold it back. For example, gay Democratic Party politician Elaine Noble actively opposed and discouraged a demonstration against Anita Bryant when she came to support a right-wing politician in Boston. Capitalists—and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who run their system—have no place in our movement.

Tenth anniversary of Stonewall

1979 is the 10th anniversary of Stonewall. In June 1969, it was not "respectable" people who battled at Stonewall. It was not the "respectable" people who sent eight cops to the hospital. It was not the "respectable" people who put their bodies on the line. It was the drag queens, the youth, the street-people. Today's gay liberation movement was born out of the militant struggle of the most oppressed gays. This struggle did not occur in isolation. It was sparked by and gave fuel to the mass struggles of all oppressed people in the '60s. The national gay march on Washington will make a mockery of Stonewall if it abandons the most oppressed for an alliance with middle and upper-class "respectable" gays.

We in the Revolutionary Socialist League want to win the fight for gay rights. We see that the only way to win lasting rights is to fight for liberation. This means fighting for socialism—a society where all people are free, because all people control their own lives. This doesn't come easy. We have to build a revolutionary working-class party that struggles to tear down the walls of racism, sexism, and anti-gay prejudice; that struggles to overthrow the whole capitalist system. We want to build up the strength and fighting unity of the gay rights movement. And we want to build the revolutionary party that can unite all oppressed people and rouse them to settle accounts forever with their exploiters. **JOIN US!** □

Age of Consent Laws Attack Gay/Lesbian Youth

One of the demands of the March on Washington is "Protect Lesbian and Gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs and social environment." This is an important demand. Gay youth are among the most oppressed gays. Anita Bryant and the right wing have attacked all gay people by making a lie about "saving the children" their central issue.


Young gays have no place to meet, not even the few bars that most adult gay people have to settle for. Young, gay women and men can be sent by their parents to mental institutions or for electroshock treatment to make them "normal." Young gays have to contend with age of consent laws which prevent them from sleeping with whom they want, when they want.

Gay youth are considered non-thinking and asexual by this society. This is trauma-

tic enough for straight youth but for gay youth it is even more demoralizing. Everyone who has ever come out knows how hard it can be. Consider trying to do this when there are even more laws against you, more measures that can be taken against you. Age of consent doesn't stop rapists on the streets. But, age of consent certainly oppresses our younger, gay brothers and sisters.

When all gay people do not defend the rights of gay youth it becomes easier for all gay people to be attacked. The age of consent laws put gay adults in prison for sleeping with gay youth. Anita Bryant built a successful attack on gay people with the blatant lie that gay people need to "recruit," that we "force" young people to become gay. This same lie was used by Briggs to try to throw gay teachers in California out of their jobs. The lie will be used against all of us again and again until we fight for and win full rights for gay youth. □

SUBSCRIBE TO:
FORWARD
Newspaper
of the RML
of Jamaica, W.I.



BREAK THE CHAINS AND LET WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS RULE!

One year subscription: \$5.00

ORDER FROM:
Revolutionary Socialist League
PO Box 562 NY, NY 10036

CHIC
HE

By LAURA WAD

CHICAGO—On March 13, 1,000 people gathered for a protest during lunch break in front of the building on Indiana Street, at the intersection of Cook County Medical Center construction. Protesters gathered in front of St. Luke's Hospital in the center, is a sign for closing the school. On March 13, 1979, the biggest so far of the protests.

The rally was organized by the Coalition to Close Indiana Street. The coalition includes unions, professional associations, and other organizations at the hospitals in the medical center.

Paulina Street is the best route from the Expressway to Cook County Hospital, University of Illinois Hospital, and the Veterans Administration Hospital. Protesters gathered in front of St. Luke's, the only hospital in the medical center, bought a building on Indiana Street from the city in December for \$97 million. The city plans to build a new property to provide a view for the patients' cancer treatment center also building. And cars going to public hospitals now go around the medical center, which can add 30 minutes to a hospital.

Taken by itself, the sure of Paulina Street how little the police moneybags who run think the lives of people are worth the patients at St. Luke's are private insurance the patients at Cook University of Illinois west side V.A. and on Illinois Medical the patients at Luke's are white middle-class; most patients at the hospitals are Black and working-class isn't just one rich hospital showing they can do. This is a skirmish in the war we have launched on public health care.

In big cities across the country, politicians are trying to cut out public care. In New York Mayor Ed Koch has close half the city mostly in the poor, working-class neighborhood. The Los Angeles health commission announced last year that California Medicaid will pay the medical bills of the poor Latins without providing citizenship.

Last spring, the County Hospital Commission wanted \$8 million off the million budgeted County Hospital. They have meant firing 1,000 workers, cutting a lot

People Must

the working class in general. They tell us this to keep our movement from becoming a serious threat to this system—capitalism. The capitalists and Democratic politicians enter our movement to hold it back. For example, gay Democratic Party politician Elaine Noble actively opposed and discouraged a demonstration against Anita Bryant when she came to support a right-wing politician in Boston. Capitalists—and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who run their system—have no place in our movement.

Tenth anniversary of Stonewall

1979 is the 10th anniversary of Stonewall. In June 1969, it was not "respectable" people who battled at Stonewall. It was not the "respectable" people who sent eight cops to the hospital. It was not the "respectable" people who put their bodies on the line. It was the drag queens, the youth, the street-people. Today's gay liberation movement was born out of the militant struggle of the most oppressed gays. This struggle did not occur in isolation. It was sparked by and gave fuel to the mass struggles of all oppressed people in the '60s. The national gay march on Washington will make a mockery of Stonewall if it abandons the most oppressed for an alliance with middle and upper-class "respectable" gays.

We in the Revolutionary Socialist League want to win the fight for gay rights. We see that the only way to win lasting rights is to fight for liberation. This means fighting for socialism—a society where all people are free, because all people control their own lives. This doesn't come easy. We have to build a revolutionary working-class party that struggles to tear down the walls of racism, sexism, and anti-gay prejudice; that struggles to overthrow the whole capitalist system. We want to build up the strength and fighting unity of the gay rights movement. And we want to build the revolutionary party that can unite all oppressed people and rouse them to settle accounts forever with their exploiters. **JOIN US!** □

SCRIBE TO:
WARD

paper
e RML
ica, W.I.

BREAK THE CHAINS AND LET
RS AND SMALL FARMERS RULE!

ear subscription: \$5.00

ORDER FROM:

tionary Socialist League

Box 562 NY, NY 10036



CHICAGO RALLY PROTESTS HEALTH CARE CUTS

By LAURA WADEBAY

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, March 13, 1,000 people rallied during lunch hour to protest the blocking of Paulina Street, at the Cook County Medical Center, by construction. Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital, located in the center, is responsible for closing the street. The March 13 rally was the biggest so far of a series of protests.

The rally was organized by the Coalition to Open Paulina Street. The coalition includes unions, professional associations, and student organizations at all four hospitals in the medical center.

Paulina Street is the quickest route from the Congress Expressway to Cook County Hospital, University of Illinois Hospital, and the west side Veteran's Administration Hospital. Presbyterian-St. Luke's, the only private hospital in the medical center, bought a block of Paulina Street from the city last December for \$97,000. It has closed off the block and plans to build a mall on the property to provide a nice view for the patients in the cancer treatment center it is also building. Ambulances and cars going to the three public hospitals now have to go around the medical center, which can add as much as 30 minutes to a trip to the hospital.

Taken by itself, the closure of Paulina Street shows how little the politicians and moneybags who run this city think the lives of working people are worth. Most of the patients at Presbyterian-St. Luke's are covered by private insurance; most of the patients at Cook County, University of Illinois, and the west side V.A. are broke or on Illinois Medicaid. Most of the patients at Pres.-St. Luke's are white and upper-middle-class; most of the patients at the three public hospitals are Black or Latin and working-class. But this isn't just one rich private hospital showing what money can do. This is one more skirmish in the war the rulers have launched on what little public health care we have.

In big cities around the country, politicians are trying to cut out public health care. In New York City, Mayor Ed Koch wants to close half the city hospitals, mostly in the poorest working-class neighborhoods. The Los Angeles public health commissioners announced last year that California Medicaid would not pay the medical bills of Latins without proof of U.S. citizenship.

Last spring, the Cook County Hospital Governing Commission wanted to hack \$8 million off the \$195 million budgeted for Cook County Hospital. This would have meant firing 570 workers, cutting a lot of outpa-

tient services, and closing Cermak, the hospital for prisoners at Cook County Jail. After several protest demonstrations, the commission "found" the money and restored the budget. But the ceiling for Illinois Medicaid, which is how most County patients pay their bills, has not been raised in five years.

These cuts hurt all workers, but they hit Blacks, Latins, and Native Americans hardest. The ruling class has kept workers of oppressed nationalities in the worst-paying as well as the most unhealthy and dangerous jobs. These are jobs that are the least likely to have insurance plans and pay so little that, after the immediate necessities are paid for, there's nothing left over to buy Blue Cross with.

And it's these same workers who are the most likely to be out of work in the first place. In Chicago, cutbacks at Cook County Hospital are clearly a racist attack against Black and Latin workers. By law, the County Hospital has to take people who come in with no money or are on

Medicaid. The other hospitals are also supposed to treat anybody who comes to the emergency room, but usually if an ambulance brings someone in without an insurance card, the admitting clerk tells the driver to keep going—to County.

So far, the movement against cutbacks at County has been led by liberal doctors and medical students. Their strategy has been to file court suits and pressure politicians for more money, or at least for a preservation of the status quo. But doctors, as a group, don't have much weight in society. And politicians work for the other side.

Jane Byrne, Chicago's new mayor, is a good example. Before her election, she went to the March 13 rally and promised that if she were elected, the wall across Paulina Street would come down as soon as she got into office. Well, she's been in office a month now, and construction on Paulina Street is proceeding on schedule.

A movement based primarily on the thousands of



non-professional hospital workers and the hundreds of thousands of working-class people who depend on Cook County would be a much more powerful threat to the politicians, and would be better able to scare some concessions out of them. If County closes, thousands of nurses' aides, orderlies, maintenance and kitchen workers, most of them Black, Latin, or Asian, would be thrown out of work.

All workers could unite around a fight for jobs and

free, quality health care. But as long as the capitalists control our lives, we'll have to fight constantly just to keep what we have. If our class ran society, there'd be no question of how many of us and which ones would have to die. The resources we produce now that go to line the capitalists' pockets would be spread around so that all of us would have a healthy standard of living. No politician is going to give us that. We'll have to rise up and take it. □

Defend Judge Wright!

Smash Racist Attacks

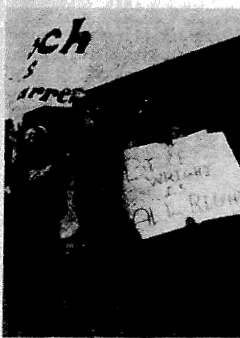
By CLIFF GORDON

Close to 1,000 people gathered in front of the Manhattan Criminal Justice Building on April 17 to protest New York City's racist police and court system. The rally was to support Bruce Wright, a Black judge in the city's criminal court division. Wright is under attack by white racist forces led by Mayor Ed Koch and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA—a mostly white police organization).

Koch and the PBA are attacking Wright because of a recent court decision he made. Jerome Singleton was brought before Wright on April 11 on suspicion of knifing a white policeman. The cop was posing as a derelict when the alleged incident occurred. Since Singleton is Black, most judges would have assumed he was guilty and set very high bail or refused to grant bail at all. Wright, however, released Singleton without making him post bail.

The next evening, on April 12, Wright gave a lecture at Princeton University where he said that white police have a "license to hunt down Blacks and kill them." The racist backlash was swift and sure. Sam Demilia, president of the PBA, called Wright a "Black racist" and "Hitler," and said that Wright is "not worthy to serve as a

judge." Mayor Koch backed up Demilia by calling Wright's decision "bizarre" and said that it "denigrates our system of justice." Koch has made it clear that he will get rid of Wright by not re-



Black people rally against racist anti-Wright crusade.

appointing him when his term expires later this year.

In theory, Wright has capitalist law on his side. Singleton is the kind of person usually considered a model citizen. If Singleton were white, there would be no issue. He has a job, supports his family, attends college and has no police record. In addition, the police have almost no evidence. For example, the knife which the police took from Singleton

came back from the lab tests with no traces of blood.

Wright based his decision on his view that bail is not supposed to be used to imprison Black, Latin or poor white people without a trial. Again, in theory, Wright is correct. The New York City Bar Association has in the past publicly backed up Wright's views on bail as a "valid interpretation."

None of the legal arguments, however, really matter. The capitalists and their politicians make the laws and change them around to suit their interests. When these laws get in their way, the capitalists treat them as the worthless scraps of paper that they are. The real purpose of bail is to imprison Black, Latin and poor white people without trial—no matter what it says in the constitution.

Koch, the PBA, and the capitalists they represent understand the real issues behind the controversy over Judge Wright's decision. A white cop was wounded in the line of duty—someone must pay for it. Judge Wright got in their way, so he too must pay.

Bruce Wright is a capitalist judge. But the working class must defend him against Koch and the PBA because the issue here is racism. We cannot afford to give the capitalists an inch on this ground. But working people should have no illusions in Wright. If Singleton had been unemployed with a police record, the chances

are that Wright would have locked him up. In fact, Wright has a reputation for handing out especially stiff sentences. He is no friend of working and oppressed people.

But something besides the job of one liberal judge is at issue. The growing police terror and violence in New York and countless other cities must be stopped. The police are murdering Black people—from middle-class businessmen like Arthur Miller to 14-year-old youths like Randolph Evans. No one in the Black and Latin communities is safe.

And the terror does not stop there. White working-class people are feeling it more and more. April was also the month when the New York police smashed up the mainly white milk truck drivers' picket line to let scab trucks pass into the Sunnydale dairy. When capitalist profits are threatened, the police will break the heads of white workers, along with the heads of Blacks and Latins.

The demonstration organized by the Black United Front (BUF) in front of the court building showed that Black people are beginning to rebuild their struggle against police terror and against the growing racism in U.S. society. This is a positive and important step forward. The starting point for beating back racist terror is to organize defense groups which can protect the communities from the police and white racists. □



El Salvador dictatorship in trouble

El Salvador's pro-U.S. military dictatorship of General Carlos Humberto Romero opened fire on a demonstration in the capital city of San Salvador on May 8. Twenty-three people were killed. The slaughter took place in front of the cathedral, where the Popular Revolutionary Bloc was holding a peaceful demonstration and occupation to protest the arrest of five of its leaders. The bloc had earlier occupied, and was still holding, the Costa Rican and French embassies. (The bloc is an anti-government alliance of worker, peasant, student and urban squatter groups numbering some 30,000 people). Since the May 8 attack, the regime has released two of the missing leaders, including the bloc's general secretary, Facundo Guardado Guardado, but it denies holding the other three. Guardado himself, however, saw one of them—Oscar Lopez Mejia—while he was being held.

The attack on the demonstration was an attempt to stop the growing mobilization against the butchers who run the country. However, it has backfired. On May 10, at least 20,000 people marched in the funeral procession for 17 of the 23 comrades executed. They carried banners and chanted anti-government slogans. Along the route of the procession, thousands more shouted their support. Fourteen buses were set on fire by youths in San Salvador, Comalapa and Tecoluca. Militant youths in the capital set up barricades. And on May 11 the bloc seized the Venezuelan embassy, to step up the pressure on the regime.

Liberian masses rebel

Last April 13, 14, and 15, workers, students and youth in Liberia rose up in a massive rebellion against the corrupt and repressive regime of William Tolbert. The uprising began after police fired on a demonstration of 2,000 people who were protesting a projected 60-percent increase in the price of rice. Rice is one of Liberia's staple foods.

Workers, students and youth virtually took over the capital city of Monrovia. Most of the city's stores were ransacked, as people helped themselves to goods which are normally out of their financial reach. The rebels set fire to businesses owned by Tolbert's family and partially destroyed the "OAU Village" being built for a meeting of African heads of state this summer.

Liberian troops with tanks were called out after police failed to end the revolt. Two hundred people were killed and hundreds more wounded. In the aftermath of the rebellion, other regimes in West Africa, like Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Togo, rushed in with offers of help to Tolbert. Guinea has sent 200 soldiers to help put down the Liberian masses.

The rebellion was successful in rolling back the projected price increase. Tolbert, however, is trying to use it as a pretext to increase the repression. He recently approved emergency powers that allow him to pass laws by decree and bring in foreign troops.

Russian dissidents released

In exchange for two convicted Soviet spies released by the Carter Administration last April 27, the Russian government released five imprisoned Soviet dissidents: Mark Dymshits, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Eduard Kuznetsov, Valentin Moroz and Georgi P. Vins. All of them had been arrested over the years for various acts of resistance against the Russian state-capitalist regime. Ginzburg was arrested for monitoring Russian compliance with the Helsinki "human rights" agreements; Kuznetsov and Dymshits, for hijacking a plane, after being repeatedly turned down in their bids to emigrate to Israel. Moroz, an ardent Ukrainian nationalist, for continued opposition to Russia's occupation of the Ukraine. Vins, a fundamentalist Baptist, for refusing to submit to state control of the Baptist church.

Despite their courageous struggle for democratic rights, the politics of these people do not represent a way forward for the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities in the Soviet empire. To one degree or another, all these dissidents support U.S. imperialism. Kuznetsov and Dymshits are committed Zionists, who have since moved to Israel. All five look to Western imperialism for solutions to the repression and brutality of the Russian state.

In brief...

Once again this year, workers in several countries had to fight cops and troops to celebrate May Day. In Santiago, Chile, 10,000 workers went into the streets shouting slogans, in the largest demonstrations since the military takeover in 1973. More than 350 remain in jail. In Turkey, at least 1,700 workers were arrested for marching in spite of a government ban.

—TC & PB

Phony Elections Cover for White Rule in Zimbabwe

"They told people, 'You must vote for the UANC [United African National Council]. If you don't, we will come afterward and shoot you.'" This is how one Black villager summed up the national elections held in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) between April 17 and 21.

The elections were part of an "internal settlement" negotiated between Prime Minister Ian Smith and three Black politicians—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—last year. They claim the settlement will lead to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe. In reality, it is designed to allow the white minority ruling class to hide behind Black politicians while keeping control of the country.

In the elections, Muzorewa's party, the UANC, won 51 of the 72 Black seats in the National Assembly. In a separate election on April 10, white voters elected representatives to fill the 28 seats reserved for whites. The Patriotic Front, which is waging an armed struggle against the white minority regime, took no part in this farce.

Muzorewa will take over as prime minister in late May. But the white minority will continue to run Zimbabwe. The internal settlement gives them control of the army, police, courts and civil service. In addition, whites can veto any changes in the constitution which threaten their control of the government or the economy.

Muzorewa claims that the 64.5 percent turnout in the elections proves that the majority of Black people in Zimbabwe support the internal settlement. He wants to demonstrate that his government has Black support so that it can win international recognition. Most important, Muzorewa needs to provide U.S. and British imperialism with a good cover to back the internal settlement.

So during the elections, government troops and private armies loyal to Muzorewa and other Black politicians worked together to force voters to the polls and suppress opposition to the settlement. For example, in Bulawayo, the second largest city in Zimbabwe, police jailed 900 supporters of the Patriotic Front. These militants were trying to organize a boycott of the elections in the city.

According to **Africa News**, white district commissioners and plantation owners often told Blacks who to vote for. They also held back distribution of food to force people to participate in the elections. The elections themselves were spread over four days to let security forces move from province to



BEA WINNER

Abel Muzorewa.

province and get out the vote.

Despite this campaign, the government was forced to rig the election results to get the "majority" turnout it needed. In Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West, two of Zimbabwe's eight provinces, the number of votes recorded was higher than the number of eligible voters.

Moreover, since then, two of the three Black politicians who signed the internal settlement have denounced the elections as a fraud. Sithole accused the government of "threatening and intimidating" voters into supporting Muzorewa's party. His supporters, who won 12 seats in the National Assembly, refused to take their seats and demanded new elections. In addition, Chirau declared that no Black government should take office until the war against the Patriotic Front is over.

Both Sithole and Chirau support the internal settlement. But they are sore losers, and are maneuvering to recapture the political power they enjoyed before Muzorewa's victory in the elections. In doing so, they are helping expose the phony elections before the whole world, and are shattering the very basis of Muzorewa's government.

The elections will not end the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front has sworn to continue the battle for national liberation. Muzorewa will allow the white ruling class a free hand to suppress the Patriotic Front. He even announced on April 29 that he would accept military aid from the racist South African government to try to crush the national liberation forces.

In addition, Muzorewa's government faces the threat of revolts by the Black masses eager to take control of Zimbabwe's land and economy from the white minority. As one Black man told reporters: "I grew up in a small village just across the river from a big white farm. The people in my village are starved for land. They think

that after majority rule they're going to be able to walk across the river and claim their plots. And they'll be shocked when that doesn't happen." Sooner or later, even those Black people who supported Muzorewa in the elections will realize he is simply a puppet for the white ruling class.

U.S. imperialism in a bind

The elections may have a major impact on U.S. imperialist policy in Zimbabwe. The U.S. ruling class fears the struggle in Zimbabwe could explode into a mass revolutionary movement against imperialism throughout southern Africa. It is willing to sacrifice the white minority ruling class in Zimbabwe if there is no other way to end the war and stabilize the country. President Carter and his advisers don't believe the internal settlement can guarantee the stability they are looking for. So in the past they have insisted that the Patriotic Front must be included in any final settlement.

However, the growing right-wing forces in Congress want to protect U.S. imperialism in a different way. They want to strengthen the white minority governments in southern Africa. The elections have given them a new weapon to use against Carter's policy in Zimbabwe. Senators Richard Schweiker from Pennsylvania and Dennis DeConcini of Arizona have already introduced a resolution calling on Carter to recognize the new government and end economic sanctions against Zimbabwe 10 days after Muzorewa takes over as prime minister. North Carolina Senator Jessie Helms drew up his own resolution ordering Carter to do so immediately.

Their offensive is forcing Carter into a trap. If he maintains his policy toward Zimbabwe, he risks a confrontation with a Congress that is already impatient with U.S. retreats in Iran and other areas. If he decides to support Muzorewa's government, he faces a confrontation with Black rulers in Africa who are backing the Patriotic Front.

Right now the Carter Administration is "reviewing" the elections while trying to figure out which way to jump. But there are already signs that Carter may move toward backdoor support for Muzorewa. On May 4, Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the elections, but he added that the U.S. should help Muzorewa's government survive while preparing for "new elections without pressures."

Ira

By BRENDAN

From the fact that Iran, oppressed people have been striking and fighting. In the past year, the people played a role in toppling the shah. The shah is gone. Khomeini, the Iran today, is oppressing them under Persian rule. Oppressed nations are continuing to fight.

Sixty percent of the population consists of oppressed peoples. Their national rights, right to self-determination, is one of the developing nations.

The roots of national oppression

National oppression in Iran goes back to the 19th century. The Iranian peoples of the 19th and early 20th centuries, British imperialism, was the local ruler. National oppression. They turned themselves into oppressed nations. The 1890s through anti-imperialistocratic sentiments among the Iranian masses, led to the successful Revolution in

U.S. Local

By ALBERT

With the fall of Iran and the attention of the Mexican. In the February, U.S. Jimmy Carter Mexican court Lopez Portillo, the top of the issue of oil.

During this Portillo took a stand against these harsh U.S. president to try to fool the masses of Mexico. Decades have passed against imperialism. Right now, it sells most of its oil. In addition, it helps the imperialists and imperialists placing Iran as a source of oil to Israel. It is up to now that has occurred, certain that Mexico is selling most of

Elections for White Rule in Zimbabwe



**BEA
WINNER**

Muzorewa.

and get out the vote. In this campaign, the government was forced to rig the election results to get a "majority" turnout. In Mashonaland and Matabeleland, two of Zimbabwe's provinces, the number of votes recorded was higher than the number of eligible voters.

Over, since then, two of the three Black politicians who signed the interim constitution have died. In the elections as a result of the "land reform" program, the white-minority ruling class in Zimbabwe if there is no other way to end the war and stabilize the country. President Carter and his advisers don't believe the internal settlement can guarantee the stability they are looking for. So in the past they have insisted that the Patriotic Front must be included in any final settlement.

However, the growing right-wing forces in Congress want to protect U.S. imperialism in a different way. They want to strengthen the white minority governments in southern Africa. The elections have given them a new weapon to use against Carter's policy in Zimbabwe. Senators Richard Schweiker from Pennsylvania and Dennis DeConcini of Arizona have already introduced a resolution calling on Carter to recognize the new government and end economic sanctions against Zimbabwe 10 days after Muzorewa takes over as prime minister. North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms drew up his own resolution ordering Carter to do so immediately.

His offensive is forcing Carter into a trap. If he maintains his policy toward Zimbabwe, he risks a confrontation with a Congress that is already impatient with U.S. retreats in Iran and other areas. If he decides to support Muzorewa's government, he faces a confrontation with Black rulers in Africa who are backing the Patriotic Front.

Right now the Carter Administration is "reviewing" the elections while trying to figure out which way to jump. But there are already signs that Carter may move toward backdoor support for Muzorewa. On May 4, Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the elections, but he added that the U.S. should help Muzorewa's government survive while preparing for "new elections without pressures."

that after majority rule they're going to be able to walk across the river and claim their plots. And they'll be shocked when that doesn't happen." Sooner or later, even those Black people who supported Muzorewa in the elections will realize he is simply a puppet for the white ruling class.

U.S. imperialism in a bind

The elections may have a major impact on U.S. imperialist policy in Zimbabwe. The U.S. ruling class fears the struggle in Zimbabwe could explode into a mass revolutionary movement against imperialism throughout southern Africa. It is willing to sacrifice the white minority ruling class in Zimbabwe if there is no other way to end the war and stabilize the country. President Carter and his advisers don't believe the internal settlement can guarantee the stability they are looking for. So in the past they have insisted that the Patriotic Front must be included in any final settlement.

However, the growing right-wing forces in Congress want to protect U.S. imperialism in a different way. They want to strengthen the white minority governments in southern Africa. The elections have given them a new weapon to use against Carter's policy in Zimbabwe. Senators Richard Schweiker from Pennsylvania and Dennis DeConcini of Arizona have already introduced a resolution calling on Carter to recognize the new government and end economic sanctions against Zimbabwe 10 days after Muzorewa takes over as prime minister. North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms drew up his own resolution ordering Carter to do so immediately.

His offensive is forcing Carter into a trap. If he maintains his policy toward Zimbabwe, he risks a confrontation with a Congress that is already impatient with U.S. retreats in Iran and other areas. If he decides to support Muzorewa's government, he faces a confrontation with Black rulers in Africa who are backing the Patriotic Front.

Right now the Carter Administration is "reviewing" the elections while trying to figure out which way to jump. But there are already signs that Carter may move toward backdoor support for Muzorewa. On May 4, Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, condemned the elections, but he added that the U.S. should help Muzorewa's government survive while preparing for "new elections without pressures."

Iran: National Minorities Fight Khomeini

By BRENT DAVIS

From the four corners of Iran, oppressed nationalities have been demonstrating, striking and fighting, arms in hand, for their rights. In the past year, these oppressed people played a major role in toppling the shah. Now that the shah is gone, Ayatollah Khomeini, the real ruler of Iran today, is continuing to oppress them and keep them under Persian rule. But the oppressed nationalities are continuing to fight for their rights.

Sixty percent of Iran's population consists of members of oppressed nationalities. Their struggle for national rights, including the right to self-determination, is one of the keys to the developing Iranian Revolution.

The roots of national oppression

National oppression in Iran goes back a long way. It is rooted in the historic dominance of ethnic Iranians (Persians) over the other peoples of the area. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, British and Russian imperialism, working through the local rulers, systematized and intensified the national oppression in Iran. They turned the Iranians themselves into an oppressed nationality ruled by neo-colonial agents. From the 1890s through the 1920s, anti-imperialist and democratic sentiments ran high among the people. The Iranian masses, led by the Azerbaijanis in Tabriz, fought a successful Constitutional Revolution in 1906. A full-

scale Russian invasion put down the revolt.

World War I and the Russian Revolution led to a new round of struggles, which led to a declaration of a Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilan (a province bordering Azerbaijan) and an insurrection in Mashad. To prevent revolution and help British capital penetrate the country, the British decided to set up a strong, centralized government. As part of this plan, the British put the Pahlavi dynasty in power in 1921. Working with the British, Reza Shah (the father of the recently deposed shah)

qualitatively increased Iranian domination over all the oppressed nationalities. He tried to crush their organizations and their cultures. He made teaching of Farsi (Persian) compulsory in all schools, and outlawed all other languages. (This policy has lowered the literacy rate. Today, only 40 percent of Iranians are literate, but among the Kurds just 15 percent can read and write.) He also outlawed traditional dress, and he Persianized place names.

The shah launched a series of wars against the nomadic tribes (one-third of

the population in 1900) to force them to settle in one place. Tribal leaders were jailed, exiled and killed. Even though the nomads depended on hunting for an important part of their food supply, the shah disarmed them. He also poisoned their waterholes. Settling down meant starvation for the nomads and a tremendous waste of agricultural resources. The government also carried out systematic anti-Turkish and anti-Arab propaganda. National minorities were excluded from the government bureaucracy and provincial lines were drawn

to divide up the nationalities. These policies have continued right up to today.

National oppression in Iran is closely tied to the plight of the peasants. Roughly half the population lives in the countryside. The conditions of the peasants are horrendous. Close to 80 percent of Iranian peasants do not have enough land to survive on. Most are tenant farmers who are forced to turn up to 70 percent of their crops over to the landlords. Electricity and plumbing are unheard of in the villages. Infant mortality is nearly 50 percent.

The conditions of the peasants have always been bad, but they got worse after the Pahlavis took over in 1921. Reza Shah was a poor soldier when the British put him in power. Through his "land policy" he made himself the greatest landowner in Iran. His son's "White Revolution," the supposed land reform program of the '60s, didn't solve any of the peasants' basic problems. Over the years, millions were forced off the land, with the best land going to the bourgeoisie and the international agri-business corporations. Today, agri-business is stealing the water the peasants need, while the landlords are letting the traditional irrigation system decay.

Iran used to be self-sufficient in food; now it must import billions of dollars worth of foodstuffs. Today, the peasants eat less than they did in the 1930s. Malnutrition and starvation are widespread. The last few years of the shah's rule greatly increased the misery and exploitation of the peasants. (Continued on page 16)

Iran is the latter-day version of the Persian Empire. Fifty to sixty percent of its people are conquered national minorities. The Persians are concentrated in the central part of the country. They speak Farsi (Persian). Their main religion by far is the Shi'a branch of Islam. Surrounding the Persians in clockwise order from the northeast are:

Turkmenis: A people who speak a derivative of Turkish and belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. Many are nomads. There is a large Turkmen population in the USSR.

Baluchis: The poorest people in Iran, they speak a language related to Kurdish. The 800,000 Baluchis in Iran neighbor the 10 million in Pakistan, whose insurrection in the mid-70s the shah helped crush.

Southern Peoples: The Qashqals (500,000), Lurs and Bakhtiars are largely nomadic peoples living in the southern mountains.

Arabs: Over half the population of Khuzestan consists of Arabs (600,000), whose main religion is the Sunni branch of Islam.

Kurds: The oppressed nation of Kurdistan lies within the borders of five states. There are estimated to be up to 20 million Kurds, with possibly as many as eight



million of them in Iran, up to nine million in Turkey, three million in Iraq and many in Syria and the USSR. The Kurds suffer brutal oppression in all these countries, and have risen up repeatedly in Iraq, most recently in 1973. Their religion is also Sunni, and one-third in Iran are nomadic.

Azerbaijanis: This Turkish-speaking people have a relatively high level of industry and standard of living. They also belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. There is a large Azerbaijani population in the USSR.

U.S. Imperialism Plots Looting of Mexican Oil

By ALBERTO SUAREZ

With the fall of the shah of Iran and the resulting instability in the Middle East, the attention of the imperialists has turned toward the oil of Mexico. In the middle of February, U.S. President Jimmy Carter visited his Mexican counterpart Jose Lopez Portillo. Naturally, on the top of the agenda was the issue of oil.

During this visit, Lopez Portillo took a hard stand against imperialism. But these harsh words against the U.S. president were only to try to fool the oppressed masses of Mexico who for decades have struggled against imperialism and capitalism. Right now, Mexico sells most of its 500,000 barrels a day to the U.S. In addition, it helps the Zionists and imperialists by replacing Iran as the supplier of oil to Israel. Even though up to now nothing definite has occurred, it is almost certain that Mexico will be selling most of its oil to the

U.S.

Mexican oil is nationalized under the name of Pemex (Petroleos Mexicanos). This nationalization is very narrow. The capitalists make their profits by providing Pemex with auxiliary services such as construction, etc. In addition, the imperialist companies such as Dupont, Union Carbide, and Monsanto control the petrochemical industry. Even though the labor union bureaucracy administers the company, it is far from being under workers' control. These labor union bureaucrats sell jobs, they are the owners of some of the construction companies and, what is even worse, they repress the workers with the help of the police and army.

The imperialists want Mexico to increase its oil production. For them, this is a central issue. The U.S. promises to provide the technology to develop this production. Besides, it wants a price below that of the world oil market.

It is very certain that oil production will increase drastically to supply the imperialists. This will cause an inflation even more terrible than what is already hitting the workers and oppressed. And it will not alleviate the unemployment that affects the Mexican people and that causes millions of workers to go to the U.S. even without documents. That is why, for the workers and oppressed of Mexico, the question is, who shall benefit from this oil?

Some say that it is alright to sell as much oil as the imperialists want. But, they say, this must be done at a high price and it must be linked to a better commercial deal with the U.S. But just as it happened in Iran, this solution means poverty and hunger for the masses of workers and oppressed while a tiny minority reaps the oil wealth. This is exactly what the Mexican capitalists plan: that this wealth does not fall into the hands of the workers and the oppressed.



Several leftists and nationalists say that the oil should not be sold to the imperialists. Since it is a non-renewable resource, they say, it should be kept for future generations. Certainly this is a noble sentiment. But it does not solve the problems of the workers and the oppressed. Even with the oil underground, reserved for future generations, for the workers and the oppressed, the misery and hunger remain.

For the workers and the oppressed to benefit from the oil, the workers should take over and run the oil industry, including the auxiliary industries and the petrochemical industry. In this

way they can fight hunger, inflation, the high cost of living and unemployment. The workers should form factory committees and throw out the sellout union leaders. They should form self-defense committees to defend themselves against the forces of the bourgeoisie and the goons of the sellout union leaders. The workers must also decide how much oil is to be produced and how much shall be exported. Also, the workers must decide if technology and foreign technicians are needed, and how many and from where. But to reach this goal the workers need above all their own revolutionary party.

Support National Liberation

By RON TABER

The present conflict in Southeast Asia is a burning issue facing workers and oppressed people throughout the world. The invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, and the invasion of Vietnam by China, are having a profound impact on the international class struggle and the left and revolutionary movements. In the past few months the previous attitudes of almost all left organizations toward Vietnam, China and Kampuchea have been called into question and many of their members have become confused and disoriented.

Since the beginning of the conflict in Southeast Asia, the Revolutionary Socialist League has said that the most important duty of revolutionaries is to 1) oppose U.S. imperialism—which despite its waning strength is still the dominant imperialist power—and 2) defend the right of self-determination for Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos and all of the peoples of Southeast Asia. We support the fight of the Kampuchean people against the Vietnamese invasion of their country, as well as the fight of Vietnam against the Chinese invasion into that country.

In past issues of the *Torch/La Antorcha* we have argued why the struggle against the invasions are fights for national self-determination. But that still leaves a more basic question unanswered: Why do revolutionaries support struggles for national liberation, or more precisely, for self-determination? After all, this demand and these struggles are not socialist, they are bourgeois. If we are concerned with the class struggle and the socialist revolution, why do we bother at all with democratic struggles and demands from the bourgeois revolution? Even more, why do we take such a strong position in favor of these democratic demands and struggles? The RSL's position to support the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, and our method for approaching national liberation struggles, is derived from Lenin's views on this question, which he worked out in the early 1900s.

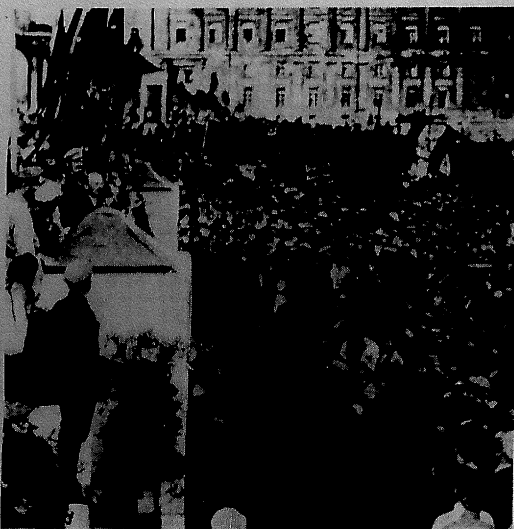
Lenin: Strategist of revolution

Lenin was a master of revolutionary strategy. Time and again throughout his revolutionary career, he turned to questions of strategy, that is, the nature of the party, the agrarian question, the precise nature of the Russian Revolution. Even his study of imperialism was directed toward strategic concerns. This was even more true of his study of the question of national liberation, or more technically, the right of nations to self-determination, which came from working out a strategy for a successful revolution in Russia.

Lenin realized that the Russian Revolution (which at the time he saw in terms of a bourgeois revolution) could only be successful if it were led by the working class. But the Russian working class was small and a tiny minority of the people in the Russian empire. The majority of people were peasants, not workers, whose life conditions, culture and traditions did not make them very receptive to socialist ideas. On the contrary, their deepest desires were to seize the land held by the landlords, the church and the state—in other words, a radical bourgeois solution to the land problem. In addition, while the Russians (Great Russians) were the politically and socially

dominant nationality within the Russian empire, they were a minority of the population. Somewhere around 55 percent of the population were members of various other nationalities, such as Ukrainians, Tartars, Poles, Georgians and others. These people were highly oppressed by the reactionary policies of the Tsarist regime. These oppressed people struggled for freedom from the Russian yoke, either for full independence or for various forms of autonomy and other democratic rights within the Russian empire.

In short, a majority of the Russian population were non-proletarian oppressed peoples whose struggles against the Tsarist regime were for land or national liberation. But, according to Lenin, if the Russian Revolution was to be successful (even as a



Lenin addresses mass workers' rally honoring the Second Congress of the Third International.

bourgeois revolution) it had to be led by the working class, which in turn had to be led by a revolutionary party. This meant that the working class, much or most of which was Great Russian, had to fight various bourgeois forces for leadership of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities. The question was "how to do this?" It was taken for granted for many years that the revolutionaries had to engage in revolutionary socialist propaganda and agitation among all the peoples in the Russian empire. But Lenin knew that propaganda and agitation were not sufficient. Words are cheap, deeds tell the real story. This was underlined by the fact that a large portion of the peasants and oppressed nationalities could not read and write. So the question became: "How can the revolutionary proletariat (meaning the class-conscious workers) show in deed, in action, that they are serious about a struggle of all the oppressed people to overthrow the Tsar?"

Lenin realized that this meant that the Russian workers, particularly the Great Russian workers, had to support the struggle of the peasants for land and the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for freedom. In regard to the latter, Lenin knew that to convince the oppressed peoples (including the non-Russian workers) that the Russian workers really did stand for the equality of all the oppressed and would not maintain the chauvinist policies of the Tsar in a new form, the Russian workers had to make it absolutely clear that they had no taint of the Great

Road to Unity for Workers and Peasants Worldwide

Russian chauvinism, racism and national patriotism of the Russian ruling class. Concretely, this meant being for full freedom for the oppressed nationalities, up to and including the right to separate and form independent states, even if this meant the complete dismemberment of the Russian

empire. If the Russian workers appeared to be vacillating in any way on this question, then the oppressed nations would be justified in distrusting the Russian workers, and in fearing that they would continue to oppress the non-Great Russian peoples. If this happened, then the workers would not be able to build a true alliance with these people, could not establish their political leadership over these masses, and would not be able to lead a successful revolution against the Tsar.

To prove its internationalism, the U.S. working class must bend over backwards to demonstrate its opposition to U.S. imperialism, to show in practice that it is really for an international alliance, based on complete equality of oppressed people throughout the world. Any hesitation in this stance, any compromise with U.S. imperialism will suggest, in spite of the finest words, that the U.S. working class is still tied to U.S. imperialism and prefers an alliance with its bourgeoisie over one with the world's oppressed people.

empire. If the Russian workers appeared to be vacillating in any way on this question, then the oppressed nations would be justified in distrusting the Russian workers, and in fearing that they would continue to oppress the non-Great Russian peoples. If this happened, then the workers would not be able to build a true alliance with these people, could not establish their political leadership over these masses, and would not be able to lead a successful revolution against the Tsar.

To summarize: Lenin knew 1) that the Russian Revolution could only succeed as a kind of united front between the workers and the other oppressed masses (such as the peasants and the oppressed nationalities), under the lead of the workers; 2) that this alliance could only be built if the workers championed the demands of these people; and 3) that it was not enough to say that the workers supported the struggles of the oppressed people—they had to prove this in practice, in deeds.

Lenin developed this position as a key element of his revolutionary strategy for Russia. Although he was always an internationalist, prior to World War I his attention was almost exclusively focused on the questions of the Russian movement. When World War I began in 1914, and the reformist leaders of the Second International betrayed the International's program, Lenin began to broaden his focus. Among other things, he began a systematic study of imperialism. He investigated changes that had taken

tional revolution.

The issue of imperialism was crucial to Lenin's international strategic orientation. Lenin saw that imperialism tended to divide the world into two basic groups of nations, a group of imperialist oppressor nations, that is, Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and a group of oppressed nations. The oppressed nations included countries directly under colonial rule in 1914, such as Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), India and the Belgian Congo (today Zaire), as well as countries that were not actually colonies, but were dominated and controlled by imperialism just the same (what we today call neo-colonialism).

Lenin saw that the strategic alliance of workers and oppressed nations that he saw as necessary inside the Russian empire was possible and necessary on the international level as well. That is, the international revolutionary proletariat could and should establish an alliance with the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial world in order to wage a revolutionary struggle against the big capitalist powers, the imperialists. The majority of the people in the colonized countries were not proletarians but peasants and other oppressed people. Like the peasants and the oppressed nations within Russia, they were not socialist, nor were they likely to be won to socialism through Marxist propaganda. However, they could be won to an alliance with, and the leadership of, the revolutionary proletariat (both in their own countries and in the

imperialist countries) if the revolutionary proletariat championed their needs and demands.

Here, too, the question was not words, but deeds. The workers must support the struggle of the oppressed masses for the land and for independence from the imperialists. The workers had to prove their seriousness by opposing imperialism in all its forms, by making it clear that they shared none of the prejudice and imperialist aims of the imperialists. But if the alliance of workers and other oppressed people could be built, the result would be a worldwide struggle against the imperialist powers. That is, the workers struggling for state power in the imperialist and colonized countries, and the peasants and oppressed peoples struggling for land and national independence, and supporting the workers—because the workers had made it clear that they would support the peasants and oppressed peoples' demands both in their struggle for power and after they had seized it. This is the goal of Lenin's strategy of consistent support to oppressed nations.

Peasants, nationalities support workers' rule

In 1917 the Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, seized state power. They could not have done this had they not held power during the brutal civil war that followed had they not followed the strategy developed by Lenin. The peasants and the oppressed nationalities were won to support the Bolshevik government only because the Bolsheviks showed, in practice, that they stood by and fought for the demands of the other oppressed people. In some situations, the Bolsheviks were forced to contradict some of their basic policy. During the civil war, for instance, the government was forced to seize stocks of the peasants' grain without paying them. And at other times, military needs dictated violation of national rights. On balance, however, the Bolsheviks won the civil war because they proved, in practice, that the peasants and oppressed nationalities would get a better deal by supporting the workers than by bringing back the capitalists and landlords.

Once in power, Lenin had new opportunities and resources to put his international strategy into operation. He formed the Third International in early 1919 while the civil war itself was still going on. He insisted that the International inscribe on its banners full support to the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. He took concrete steps to put this approach into practice: calling special congresses, issuing appeals and utilizing the foreign policy of the Russian workers' state.

Despite these policies, the Russian Revolution was not aided by successful revolutions elsewhere. As a result, the revolutionary government degenerated at the hands of Joseph Stalin.

International Liberation Struggles

Call to Unity for Workers and Peasants Worldwide

place in capitalism that had led to the imperialist war. He began a struggle to build an international revolutionary tendency that could lay the basis for a new and revolutionary international. And Lenin began to apply the strategic ideas he had developed in regard to Russia to the question of the interna-

ve its internationalism, the U.S. working class must bend over backwards to demonstrate its opposition to U.S. imperialism, and in practice that it is really for an international alliance, based on complete equality of oppressed peoples throughout the world. In this stance, any compromise with U.S. imperialism suggests, in spite of the finest intentions, that the U.S. working class is allied to U.S. imperialism and not an alliance with its oppressed people.

ditional revolution. The issue of imperialism was crucial to Lenin's international strategic orientation. Lenin saw that imperialism tended to divide the world into two basic groups of nations, a group of imperialist oppressor nations, that is, Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and a group of oppressed nations. The oppressed nations included countries directly under colonial rule in 1914, such as Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), India and the Belgian Congo (today Zaire), as well as countries that were not actually colonies, but were dominated and controlled by imperialism just the same (what we today call neo-colonialism).

Lenin saw that the strategic alliance of workers and oppressed nations that he saw as necessary inside the Russian empire was possible and necessary on the international level as well. That is, the international revolutionary proletariat could and should establish an alliance with the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial world in order to wage a revolutionary struggle against the big capitalist powers, the imperialists. The majority of the people in the colonialized countries were not proletarians but peasants and other oppressed people. Like the peasants and the oppressed nations within Russia, they were not socialist, nor were they likely to be won to socialism through Marxist propaganda. However, they could be won to an alliance with, and the leadership of, the revolutionary proletariat (both in their own countries and in the

imperialist countries) if the revolutionary proletariat championed their needs and demands.

Here, too, the question was not words, but deeds. The workers must support the struggle of the oppressed masses for the land and for independence from the imperialists. The workers had to prove their seriousness by opposing imperialism in all its forms, by making it clear that they shared none of the prejudice and imperialist aims of the imperialists. But if the alliance of workers and other oppressed people could be built, the result would be a worldwide struggle against the imperialist powers. That is, the workers struggling for state power in the imperialist and colonialized countries, and the peasants and oppressed peoples struggling for land and national independence, and supporting the workers—because the workers had made it clear that they would support the peasants and oppressed peoples' demands both in their struggle for power and after they had seized it. This is the goal of Lenin's strategy of consistent support to oppressed nations.

Peasants, nationalities support workers' rule

In 1917 the Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, seized state power. They could not have done this nor held power during the brutal civil war that followed had they not followed the strategy developed by Lenin. The peasants and the oppressed nationalities were won to support the Bolshevik government only because the Bolsheviks showed, in practice, that they stood by and fought for the demands of the other oppressed people. In some situations, the Bolsheviks were forced to contradict some of their basic policy. During the civil war, for instance, the government was forced to seize stocks of the peasants' grain without paying them. And at other times, military needs dictated violation of national rights. On balance, however, the Bolsheviks won the civil war because they proved, in practice, that the peasants and oppressed nationalities would get a better deal by supporting the workers than by bringing back the capitalists and landlords.

Once in power, Lenin had new opportunities and resources to put his international strategy into operation. He formed the Third International in early 1919 while the civil war itself was still going on. He insisted that the International inscribe on its banners full support to the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. He took concrete steps to put this approach into practice: calling special congresses, issuing appeals and utilizing the foreign policy of the Russian workers' state.

Despite these policies, the Russian Revolution was not aided by successful revolutions elsewhere. As a result, the revolutionary government degenerated at the hands of Joseph Stalin.

Stalin reversed Lenin's policies in virtually all fields, including the national question. Specifically, he subordinated the colonial struggles—struggles of oppressed peoples inside and outside Russia—to the interests of his developing state-capitalist class. Despite this, Lenin's approach to the national and colonial question remains correct, and it is one of the key foundations of revolutionary strategy today, both internationally and within the U.S.

Today, as in Lenin's day, capitalism must be overthrown by an international revolution. The working class of any single country cannot maintain its class rule for long without the support and resources of the working class of other countries. **The international struggle must be based on two overlapping alliances. The first is an alliance of the workers in all countries—international class solidarity. The second is an alliance between the working class and all the oppressed people, such as small farmers, small business owners and oppressed nationalities.** Both of these alliances have to be built in struggle. To achieve them, it is crucial that the workers in the U.S. oppose U.S. imperialism in all its forms, including breaking completely with national chauvinism and racism.

The U.S. is the world's most powerful country. Although it is being challenged by Russia, it is still the dominant imperialist power. Behind most of the oppressive, dictatorial regimes in the world today lies the United States capitalist class. For years, whole layers of the working class in the U.S. have lived a relatively privileged existence based on the strength of U.S. imperialism and its ability to plunder the world. This is reflected in the patriotism, racism and national chauvinism that poison the minds of so many workers in the U.S. For true international solidarity to be built, it is necessary that the U.S. working class break completely with U.S. imperialism and show in practice that it has no desire to maintain the privileges that are based on the oppression of people



Eritrean liberation fighters.

around the world. This means fighting against the policies of U.S. imperialism and taking concrete steps to support the struggles of people fighting against the imperialists and their agents around the world.

To prove its internationalism, the U.S. working class must bend over backwards to demonstrate its opposition to U.S. imperialism, to show in practice that it is really for an international alliance, based on complete equality of oppressed people throughout the world. Any hesitation in this stance, any compromise with U.S. imperialism will suggest, in spite of the finest words, that the U.S. working class is still tied to U.S. imperialism and prefers an alliance with its bourgeoisie over one with the world's oppressed people. It is the task of the revolutionary party (or its nucleus, if there is no party) to instill the working class with this approach. It does this through its propaganda, agitation, and above all, through its political practice and organizing. A revolutionary organization that is unclear or hesitant in this regard will never be able to win the U.S. working class to a truly internationalist revolutionary class consciousness.

It is important to remember that revolutionaries' support of self-determination struggles has nothing to do with agreement with the leaders of these struggles. It is a strategy to win the oppressed but not necessarily proletarian sections of the people away from bourgeois leadership and to the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party. Organizations that use the crimes of Pol Pot as an excuse to drop support of Kampuchea, that point to a supply of Russian guns as a reason not to defend Vietnam from the

Chinese invasion, or who condemn the struggles of the Eritreans as bourgeois nationalism are missing the point. More importantly, they are abandoning the struggle for leadership and at the same time teaching U.S. workers a flippant and cavalier attitude toward the struggles of the world's peasantry. In short, they are capitulating to the chauvinism and arrogance of the imperialists and sabotaging the unity of the workers and peasants worldwide.

Lenin's strategy also applies within the U.S. today. Full support for the rights of oppressed peoples, such as Blacks and Latins, is vital. As in Russia, it is essential that the revolutionary workers champion the democratic rights of all oppressed people. We want to unite all oppressed people in a struggle against the ruling class. We want to build an alliance between these people and the working class under the leadership of the latter. To do this, the working class must champion the needs of all these people and demonstrate in practice that it will support the struggle for their demands. This approach is essential not just to build an alliance between the working class and other oppressed groups, but also to unite the working class itself. Here, too, the only way to build unity is for the revolutionary workers to show that they are determined to fight all forms of oppression and prejudice within the working class and society as a whole. **Revolutionaries must make it clear, again in practice, that the unity we seek is real unity, and not a phony unity based on the continued subordination of the more oppressed workers.** This aspect of revolutionary strategy is particularly important given the virulent racism and chauvinism that characterizes U.S. capitalism and infects large sectors of the working class, including some of the oppressed workers themselves. The racism, sexism and other forms of prejudice and oppression that divide the U.S. working class can only be fought and overcome by a merciless struggle against them.

Lenin's views on self-determination as we have seen, are more than a formal political position. They are a strategy and method for revolution. Today, as in Lenin's day, a large proportion of the world's oppressed people are peasants, and a large number of the struggles against imperialism are struggles for national self-determination. And today, as in Lenin's day, national minorities are denied democratic rights within imperialist countries.

For these reasons, Lenin's strategy is still relevant today. In fact, it is only by using this strategy that the revolutionary party and the working class will be able to win the war against the capitalists and achieve our goal—socialist revolution. □



Vietnamese soldiers prepare defense against Chinese invasion.

Farmworkers Strike California Growers

By JOSEPH KALA

Since January 19, 4,300 United Farm Workers (UFW) members in California's Imperial Valley have been on strike. The strike, directed against 11 of the country's largest lettuce growers, has been a bitter battle.

On February 10, Rufino Contreras was murdered by the growers as he walked into a field to talk to scabbing workers. On February 21, over 1,000 strikers were attacked by 80 police using tear gas and low-flying helicopters. More than \$1 million a month has been spent on extra police pay and supplies in the effort to defeat the strike.

But despite the attacks, the strikers have stood their ground. So far, 40 percent of this year's lettuce crop has been left to rot in the fields.

In an attempt to replace the strikers, the growers have been hiring workers from Mexico. Hundreds of UFW supporters have been massing at the border and urging these workers not to scab on the strike. This has been very effective. Many other pickers have been leaving the fields when approached by UFW workers. Where these actions have failed, more militant

ones have been taken: buses and trucks carrying scabs have been destroyed, and scab housing has been burned down.

The UFW is demanding a 40 percent increase, up to \$5.25 an hour for lettuce pickers who had been making \$3.70. The lettuce growers offered only seven percent in January. The growers used Carter's wage/price guidelines as an excuse for this insult, even though the guidelines don't even pretend to control food prices. In mid-February, a few growers raised their offer slightly to 11 percent. Since then they have refused to bargain.

Growers fear movement

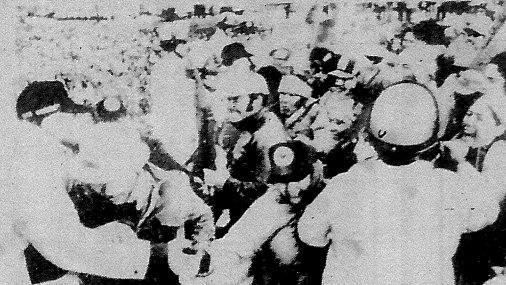
The growers could easily afford to meet the UFW demands. Nearly all of them are divisions of giant agribusiness corporations. Labor costs in the fields are only \$60 an acre, while profits can go as high as \$3,000 an acre in a good year!

But the growers are looking at more than the balance sheets for these farms this year. They see that a movement of struggle is developing among Mexican and

Chicano workers in the U.S. Southwest. For example, undocumented workers in garment sweatshops in Los Angeles and on farms in Arizona and Texas are organizing. And last year, the Houston barrio exploded on El Cinco de Mayo. The growers recognize that a major victory by the UFW could give this developing movement a big push.

The wife of one of the struck growers explained it this way: "This strike is more than a labor dispute. It is a revolution. When a grower told a group of strikers, 'If you don't want to work here, why don't you go back to your own country,' they replied, 'This is going to be our country soon.'"

The growing struggles of Mexicans and Chicanos are also worrying the UFW leadership. Cesar Chavez runs the UFW and most of the union officials are loyal to him. He wants to win the strike in order to preserve his union, but he does not support the rebellions of oppressed workers in the Southwest. He wants a peaceful, legal strike of a small section of farmworkers to get higher pay. Above all, he wants to prove that the strike is not "tainted with revolution," the way the growers claim it is.



Farmworkers battle cops in attempt to close scab field.

This means that while Chavez called the strike in the first place, he fights to keep it limited and controlled.

When the lettuce strike began, only four growers were struck. It was nearly a month before Chavez would allow the strike to spread to the current 11. But that still leaves 17 major growers where UFW members are working. The operating growers are making fantastic

profits by raising prices. And, undoubtedly, part of their profits are going to their friends to help defeat the strike.

General strike

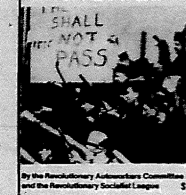
When Rufino Contreras was murdered in February, farmworkers responded in (Continued on page 17)

JUST OUT!

A handbook by the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the RSL for the 1979 auto contract struggle. \$1.

Order from:
Haymarket Books
PO Box 8062
Chicago, IL 60680

**AUTO CONTRACT '79:
FIGHT THE SELLOUT!
BUILD A WORKERS'
OPPOSITION!**



By the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League 5-1



LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Rubber workers strike Uniroyal

Some 8,500 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) walked off their jobs at Uniroyal, Inc., at noon on May 9, shutting down four tire plants and crippling operations at seven other factories.

Uniroyal, the country's third largest tire manufacturer, had agreed to a pact last April 19, one day before the union's contract with the industry ran out. This pact was to have been the standard-setter for the industry. But a few hours after URW President Peter Bommarito announced the terms of the agreement, Uniroyal denied that they had agreed to anything! The reason? The proposed settlement was over Carter's seven-percent guidelines. The government and General Motors, Uniroyal's biggest customer, put pressure on Uniroyal to hold the line and reject the agreement. GM is worried about the auto contract coming up in September. It is unlikely that autoworkers will settle for anything less than the rubber workers get.

Bommarito calls the strike "Carter's strike." If he settles for something like the seven percent, he can then blame it on the government. And there are signs he may do just that. If the union bureaucrats really meant to win, they would have struck the whole industry. Uniroyal has enough tires to last for about six weeks. In addition, they have non-union plants in Oklahoma, Canada and Mexico. And they'll get help from the other companies to try to beat the union.

Newport News strike suspended

On April 22, after nine weeks, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) called off the strike at the Newport News shipyard. This is a defeat for all workers, and especially workers in the South. The strike lost because it was run in such a bureaucratic way that many union supporters became demoralized. In recent weeks, union supporters,

feeling that the ultra-legal and peaceful strike would lose, began to cross the picket lines. Their actions turned their prediction into a reality.

Just before the strike ended, there was a show of solidarity among union workers that proves that a new organizing drive might yet win.

Tenneco, the company that owns the shipyard, wanted all returning strikers to sign a statement saying they were returning to work "unconditionally." Some 6,000 strikers voted at an April 13 meeting to stay out another week and make the company back down on that demand.

On April 16, the company got the cops to attack the strikers on the picket line. When they got done, about 30 people were hospitalized. But this made more workers stay out on strike. So the company decided to back down on the demand for statements and the union then called off the strike.

Stearns sets up scab miner union

On May 3, a union representation election was held at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, in which only scabs voted. Not surprisingly, the results were 110 votes for the company union and zero for the United Mine Workers (UMW).

There shouldn't have been an election in the first place. The miners voted for the UMW in 1976, three months after an explosion at the Scotia mine, owned by the same Blue Diamond Coal Company which owns the Justus mine. They struck because the company refused to sign a contract that would give the workers the right to shut down the mine when it became unsafe.

In the recent election, only 50 of the 122 strikers were eligible to vote because the rest had been fired by the company before the strike started. But as the striking miners said in a telegram sent to the National Labor Relations Board after the election, a judge's order barred all of them from company property, where the voting took place. The fact that the election was held is a set-back, but the

34-month battle to organize the Justus mine isn't over.

Chilean workers defy regime

On April 30, 1,500 workers at the La Papelera paper factory in Puente Alto, Chile, voted to quit their jobs unless they got a wage hike and a cost-of-living bonus. Since March 15, the workers had refused to work overtime until their demands were met.

Strikes have been illegal in Chile since the military took power in 1973. But union leader Carlos Flores declared: "There is no law that says we have to keep working if we resign."

Before the military junta took power, La Papelera provided housing and maternity benefits for workers at the plant. But since 1973, the company has fired over 25 percent of the workforce and cut the benefits by 90 percent. Overall, 15 percent of Chile's workers are unemployed, and wages even for skilled workers are at starvation levels.

In brief...

The 11-week strike by 3,000 New York City school bus drivers and matrons ended in a partial victory May 9. All bus companies that get contracts with the Board of Education have to hire union workers from a master list. Pensions and benefits are guaranteed no matter which companies get the contracts. Only companies with four buses or fewer are exempt. Officials of Amalgamated Transit Union locals 1181 and 1106 said the pact is retroactive to February 15. . . . Increases totaling 35 percent over the next three years were won by milk drivers, members of Teamster Local 584, after a hard-fought 64-day strike against 85 New York dairies. The 2,000 workers fought with police to keep scabs out during the strike. . . . Meanwhile, tugboat operators are still on strike in New York's harbor.

—AL



Police attempt to close scab field.

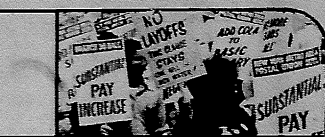
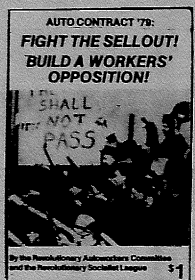
le Cha- in the to keep lled. strike rowers early a would read to hat still rowers are rating nstastic

profits by raising prices. And, undoubtedly, part of their profits are going to their friends to help defeat the strike.

General strike

When Rufino Contreras was murdered in February, farmworkers responded in (Continued on page 17)

A handbook by the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the RSL for the 1979 auto contract struggle. \$1.



ttle to organize the Justus mine isn't

Workers defy regime

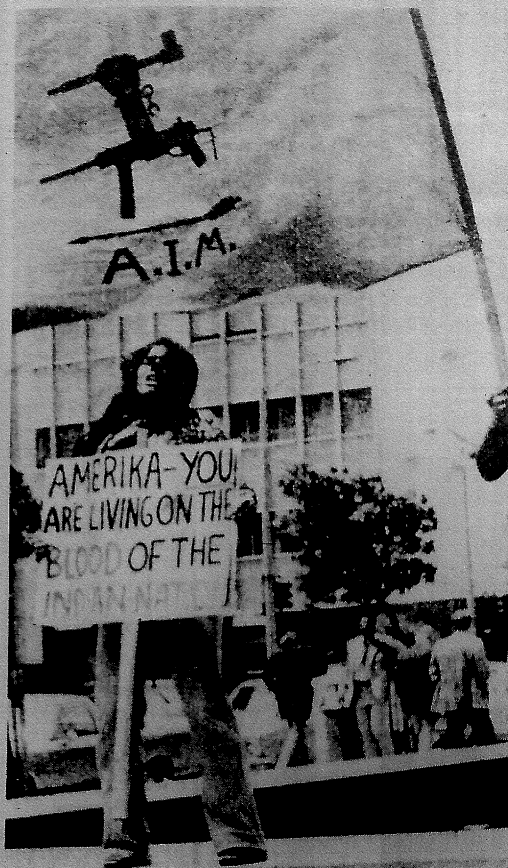
0, 1,500 workers at the La Papelera in Puente Alto, Chile, voted to quit less they got a wage hike and a cost-us. Since March 15, the workers had work overtime until their demands were

ve been illegal in Chile since the power in 1973. But union leader is declared: "There is no law that says deep working if we resign." military junta took power, La Papelera using and maternity benefits for e plant. But since 1973, the company r 25 percent of the workforce and cut by 90 percent. Overall, 15 percent of ers are unemployed, and wages even orkers are at starvation levels.

ek strike by 3,000 New York City drivers and matrons ended in a partial 9. All bus companies that get contracts ard of Education have to hire union n a master list. Pensions and benefits ed no matter which companies get the nly companies with four buses or empt. Officials of Amalgamated n locals 1181 and 1106 said the pact is o February 15. . . . Increases totaling 35 n the next three years were won by milk nbers of Teamster Local 584, after a 64-day strike against 85 New York 2,000 workers fought with police to ut during the strike. . . . Meanwhile, raters are still on strike in New York's

Capitalists Spread Death Through Uranium Mining

Nukes Fueled With Native American Lives



By ADELE LOHMAN

On April 28, eight anti-nuke demonstrations across the country protested uranium mining on Native American lands. The largest was in Grant, New Mexico, where 500 people marched to near-by Mt. Taylor, the planned site of what will be the world's deepest uranium mine. On the same day, 15,000 people demonstrated at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver. This march included a Native American contingent that emphasized the dangers of uranium mining.

Today, two-thirds of the uranium mined in the U.S. comes from Native American territories. The Navajo lands in New Mexico and the Spokane lands in Washington state have been the main areas of exploitation. In addition, one million acres of the Black Hills of South

Most of the information in this article is from the February 1979 issue of *Akwesasne Notes*, a Native American newspaper published at the Mohawk Nation in upstate New York.

Dakota are under exploration. Most of this land belongs to the Lakota Nation and 100,000 acres are already staked out.

Uranium fuels nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons. As long as any power plants are operating or any bombs are being

made, the demand for uranium will grow. That means more and more mining as the ores get poorer. Most ores used today contain only about .3 percent uranium. In contrast, the ores mined in Zaire (then the Belgian Congo) during World War II were 25 to 70 percent uranium.

At that time, the Belgian colonial government stole the minerals and killed African miners with starvation wages and unsafe working conditions. Today, U.S. capitalism robs the Native American nations the same way: stealing their mineral wealth through unequal contracts; destroying their land and covering it with radioactive wastes; and exploiting Native American workers as cheap labor.

Stealing their mineral wealth

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) negotiates all mining leases on Indian territories. The BIA is supposed to protect the Native Americans' interest, but they are in fact a colonial government. Like imperialist agents everywhere, they buy off a layer of leadership which gets rich at the expense of the majority of people. The mining companies write the leases, the BIA okays them, and the tribal leaders hand over the land.

Most mining leases sign away the tribal right to tax the corporations. Instead,

the nations get royalties based on the amount of uranium they take out, not on its cash value. When the market price of uranium goes up, the capitalists make more profits, but the Native Americans do not. Uranium went up from \$12 a pound in the 1960s to \$30 a pound in 1975, and to \$69 a pound today. But in 1975, for example, the Navajo Nation was paid an average of 60 cents for each pound of uranium!

Though in some more recent leases the Navajos got a slightly better deal, very few people have benefited. While the Navajo lands are rich in all the fuels that furnish energy—coal, oil, natural gas and at least 80 million pounds of uranium—80 percent of Navajo households have no electricity.

Destroying the land

Native American territories are not covered by laws that protect the environment. As a result, the lands are being destroyed by uranium mining operations. Strip mines are allowed to release radioactivity into the air. Millions of gallons of water are used and contaminated by underground mining operations. And 10 million tons of uranium wastes have been dumped on Navajo lands.

These wastes, called tailings, release up to 85 percent as much radiation as uranium. And many communities have built their houses and schools out of tailings. A former miner says: "The company never told us they were dangerous." The wind blows the tailings over wide areas, like

a fine radioactive dust. Around Edgemont, South Dakota, at the foot of the Black Hills, uranium was mined until 1972. Tailing dust has contaminated the water supply. As a result, the cancer rate in the area is twice as high as in the rest of the state.

This summer, the uranium corporations are planning to use a new technique, solution mining, in the Black Hills. This method requires no mills and leaves no tailings. Acids are pumped into the underground water supplies (aquifers) to dissolve uranium from the sandstone. When the solution is pumped back out, most of the water is pumped out with it—and the water table drops. Any water that's left is contaminated.

The Fort Laramie treaty, signed by the U.S. government in 1868, promised the Black Hills to the Native American nations "for as long as the grass shall grow and the rivers shall flow." That was supposed to mean forever. But solution mining will drain the aquifers within 35 years. After that there will be no grass and no water.

Exploiting Native American workers

Most uranium miners are Native Americans. In 1975, 3,400 Navajos worked in uranium stripmines, and 900 in underground mines. In the Spokane Nation, one worker out of four has worked in the mines.

Native American miners who are not unionized are exploited through low wages and murderous working con-

ditions. Max Huskon, a Navajo who worked in a uranium mine in the '50s, said: "From the start, the workers were never told to shower or anything else. . . . We didn't know the dangers. When the company blasted, the bosses told us to go in there and work before the dust had even settled. The majority of the workers were Navajo."

Lung cancer eventually kills 80 to 90 percent of uranium miners. "The lung cancer comes from breathing radon gas [a gas present in underground mine tunnels]," said LaVerne Husen, director of the Public Health Service in Shiprock, New Mexico. "It stays in the lungs and continues emitting radiation. . . ." In the Shiprock area of the Navajo lands, for example, 20 Navajos have died and 20 more are dying of lung cancer since Kerr-McGee (one of the largest uranium mining and processing companies) abandoned their mine and mill in the early '70s.

Nobody has received any compensation. The federal government supposedly has no money for disabled miners. But the government is giving two million dollars to Kerr-McGee to train more Navajo workers to die in the mines. With close to 50 percent unemployment in the Navajo Nation, many workers will be forced to risk cancer in return for a steady job.

Radiation affects us all

To stop new uranium mining in the Black Hills, the Black Hills Alliance, a coalition of Native American groups, environmentalists and ranchers, has now been formed. The alliance has called for a protest walk, starting July 7, from Bear Butte Peak to Edgemont, both in South Dakota, as part of a national mobilization against uranium mining.

The capitalists say that the answer to higher energy costs is "cheap nuclear power." The truth is that the economics of nuclear power, from the first step to the last, are the economics of murder.

Uranium mining and milling is poisoning thousands of Native Americans. At Rocky Flats, fuel processing is spreading cancer-causing radiation over miles of land. Every nuclear reactor routinely dumps radioactive waste in the surrounding area. Meanwhile, thousands of nuclear bombs are being stockpiled that could kill us all immediately, instead of slowly through cancer.

As long as capitalism survives, the lives of workers will continue to be cheap and expendable. Oppressed people like the Native Americans will be exploited and the survival of the planet will be threatened. To kill the nuclear danger we must kill the capitalist system. □



On May 6, 100,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., in the largest anti-nuclear protest in U.S. history. The demonstration was a step toward building a mass movement against the ruling class's efforts to prop up the capitalist system through nuclear power. But it revealed serious weaknesses. The organizers, the May 6 Coalition, did not mobilize workers, Black people and other oppressed groups. The majority of the demonstrators were middle-class whites.

Moreover, the coalition refused to make the U.S. war machine's stockpiling of nuclear weapons a theme of the demonstration. Coalition coordinator Pam Lippe said the reason for this decision was "to keep the movement as broad as possible." The real motive was to limit the protest to slogans that the Democratic Party politicians and trade union leaders who supported the demonstration could accept.

of the clergy. The workers can deprive the clergy of much support and win millions of allies if they mount a campaign to spread the example of the Turkmeni peasants.

The Iranian workers have the power and organization to unify all the democratic struggles and turn them into a mighty movement against Khomeini and Prime Minister Bazargan's bourgeois liberals. But to do this, the workers must build a revolutionary party that gives not one inch to Persian chauvinism, that gives no support to Khomeini or Bazargan and which will not shrink from class war in the countryside. Only the workers in power can bring democratic rights to Iran's peoples. Only an alliance of the workers, peasants, nationalities and soldiers can bring the workers to power. □

Nicaragua

(Continued from page 3) istas don't want to mobilize the workers and peasants is that they are working for a deal with the anti-Somoza capitalists, such as Los Doce (the Twelve). The Twelve are a group of businessmen, lawyers, clergy and "civic leaders" who represent the interests of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. They are part of the National Patriotic Front, which the FSLN has organized.

In recent days, they have called for a victory of the FSLN, adding that it would not mean the establishment of a communist government. The Sandinistas, in turn, say openly that they want to set up a democratic capitalist republic in which the old capitalists (minus Somoza and his hacks) will keep their wealth and property. What does all this mean for the struggle against Somoza?

The Sandinista leaders know that if the masses become mobilized, they will take action to satisfy their pressing class needs. Unemployment is more than 40 percent of the labor force. Inflation is rampant. There is a massive flight of capital out of the country. The Nicaraguan economy is practically at a standstill.

In this situation, if the workers and peasants get involved, they will start to seize the factories and fields; to fight for jobs for all and higher wages; to organize factory committees, etc.

The Sandinista leadership can't allow this to happen, because it would destroy their alliance with the anti-Somoza capitalists and would threaten their program of a democratic capitalist republic. This is why the Sandinista leaders have to prevent the workers and peasants from getting control. This is why they won't organize workers' committees, and why they prefer a small guerrilla army of commando "experts" to a mass workers' militia.

To win their own militant cadres to this approach, the FSLN leaders have to convince them that the goal of the struggle in Nicaragua today is a democratic capitalist government and national unity. Even on its own terms, this strategy can only fail. A capitalist democracy can't bring about true national liberation for Nicaragua because it can't kick out U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. controls world banking and the world market, and through them retains effective economic control of Nicaragua. A capitalist government would have no choice but to cooperate with U.S. imperialism. The U.S. would keep control of Nicaragua and at the right time would stage another military takeover.

Furthermore, "national unity" with the capitalist class is suicide. The anti-Somoza capitalists have always been loyal allies of the U.S., and have participated

in the rape of their own country. A democratic capitalist republic means that these people will continue to exploit the masses and plunder the country, in partnership with U.S. imperialism.

The only road forward for Nicaragua's workers and peasants is the socialist revolution. The workers have to put themselves at the head of the Nicaraguan masses and lead a national rising that can smash the capitalist Somoza dictatorship and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat—the rule of the workers, peasants and other oppressed strata over the capitalists.

The socialist revolution is an international process. It can begin in Nicaragua but, to survive, the Nicaraguan workers would have to spread it internationally, particularly to the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean. A Socialist Federation of Latin America would be the best way to defeat the counter-revolution which the U.S. would be sure to launch against a workers' state in Nicaragua.

This is the Trotskyist strategy of Permanent Revolution. It is the only way to end Nicaragua's capitalist misery and oppression—the unemployment, poverty, disease and illiteracy. It's the only thing that can drive the U.S. octopus out of Nicaragua for good. And even in terms of the military struggle, it's the only program that will unleash the energy, creativity and heroism of the masses required to drive Somoza from power. □

Farmworkers

(Continued from page 14) anger. Not just lettuce pickers, not just UFW members, but 10,000 farmworkers at 40 companies across the Imperial Valley stopped work! This movement could have crushed the growers. But the UFW leadership ordered a moratorium on picketing. They called in the Catholic Church and the Democratic Party to help contain the farmworkers' anger. The days following Rufino Contreras's murder were filled with endless religious processions, masses and sermons. Jerry Brown, the Democratic governor of California, attended the funeral. Brown told the strikers he was refusing to send National Guardsmen to the fields as the growers were requesting. What he left out was that as a substitute he was sending more California Highway Patrolmen.

Since March, the UFW leadership has moved to try and take the focus of the struggle away from its militant heart in the fields.

In April, Chavez revealed a new plan to deal with the mostly undocumented scabs: Report them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS—La Migra)! Chavez, in fact, complained that La Migra was not raiding the fields and deporting the workers when he gave them tips. Chavez is aiding the ruling class in their racist campaign to

blame unemployment on Mexicans. And he is hurting the strike by weakening the position of all workers.

Chavez also came up with a second plot for getting the strike struggle out of the fields. He is pushing a consumer boycott of Chiquita Brand bananas. This is supposed to put pressure on United Brands which owns both Chiquita and Sun-Harvest, which is one of the struck growers. While all workers should honor the boycott out of solidarity, this is a dead-end tactic. Boycotts are one of the weakest weapons the labor movement has and cannot substitute for shutting the fields down.

The summer harvest is now starting in Salinas, California. Cesar Chavez's strategy—favors from Jerry Brown, peaceful picket lines, boycotts centered thousands of miles from the strike, deportations by La Migra—has hurt the strike and will continue to hurt it. Many observers believe the strike will lose. But it can be saved if the workers are able to push Chavez aside and follow the example of Imperial Valley.

The mass picket lines, the willingness to fight the cops, and the general strike of 10,000 were the things that kept the strike alive. If the strike in Salinas is brought back to the fields and the field workers, gains can still be won. □

LEAGUE LITERATURE

PAMPHLETS



The Rise of State Capitalism (How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed).....\$.50

Maoism and the Soviet Union (How the RCP Supports State Capitalism).....\$.95

China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line.....\$.35

South Africa: Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution.....\$.50

Attica-South Africa: Same Struggle, Same Fight! (Prisoners' Messages to the Day of Solidarity, September, 1977).....\$.35

Chile: Never Again!.....\$.50

Chile: ¡Que Nunca Vuelva a Suceder!.....\$.50

Programme of the RML of Jamaica.....\$.05



HAYMARKET BOOKS

PO Box 8062, Chicago, Ill. 60680

(New Catalogue Now Available)

National Liberation, Gay Liberation

Lenin, State and Revolution.....\$.50

Lenin, National Liberation Movement in the East.....\$ 2.95

Marx and Engels, On Colonialism.....\$ 2.65

Smith, U.S. Neo-Colonialism in Africa.....\$ 2.95

Pomeroy, Apartheid Axis.....\$ 1.25

Lewis, Growth of the Modern West Indies.....\$ 6.50

Lewis, Puerto Rico, Freedom and Power in the Caribbean.....\$ 7.95

Feinblom, Transvestites and Transsexuals.....\$ 3.95

DEATH TO APARTHEID!

VICTORY TO THE BLACK WORKERS' REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA!



Poster From RML-Jamaica (W) And RSL-US
22 x 28"
\$2.50 (Mail Orders)
\$2.00 (5 or more)

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

DOCUMENTS OF STRUGGLE

The Fight in the I.S.

On the Transitional Program (Available in Spanish).....\$.50

Miners For Democracy and the Tactic of Critical Support.....\$.50

Manifesto of the RSL and Statement of the Revolutionary Tendency of the International Socialists.....\$.25

The Fight in the Red Flag Union

Basic Analysis of State Capitalism (Document of Struggle of The Revolutionary Tendency of the Red Flag Union).....\$.60

Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution (The Fight for Gay Liberation in the Red Flag Union).....\$.50

ORDER PAMPHLETS AND DOCUMENTS FROM:
PO Box 562, NYC, NY 10036

Subscribe to the TORCH

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

PRISONERS—Free, donations appreciated U.S., CANADA, MEXICO AND PUERTO RICO

Introductory—3 months—\$1.00

One year—\$5.00

Supporting—\$10.00

OVERSEAS

One year (seamail)—\$5.00

One year (airmail)—\$12.00

CONTRIBUTION \$ _____

I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

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

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

For socialist revolution

But as long as the capitalists remain in power they will be able to launch new attacks on working and oppressed people. Therefore, the struggles against the IMF/capitalist offensive must be seen as more than just a move to win reforms and concessions from the capitalists.

They must be seen as the first skirmishes in a direct struggle for power by the Jamaican working and oppressed people, under the leadership of their revolutionary party. It is victory in this final struggle for socialist revolution and workers power that will smash the shackles of IMF oppression and take the oppressed masses out of capitalist bondage into freedom. □