

NICARAGUA EXPLODES!



Nicaraguan youth battle National Guard in Matagalpa.

By TONY CURZO

Nicaragua is in a state of insurrection. The dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, whose family has ruled this Central American nation for 44 years, is on its way out. As we go to press, Leon and Masaya have been taken over by workers and youth, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

According to an FSLN bulletin, Masaya's population has wiped out the National Guard garrison, and has seized arms, ammunition, and a small tank. In Leon, with the aid of another captured tank, the Sandinistas and their supporters are now attacking the National Guard garrison.

Fighting also rages in the streets of Managua—the capital—Matagalpa, and Esteli. In Matagalpa, the National Guard's local headquarters has been taken, and

the arms are being distributed among the workers and youth. In Esteli, the military garrison is under siege. And in Chinandega, the workers and youth are in full control of the city. Through-out this upsurge, casualties have been high since the people are desperately short of arms.

This latest upsurge follows closely on the heels of other dramatic developments:

• On August 22, 24 comandos of the Tercerista wing of the FSLN successfully took over the National Palace. They seized over 1,500 people (including the legislators) and held them as hostages. After getting 59

(Continued on page 10)

*sección
en
español*

Defend Women's Right to Abortion

Marla Pitchford is the first woman in the U.S. to be arrested and prosecuted for performing an abortion on herself. On August 30, she was found not guilty due to reasons of temporary insanity after a three-day trial in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Had she been convicted, she would have faced 10 to 20 years in prison.

Marla Pitchford was 20-24 weeks pregnant when she went to a clinic in Louisville, Kentucky, for an abortion. The doctors there refused. Confused and panicky, she went home and used a knitting needle on herself. When she later went to a hospital for treatment of the bleeding, she was turned in by the doctors and arrested for "practicing medicine without a license."

Pitchford's problem is not unusual—even the best of today's laws say doctors and even public county hospitals can refuse to give abortions. In the big cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, there are abortion clinics (with outrageously high prices). But the vast majority of women have no place in their areas to get an abortion at any price.

The limited rights to abortion that do exist were won by the protests and rebellions of the 1960s. This was a real and important victory.

During the 1960s, about 300 women died each year from the complications of back-alley and self-inflicted abortions. (It's impossible to guess how many more deaths due to abortion were labeled "hemorrhaging,"

"miscarriage," or something else.) About 80 percent of the women who died were Black, Latin, Native American or Asian. In New York, one out of three maternal deaths in the '60s resulted from abortions.

But between 1973 and 1978, no deaths from abortions were reported. The so-called "right-to-life movement" is trying to go back to the days of back-alley abortions. These anti-abortion groups also oppose contra-

ceptives. And most of these groups keep quiet about the forced sterilizations that keep women who want children from having them.

These groups are not interested in "life" but in keeping

(Continued on page 4)

POSTAL WORKERS DEMAND DECENT CONTRACT

By a Postal Worker
Correspondent

Amnesty for the Fired Strikers!



NEW YORK, September 12 — Rank-and-file postal workers are continuing their struggle for a good contract. While the combined forces of the United States Postal Service (USPS), the government, and postal workers' own union "leaders" have thus far prevented a national strike, postal worker opposition to the July contract remains strong.

In early August, rank-and-file pressure caused both the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) conventions to vote to reject the new contract. Angry delegates also demanded amnesty for the 200 workers fired in the July bulk center wildcats. These actions set the stage for rejections of the new agree-

(Continued on page 15)

**our
readers
write...**

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

Statement by a Nicaraguan worker

The untamed fighting spirit of the Nicaraguan people was proven once again by the emergence of popular armed resistance to the rotten Somoza military dictatorship in the city of Matagalpa, 130 kilometers to the north of Managua. The dictatorship has exploited, murdered, jailed and tortured the people of this area for almost half a century with the criminal complicity of North American imperialism, which today is masquerading as the defender of human rights.

The history of struggle of Matagalpa's population goes back to the years of Central America's independence from Spanish colonialism, which took place in the decade of 1811 to 1821. In 1855 its population fled to the mountains close to the city in order to organize armed resistance against the invasion of marauders led by the pro-slavery North American adventurer, William Walker.

Years later, on March 30, 1881, the population of Matagalpa rose up against the foreign land-owning oligarchy which had inherited the exploiting whip of the Spanish Empire. More than 7,000 Native American (Indian) fighters were mobilized, 3,000 of whom surrounded and later seized the city, refuge of the exploiters, with the cry "Death to the Government!"

Reinforcements sent from the capital drove out the rebels who had entrenched themselves in the city, and in one of the most bloody repressions in Nicaraguan history, exterminated almost 20,000 Native Americans. During the years from 1927 to 1934 the troops of General Augusto Cesar Sandino held the mountains of the region and all of northern Nicaragua, undefeated in their battle against the invasion of North American marines. In his ranks, peasants and workers of Matagalpa took their places in combat.

On February 21, 1934, Anastasio Somoza Garcia assassinated Sandino, and placed himself in power as founder of the Bloody Dynasty. But the struggle for freedom remained alive and growing, in memory of the many sons and daughters of this part of Nicaragua who had fallen in the struggle against the Somoza military dictatorship.

On June 23, 1936, in Matagalpa, Carlos Fonseca Amador was born, who later became founder and general secretary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Consistent with his ideas, this upstanding revolutionary comrade devoted his best years, and in the end his life, in the struggle for the liberation of his people. This region, today drenched again in blood, brought forward other martyrs such as Rafael Praslin, Julio Alonso, Manuel Baldivon, Francisco Buitrago, Fabian Rodriguez, Carlos Haslam, Luciano Vilchez, Carlos Arroyo, and Noel Arguello.

Numerous other comrades from city and country have disappeared, and many others have suffered or are suffering the most refined tortures in the horrid jails of the Somoza military dictatorship. To this endless list of comrades today are added those who have been killed in the events of the last days of August and the first days of September, with guns provided directly or indirectly (through Israel, Argentina, etc.) to Somoza by North American imperialism.

People ready to fight

The people of Matagalpa, like the people throughout Nicaragua, are ready to fight so that the comrades who have generously given their lives will not have fallen in vain. Once again the events in Matagalpa show the complete readiness of the people for revolutionary organization to give battle against the dictatorship and against the exploiting class it represents: the bourgeoisie supported by the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man.

In the development of the struggle against the Somoza military dictatorship, three principal "methods" of struggle have been outlined up to now. On one side are general strikes put into motion by private initiative or rather, by the "opposition" bourgeoisie, whose own development has been checked by the Somoza government's insatiable desire to grow rich by exploiting the Nicaraguan working class. The dictatorship has deteriorated to the point where it can no longer guarantee the order that the

Defend the "Moody Park 3"

Dear Comrades,

The rebellion of Houston's Chicano people on May 7 received publicity in the pages of the *Torch/La Antorcha*. Chicano militants fought back against a police invasion of Moody Park on Cinco de Mayo, a Mexican holiday. Dozens of people were arrested. The capitalist system of criminal injustice saved special treatment for

three Marxist militants: Travis Morales, a steelworker and spokesman for People United; Tom Hirschi, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade; and Mara Youngdahl, a worker at Texas Instruments and

a member of the National United Workers Organization. These three militants—the "Moody Park 3"—face up to 20 years in prison for so-called "felonious riot."

Despite important political differences with their organizations, Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyists should defend the "Moody Park 3" from the repression of the capitalist state. The trial of the "Moody Park 3" may begin in October.

If we can build tactical unity to free the "Moody Park 3," then we should be able to build unity to smash the Nazis and the KKK. Free the Moody Park 3! Build unity in the working class! Smash the Nazis and the KKK!

Messages of support and/or contributions can be sent to: NUWO, PO Box 87016, Houston, Texas 77087. In the struggle, A supporter of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee

WE URGE OUR READERS TO WRITE

We want our readers to write to us. Write to us about your political ideas, your struggles, what you like and don't like about the paper. We need you to help us make the *Torch/La Antorcha* a better revolutionary newspaper. We need you to help us build a revolutionary party.

SLPer writes

Dear People,

Recently I read the May 15-June 14 issue of *Torch*. I was interested in the long letter from O'Neal and Roman regarding the Socialist Labor Party, because their experience with the SLP's sluggish bureaucracy seemed to coincide with mine. I am also somewhat disillusioned with the SLP's electoral schemes, and its lack of an international perspective.

I've been looking for a group that is activist, has fast reflexes in communicating with members, has an international outlook, and has no cult of hero-worship or state-worship.

The International Socialists seem tooilly-white, groovy, and reformist. Socialist Workers Party is broad-based, but also too reformist. Communist Party-USA can see no wrong in the USSR, and Communist Party-Marxist-Leninist can see no wrong in China. Progressive Labor Party isn't too bad, considering its analysis of the USSR and China as "state-capitalist," and its militancy; but one wonders about its rigidity:

PLP members must have all chosen beforehand what commissariat each member will command after the Revolution.

I know the Fourth International people, like your RSL, favor party democracy and internationalist socialism. So far so good. I'd like to join RSL if you can convince me that RSL has mastered the tactical problems that have always beset the Fourth International.

Sincerely,
TM
Lincoln, NE

On the Nazis

Brothers and Sisters in struggle:

After reading the last *Torch* I can only say I very much liked the article on smashing the Nazis and the Klan. The Nazis have been spreading their filth and so has the KKK—the scum of the earth. I say the sooner the KKK and Nazis are outlawed the better. Yours in struggle, A supporter of the Red Tide

In this issue . . .

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 3 Support the Equal Rights Amendment | 14 Romeo: Rank and file fight firings |
| 4 Chicago RSL calls for united action | 15 NYC newspaper strike continues |
| 5 350 attend anti-Briggs conference | 16 Build an international revolutionary party |

FEATURES

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5 Build a union anti-fascist committee
Tupelo: Death to the Klan | 2 our readers write |
| 6 Free the August 8th Brigade
Stop police terror | 6 Break the Chains
Prisoners strike in Massachusetts.
Samuel Waffer . . . Men Against
Sexism . . . In brief |
| 7 Prisoners and the working class struggle
Rebels write on Pontiac prison revolt | 9 World in Revolution
Puerto Rico . . . Zimbabwe . . . Latin
America |
| 8 Love Canal: Where death cost a dollar
Remember El Grito de Lares | 14 Labor in Struggle
67 fight deportation . . . Ohio
farmworkers . . . Scab kills Teamster
In brief |
| 9 Iran: Demonstrations rock shah's regime
A friend of the shah | |
| 10 Defend the Sandinistas for Socialism | |
| 11 Letter from the Broad Anti-Somoza Front
RSL replies | |
| 12 Unite to fight the Right | |

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

—Equal Rights Amendment
Since the founding of the Revolutionary Socialist League in 1973, we have held a position against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). At the Central Committee meeting in July of this year, however, it was decided to reverse this position. The RSL now favors the passage of the ERA, with certain reservations which we will discuss.

Before explaining our current position, it is necessary to outline briefly what the ERA is and why we opposed it in the past.

The Equal Rights Amendment, if adopted, would become part of the U.S. Constitution. It states a basic bourgeois democratic right: that people of both sexes are equal in the eyes of the law. We did (and obviously still do) support this right. But an

Support The Equal Rights Amendment!

RSL Adopts New Position



things designed to wring more profits from them.

Legislation like the ERA gives the ruling class a tool it could easily use to attack protective legislation. It calls

stale to our supporting it. But we still warn that the ruling class may use the ERA as the legal justification for continuing to press against remaining protective legislation.

The second reason why we changed our position is that the ERA has become an issue in the growing right-wing crusade against women and other oppressed groups. The political climate in the U.S. has changed sharply in the last several years. Even in the early 1970s the capitalists were still playing out their concessions to the already ebbed mass movements of the '60s. For example, it was as late as 1973 that the Supreme Court handed down its decision legalizing abortions.

But by the mid-'70s, under the impact of the end of the post-World War II boom, the rights won by oppressed people were coming under heavy fire from the right wing.

In this context, the struggle over the ERA takes on a different character. The

right-wing forces have made the defeat of the ERA one of their main battle cries. They say that a woman's place is in the home, taking care of a husband and children. They say that a woman's role is that of subordinate helpmate to a man.

While the ERA will not have much effect on these issues, its defeat would be a big boost to the right wing's attempt to put women in "their place." More than that any victory for the right wing gives them more confidence, makes them appear to be a strong force with a serious alternative to the deterioration of society, and helps their movement grow.

Too long to change position

Given the elimination of many protective laws, coupled with the growth of the right-wing attacks, we believe that we have been too slow to change our position on the ERA. It has taken us too long to re-draw the balance sheet.

Because of this, we have cut ourselves off unnecessarily from the growing numbers of women—particularly working-class women, who are looking for a solution to the oppression they face in this society and who think that the ERA is at least part of that solution.

But while we are for the adoption of the ERA, we still don't believe that it comes anywhere close to being part of the solution. One of the factors that went into our original position was the belief that the ERA would have little positive impact on the lives of the masses of women. We still hold this to be true.

The capitalist class never gives up anything that's worth anything unless they have to. Discrimination against women and other forms of women's oppression are built into the capitalist system and, at this point, remain necessary for capitalism's survival. The fact that whole sections of the bourgeoisie are behind the ERA is a testament to its blandness—to the fact that it challenges not at all the profits and well-being of capitalism.

ERA not main fight

Because of our general evaluation, we reject making the fight for the ERA the central task of the women's movement. This is the bankrupt strategy of the leaders of the organized women's movement and various left organizations. For instance, the only real disagreement between the out-and-out reformists of the National Organization of Women and the closet reformists of the Socialist Workers Party is whether to lobby legislators to pass the ERA (NOW's approach), or hold mass, peaceful demonstrations (the SWP's approach).

Our whole starting point is different. We start off with what is objectively needed and then go from there. And what the masses of women need is not just a statement of abstract legal equality, but concrete gains like free abortion on demand; free childcare for working women; equal pay for equal work; jobs for all; self-defense training in the schools and communities—these are just a few of the

(Continued on page 17)



Pro- and anti-abortion forces at Houston women's meeting.

analysis of the ERA could not end there. What exactly would the passage of the ERA mean?

The ERA provides for no specific rights or gains that aren't already legally guaranteed by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution (as well as a host of laws). For example, it is already illegal to discriminate against women in housing, employment, credit and other areas. At best, the ERA could provide another legal basis to challenge cases of discrimination.

Statement of equality

On one side of the balance sheet, therefore, was a statement of women's equality with men under the law, but with no teeth in it to add up to a concrete gain for the masses of women.

On the other side of the balance sheet, however, was the strong possibility that the ruling class would use the ERA to wipe out a hard-won gain—protective labor laws for women. These laws were passed in the late 1800s and early 1900s as the bosses' concession to the militant workers' movement, and particularly to the struggles of women workers. Their purpose was to protect women from being forced to work in slave-like working conditions: hours of forced overtime, lifting heavy loads, no break time, and other

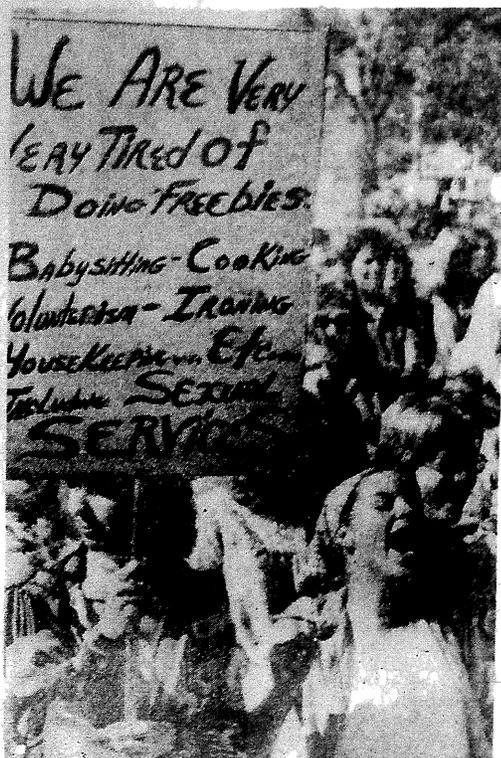
into question the legality of one set of rules for men and another for women. The working class's answer is to extend the protective laws to all workers. But the bosses say that women shouldn't have any "special treatment" if they are equal, and therefore should not have the benefit of the protective laws.

That the ERA would be used to mash up protective legislation in this way was hardly idle speculation on our part. Between the state ERAs and Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which states that equality of rights shall not be denied on account of race, creed, sex or religion), some or all protective laws for women have been wiped out in at least 21 states, including California, Michigan and Illinois.

On balance, therefore, we felt that the loss of a concrete gain for working women far outweighed the abstract and purely legal gain if the ERA passed. Because of this, we felt that the ERA should be opposed.

Why, then, have we changed that position?

First, the use of Title 7 against protective legislation has made it increasingly clear that the bosses don't need the ERA to get rid of protective legislation. Moreover, as we have mentioned, much of this legislation has already been repealed. While this is extremely unfortunate, it lessens the threat posed by the ERA and therefore removes part of the ob-



Chicago RSL Calls For United Action

The Illinois Legislature has officially proclaimed October 1-7 "Respect Life Week." On Saturday, October 7, the Illinois "Right to Life" Committee is holding a rally at the Chicago Civic Center. This rally has been endorsed by Mayor Bilandic. A "Lifemobile" will be there on Friday and Saturday, October 6 and 7.

"Right to life" attacks women's rights

"Right to Life" is the Catholic Church and right-wing's name for attacking

women's right to control their lives. The "Right to Life" Committee has no right to hold demonstrations or do anything else. We must smash their attack on women's right to abortions!

In the past year, the ruling class has stepped up its attacks on the right of women to control their own lives. Congress has cut off Medicaid funds for abortion. Poor women now have the choice of having an unwanted child or using a coathanger. Various cities have passed laws making it difficult for women to get abortions. Meanwhile, right-wing elements supported by

the "Right to Life" Committees and the Catholic Church have been terrorizing abortion clinics.

The attacks on the right to abortions are not isolated incidents. There is a growing right-wing movement, funded by a section of the ruling class, that is attacking all working and oppressed people. Anita Bryant's anti-gay crusade, the Bakke decision, the growth of the Nazis and the KKK, and the right-wing mobilization against the ERA are just a few examples. The time to organize to smash these attacks is NOW!

For this reason, the Revolutionary Socialist League is calling an organizing meeting on Thursday, September 21. We propose a united counter-demonstration Saturday, October 7, at the Civic Center.

There are many organizations and individuals who agree that the attacks must be stopped; that every woman who wants to should be able to have an abortion when she needs one, and that no woman should be subjected to forced sterilization. Everyone who agrees with this should be able to unite in a demonstration against "Respect Life Week," no matter what other disagreements they may have. No one can stop the



Anti-abortion rally in Washington, D.C.

Defend Women's Right To Abortions!

(Continued from page 1) **ing women enslaved, without the right to make even the most basic decisions about their lives.**

The first targets of the anti-abortion movement have been women on welfare. In 1977 they won a victory against these women—the Hyde Amendment. The Hyde Amendment cut off Medicaid funds for abortion in most states. Congress passed this law despite a report by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that without Medicaid funds for abortion, 150 to 250 women would die and 25,000 would be hospitalized each year from complications of illegal amateur abortions.

Two weeks after the Hyde Amendment went into ef-

fect, that abortion clinics must pay \$1,000 for a license and that doctors need special \$500 licenses to perform abortions. In addition, before doing an abortion, doctors must "counsel" a woman and tell her that "a fetus is human life from the moment of conception"

Right-wing harassment growing

At the same time, the right wing has stepped up its harassment of women getting abortions. A group broke into an abortion clinic in Virginia, knocked down two people and stomped on a pregnant woman. The judge let them go, saying: "They had a good faith belief that their actions were necessary to save lives." In New York, one group has been illegally buying names of women having abortions and calling them up saying: "Well, we know that yesterday morning you murdered a six-week-old baby girl and we'd like to offer you some guidance." In Chicago, clinics have been picketed and women in waiting rooms surrounded and yelled at.

All of these attacks hit working-class women the hardest. Even before 1973, rich and middle-class women could get abortions in foreign countries or on the quiet in private hospitals. The wider availability of abortions and abortion and contraception information since 1973 has been a gain mostly for working-class and younger women.

When Marla Pitchford was acquitted she said: "This verdict shows that a person does have the right to do what they want with their own body." Unfortunately, this is not true. Today we must fight for that right so every woman, young and old, Black, Latin or white, can choose when or if she wants children. □



Marla Pitchford.

fect, a survey of 14 sample hospitals found 55 women who had come in because of complications due to back-alley and home-remedy abortions. Women on welfare have no choice. The average cost of an abortion is \$42 more than the average monthly welfare check.

Today more and more restrictive laws are being passed against the abortion clinics. The law passed this past August by the Louisiana State Legislature is typical. It states that women under 15 need a court order or parental consent for an abortion, women under 18 need a court order or pa-

350 ATTEND ANTI-BRIGGS CONFERENCE

SAN FRANCISCO—Three hundred and fifty people attended a "Workers Conference Against Briggs/Proposition 8" here over the weekend of September 9. The theme of the conference was defeating the Briggs Initiative (Proposition 8), which will appear on the California state ballot in November. The Briggs Initiative would make it illegal for gay people or gay rights supporters to work in the public school system.

Those who attended the conference included both gay rights activists and revolutionaries who see gay lib-

eration as a necessary part of the fight for socialism. They took part in over 40 workshops which covered training in using union grievance procedures and other organizing skills, discussions on combatting violence against gays, and revolutionary strategies for gay liberation.

The conference was called by an ad hoc committee of independent gay activists who had been active in the Bay Area Coalition Against the Briggs Initiative, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party. These activists rejected the coalition's

strategy of relying on middle-class liberals to defeat the Briggs Initiative. In Florida, Oregon and Minnesota, gay activists relied on liberal politicians to defend their rights. As a result, the gay movement suffered a series of serious defeats. They also objected to the coalition's refusal to link the defense of gay rights with the struggles of other oppressed people.

Instead of relying on the liberals, the conference organizers want to build a working-class defense of gay rights. This would be an important step forward for the gay movement, but the conference organizers were not willing to build an ongoing organization to fight for a working-class orientation within the gay movement. They refused to allow the conference to take up resolutions on continuing the struggle or organizing a working-class alternative to the middle-class gay organizations.

The lack of a militant organized alternative to the Bay Area Coalition will make it harder for gay people in California to unite with workers, women, Black and Latin groups, and other oppressed people who are also facing right-wing attacks. Such an organization must be built in order to successfully defend gay workers on the job and in the streets. □



Gay Pride demonstration in Los Angeles, July 1978.

MEETING

Thursday
September 21
7:30 pm

Haymarket Bookstore
160 N. Halsted, 2nd Floor
Chicago, Illinois

UNITE TO SMASH THE NAZIS:

Detroit Nazis Open New Bookstore

By JON COLEMAN

Over Labor Day weekend, Nazis in Detroit opened another "White Power Bookstore." This is the third public office they have occupied since they surfaced on the city's west side last December. They were evicted from the first two places following broad community organizing against them.

When they opened their second office, hundreds of neighborhood youths attacked them with rocks and bottles. The only reason the Nazis survived was because of the round-the-clock protection they get from the cops. The Nazis know this—their new headquarters is located on Michigan Avenue, right across the street from a police station.

This time, too, the Nazis were met by angry crowds of neighborhood residents and picket lines by neighborhood, left and liberal organizations. During the first several days after the office opened, many of the white youths from the area went inside, picked up copies of the Nazis' leaflets; then showed their disgust by going into the crowds and showing others what the Nazis are about. But, again, as soon as the crowds gathered, the cops moved in to cover the Nazis.

Under the protection of the cops, the Nazis have grown. They have been able to make contacts with racist whites in three separate neighborhoods on Detroit's west side. People in the Michigan Avenue area say that there are growing ties between the Nazis and several white motorcycle gangs in the area.

And their increased

strength has made them bolder. On the second day the newest office was open, one of the youths who had gone inside, and then left to join the crowds jeering the Nazis, was jumped as he walked home alone. He had

On September 10, supporters of the Red Tide helped smash up a couple of Nazis in Detroit. Earlier, 300 anti-Nazi marchers, organized by the Detroit Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, had passed a crowd near the Nazi bookstore. After the march, Red Tiders joined the crowd in kicking one Nazi's teeth in as he tried to pass the crowd on a motorcycle. Another Nazi's car was stoned as it left a parking lot. The Red Tide's actions are a welcome relief from the pacifist legalism of the liberal Council.

to be hospitalized. The next day, after the picket lines broke up, something happened to draw the attention of the cops away from the bookstore. When this happened, the Nazis rushed out and attacked the small group of demonstrators that was left. Three Nazis were arrested—one for attacking a cop with a carpet knife.

All these developments show clearly that the only way to defeat the Nazis is to smash them, both politically and physically. This will take organizing a network of workers and youth across the city which can turn out quickly to drive the Nazis off the streets wherever they show up. In particular, the trade unions must be mobilized to take part in this struggle. This means politically educating Detroit's workers and youth about the Nazis—that they are agents of the bosses, that their goal is to divide and crush the whole working class. In addition, an active, united, mass struggle for the rights of all



Anti-Nazi demonstrator in Chicago, July 9.

workers and oppressed people—for decent jobs, housing, and education for all—must be built.

But this is not how the leaders of Detroit's liberal anti-Nazi movement are organizing against the Nazis. Instead of organizing to crush the Nazis, they stage peaceful pickets at the Nazi office which lean on the cops for protection. They look for legal loopholes to get the Nazis evicted. They call for outlawing the Nazis, and they desperately try to hold back the workers and youth

who want to tear the Nazis apart. Most left groups—organizations which claim to be revolutionary—have either joined in with this liberal, peaceful strategy or they have refused to join forces to build the kind of organization which can crush the Nazis.

This situation must be turned around. The Nazis are not going to disappear on their own. As the U.S. sinks further into crisis, they will grow. The liberals and their agents on the left will not. (Continued on page 17)

Build a Union Anti-Fascist Committee!

The following is a reprint of a leaflet published by the Chicago Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus.

In 1938 the capitalists of Minneapolis invited the Nazi "Silver Shirts" to that city to organize. The capitalists hoped to use these fascists against Teamster Local 544. Local 544, led by revolutionaries, organized a defense guard. Six hundred union members held public fighting drills around Minneapolis. When the "Silver Shirts" finally found a meet-

ing hall, the defense guard broke up the meeting and whipped their butts. Our local union needs an Anti-Fascist Committee to do the same thing to the Chicago Nazis.

Why did the Teamsters fight the Nazis?

The revolutionary leaders

of the Minneapolis Teamsters understood the Nazis' program. As capitalism decays, unemployment rises, housing gets worse, prices skyrocket, schools fall apart—workers start to fight back. The Nazis try to divide working people along racial lines and offer themselves as slavedrivers to the rich bosses who want to keep their power over the workers. When Hitler's Nazis took power in Germany, they first destroyed the unions and all other workers' organizations. They lengthened the work day, cut wages, and gave the bosses a free hand to use "their" workers as they pleased. Racist organizations, like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, are always the tools of the rich bosses.

Are the Nazis and the KKK a real threat to us?

Many steelworkers say that the Nazis are a tiny group of nuts that nobody listens to. People say: "If the Nazis get to our neighborhood we'll deal with them then." The Nazis and the KKK have grown since the early 1970s. In Chicago they have strong support among racists in Marquette Park and elsewhere. They organize gangs to attack Black bus drivers and other minority workers passing through Marquette Park and elsewhere. Thousands of cops turn out to defend Nazi rallies—with our tax money! When the Nazis led attacks on open-housing marches into Marquette Park, off-

-duty cops were spotted in the racist mob. Now the Nazis are holding a series of rallies in neighborhoods surrounding Chicago neighborhoods some of us live in. Frank Cullin plans to march his racist gang into Englewood this fall.

For a union committee to smash the racists

The people who want to slug it out with the Nazis are the same people who want to fight the Company. The bureaucrats will try to sabotage an Anti-Fascist Committee—because they don't want the best fighters in the union getting together.

In the past few years, some members of this local have marched and fought against the Nazis. We've hurt them. But only masses of organized workers can beat them once and for all. Our unions can be the center for this organizing. Unionists must organize our own strength against the fascists, not relying on the pigs, courts or liberal politicians. We can organize an effective anti-fascist union committee here in our local. We can prepare to smash Nazi rallies.

We must know our enemy. We could show movies in the union hall about fascism. We will meet to plan our counterattack against the Nazi rallies. And we will build for the union to take up the fight against the Nazis and the KKK. Join the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus and the Black and White Defense Committee to build a Union Anti-Fascist Committee!

TUPELO: DEATH TO THE KLAN!



Ku Klux Klansmen watch as militant Blacks march through the streets of Okolona, Mississippi. For six months, Black people in Okolona and Tupelo have boycotted white merchants to win demands for more jobs and better education. They have armed themselves in self-defense against KKK attacks. On Labor Day, 500 marchers took over the streets of Tupelo. When a Klan car tried to break up the march, militants fired into the car and forced the driver to retreat. DEATH TO THE KKK!



Prisoners strike in Massachusetts

Prisoners in Massachusetts have organized militant strikes against rotten conditions and racist harassment. Over 700 prisoners at Norfolk state prison have been on strike since July 31. They are fighting back against cutbacks in visitation, rights and rehabilitation programs, lousy medical care, and the transfer of three prisoners to maximum security at nearby Walpole prison. Their strike is one of the longest in U.S. prison history.

Prison officials tried to break the strike by sending 160 guards and state cops to remove 27 strike leaders. The 27, who were transferred to three different prisons and confined to isolation, have been conducting a hunger strike since their removal. The Norfolk strikers have refused to negotiate until the 27 are returned.

At Walpole prison, 300 prisoners went on strike on August 27. The strikers are fighting back against beatings by guards, unsafe working conditions, harassment of visitors, and a number of other grievances.

At Walpole, racist guards who are members of the Ku Klux Klan regularly attack Black prisoners. On August 20, four guards wearing KKK hoods entered Block 10, the isolation block, shouting racist slogans and waving knives at Black prisoners. A statement by the strikers said: "In the past few weeks alone, more than a dozen prisoners have been dragged from their cells, handcuffed and beaten senseless with nightsticks and shotgun butts."

Free Samuel Waffer!

Texas cops are trying to lynch Samuel Thomas Waffer. In 1969, the cops framed Waffer on a weapons charge and sent him to prison for life. After 19 months, the conviction was overturned and Waffer was released. But in 1971 the cops jailed Waffer again on charges of rape and robbery. Now he is serving a life sentence for robbery and 75 years for supposedly raping a white woman.

Samuel Waffer is a victim of racist Texas "justice." The cops took witnesses straight to his home to identify him, denying him proper legal counsel or even the chance at an official police line-up. Then he was stripped naked and thrown into jail for six days without food. After his arraignment he was kept in solitary for over three months. Then he was tried and convicted by an all-white jury.

Samuel Waffer has exhausted his financial resources in trying to win his freedom. Now he is turning to the public for support. Donations can be sent to: **Samuel T. Waffer Defense Fund, c/o Ms. Mary L. Higgins, Financial Agent, 208 E. Filtz Road, Alvin TX 77511.**

Men Against Sexism framed up

Washington State (Walla Walla) prison officials are trying to frame up members of Men Against Sexism (MAS) for planning a breakout. MAS is an organization of gay and straight prisoners at Walla Walla which protects gay and other prisoners from assaults or sexual attacks.

On June 30, MAS held a banquet for family and friends of the organization. Even before the banquet started, five MAS members were placed in segregation. Twenty-six others were strip-searched both going in and out of the banquet. The visitors were also searched, and five were arrested. At no time during the banquet were either prisoners or visitors given any motive for this harassment.

Later five prisoners and five visitors were charged with conspiring to free the "Red Dragon Unit" of the George Jackson Brigade. The charge is a frame-up. Members of the George Jackson Brigade on trial in Seattle say they have never heard of any "Red Dragon Unit." After three days the cops were forced to free three of the visitors for lack of evidence. Only one is still in jail.

Four of the five prisoners facing charges are members of MAS. It's clear the only "conspiracy" at Walla Walla is the administration's attempt to break up the only organization at the prison trying to unite prisoners against gangsterism and sexist attacks. MAS is asking for your help. Please send letters of support and stamps to: **Carl L. Harp, 126-516, PO Box 520, Walla Walla, WA 99362.**

In brief . . .

On August 31, Symbionese Liberation Army members **William and Emily Harris** pleaded guilty to the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and three other charges. In a statement, they said it would allow them to avoid life sentences and get back on the street after a few years in prison.

A New York City judge sentenced two lesbians to serve 25 years to life in separate prisons. Carol Taylor and her lover Elizabeth Taylor were found guilty of hiring a gunman to kill Carol Taylor's husband for his life insurance and to prevent his getting custody of the children. The alleged gunman was never arrested. Both women protest that they are innocent of any crime, except the "crime" of being gay.



Supporters of August 8th Brigade at recent fundraising picnic.

FREE THE AUGUST 8th BRIGADE

NEW YORK CITY—Nearly 100 supporters of the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee gathered over the Labor Day weekend for a fund-raising picnic. A day of food, beer, volleyball, softball and informal discussions brought many new people into the struggle to free the August 8th Brigade.

The August 8th Brigade is a group of 10 revolutionary prisoners under indictment for their role in the August 8, 1977, rebellion at the Eastern Correctional Facility at Napanoch, New York. The Napanoch rebellion came after three years of struggle against racism and brutality at the prison. The rebellion demanded an end to unsanitary mess hall conditions, parole reform, the firing of two known Ku Klux Klan guards working at Napanoch and amnesty for all the prisoners involved in the day-long takeover. Today, the Brigade is being held at Sing Sing prison, waiting for their trials to start.

The Labor Day picnic in New York was one of a number of activities being planned across the country this month to build support



Members of the August 8th Brigade.

for the Brigade. In Los Angeles, supporters of the August 8th Brigade marched in a demonstration against police terror on August 26. Also in Los Angeles, a forum on the struggle to free the August 8th Brigade is planned for the evening of September 22. Supporters of the Brigade in Detroit and Chicago are also planning actions to build broad support for the defense.

Support for the August 8th Brigade is growing. Prisoners across the country have been sending solidarity messages to the defense committee. And a campaign is underway to gain the support of a large number of community, left, prisoner-support and trade union organizations.

Support for the Brigade is crucial at this stage. Trials for some Brigade members may begin as early as October. More importantly, death threats from guards have made it clear that the combined forces of the Ku Klux Klan, prison guards and the State of New York are out to "get the Brigade" by any means necessary. The Brigade also faces constant harassment. One Brigade member, Felix Castro, is facing five months in the "box" for supposedly refusing an order.

Brigade needs your support

A victory for the August 8th Brigade will be an important blow against growing KKK and Nazi terror, as well as against prison racism and repression in general. The August 8th Brigade Defense Committee needs whatever support people can provide. Solidarity messages, financial contributions or requests for information on how to become active in the case should be addressed to: **August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036; or call: (212) 869-9239.**

STOP POLICE TERROR!



LOS ANGELES—On August 26, the Revolutionary Socialist League marched in a demonstration against police spying, terror, and brutality. The march was sponsored by the Mobilization Against Police Terror, a broad-based coalition. Over 1,000 people participated in the militant protest. The demonstrators demanded an end to the rising tide of police harassment and murder in LA. Racist cops have already killed over 40 people this year. The RSL contingent marched under a red banner calling for workers' defense guards to fight the cops.

By FRANK HOPKINS

For the past few months, the Torch/La Antorcha has been reporting on the struggle to free the August 8th Brigade, 10 Latin and Black prisoners who were framed on charges stemming from the 1977 rebellion at the Eastern Correctional Facility at Napanoch, New York. This has caused some of our readers to ask why it is important to support the struggles of our sisters and brothers in the prisons. What does the struggle of prisoners have to do with the fight for our rights in the trade unions and the workplaces, and on the streets?

The prisons are an important part of the capitalist system. The rulers of this country use the prisons to divide, demoralize and terrorize working-class and oppressed people. The rulers constantly use the threat of prisons to keep working-class people "in line." Whenever there is a major strike, for instance, workers are threatened with court injunctions and prison.

The prisons themselves are just like the rest of the capitalist society—only more openly vicious. You can tell this right off just by looking at who goes to prison. You don't find many capitalists behind bars. Just like the rest of society, the prisons are built to serve the capitalists—to help them keep the working class down.

Most prisoners are workers

The majority of the people in the prisons are our working-class sisters and brothers. Some people get sent to prison because they rebelled against the system in an individual way—like robbing a store or trying to kill their foreman. Other people go to prison because they are framed up for crimes they had nothing to do with—the ruling class railroads poor and working-class people into prison this way all the time. And other people end up in prison because they are militant fighters or revolutionaries. In addition, a small number of people in prison are so ground down by the system that they are completely anti-social and only out for themselves. While people go to prison for different reasons, most people are in prison because the capitalist system exploits and oppresses the working class.

Once you get inside the prisons, whatever oppression you faced on the outside is made worse.

If you are Black, you may very well be in prison for a crime you never committed. Or you serve a sentence that is much longer than a white person would serve. Most of the big shot administrators and parole boards are white, and racist. Prison guards are often organized into the Ku Klux Klan.

If you are Latin, you are up against the same kind of racist discrimination. The prison administrators put up all kinds of barriers to Latin prisoners getting together—even to speak their own language or study their own culture. If you can't understand English, the prison

guards take advantage of that, to harass and humiliate you.

Gay people in prison are bought, sold, traded, raped and even murdered—sometimes just for "kicks." Both guards and sadistic prisoners are a constant threat both to gay prisoners and to young prisoners in general. Some young, gay prisoners have hung themselves rather than allow themselves to fall into the hands of these sadists.

If you are a woman, you can go to prison for fighting back against a husband or lover who beats you. Many

work like this. Even more degrading is the constant sexual harassment and abuse by sexist guards. Because of this abuse, many women even become pregnant while in prison.

"Rehabilitation" means exploitation

For most prisoners, "rehabilitation" means that you get exploited. You may be in prison because you can't find a decent job on the outside, but inside the prison you get forced to work—for

nickels and dimes a day, watch television, or better food: you get your parole. If you fight against the oppressive conditions in the prisons, then you get beatings, harassment, segregation and behavior modification, or even death.

In prison your choices are a lot more obvious. On the outside, the capitalists can fool people more easily with lies about how democratic this system is. In prison it's easier to see that you either give in to the prison keepers or you fight back. In addition, prisoners learn firsthand who is in prison and

why. Through their own ex-

The Revolutionary Socialist League is working to unite these sisters and brothers for two reasons. First because we support the struggle against the oppressive conditions in the prisons. Second, the sisters and brothers who are in the prisons today will be back on the streets and in the factories tomorrow. And these people, who become politically aware in prison, can organize for revolution on the outside of the prisons.

Build the fight inside and outside

We are trying to win prisoners to the fight to build a revolutionary party to lead the struggles of the working class against the capitalist system. This is the strategy that the Revolutionary Socialist League is fighting for, outside the prisons and on the inside. And this is why the RSL is building the fight to free the August 8th Brigade—not only to free the Brigade, but also to show our brothers and sisters that the way to fight against the attacks is to unite the working class against the capitalists.

The prisoners' rebellion at Napanoch was a fight against unsanitary conditions and racist harassment by prison guards, members of the Ku Klux Klan. The struggle against this kind of oppression goes on outside the prisons as well. Working-class people are faced with racist and sexist attacks both outside the prisons and on the inside. In the prisons we are faced with inadequate space and unsanitary living conditions. Outside the prisons, working people have to fight for decent housing.

Both inside and outside the prisons, our struggles are the same—they are one struggle against the capitalist system.

PRISONERS AND THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE



women go to prison for "crimes" that are really caused because the system makes it almost impossible for a woman to find a decent job—"crimes" like passing bad checks, stealing, lying to welfare, or prostitution. Mothers in prison have a hell of a time trying to get to see their children. Sometimes the state takes a woman's children away. So-called rehabilitation for women prisoners means being trained to be a housewife—cooking, laundry and other types of

while millions of dollars of profit are made by the state. Further, prisoners have no rights to organize. And without a union to defend your rights, the prison bosses get away with all kinds of harassment.

Just like the rest of the society, the prisons use a system of bribery and punishment to try to keep prisoners from fighting back. If you try to get over on your sisters or brothers—if you give in to the prison keepers—you get extra time to

periences, prisoners can see how the prisons serve the capitalists and help maintain their system of exploitation and brutality.

Many of the sisters and brothers who are in prison today are among the most revolutionary sections of the working class. They understand that capitalism is a death trap and must be destroyed. Further, they are actively organizing and educating themselves and their comrades about the struggle for socialist revolution.

Rebels Write On:

Pontiac Prison Revolt

The following letters were sent to the Torch/La Antorcha by prisoners at the Pontiac State Penitentiary in Illinois. On July 22, prisoners at Pontiac rebelled against the brutal prison conditions and racist guards. During the rebellion, three guards were killed and three more injured. The letters explain some of the reasons for the rebellion.

"From the bowels of Illinois"

Dear Editor:

Several moments ago I received my August/September issue of the Torch. I commend you for your excellent news reporting. However, I am compelled to criticize you (the Torch) for helping propagate imperialist propaganda.

In your feature section of the Torch "Break the Chains," you reported that the Comrades-Brothers at Reidsville state kamp, Geor-

gia, heard about the revolt here at Pontiac and staged their own rebellion. Such reporting is ridiculous, and akin to the reporting done by the imperialist press (news media) which facilitated the Attica massacre.

I am sure that when the Comrades-Brothers at Reidsville revolted, it was because of 24 hours of "degradation and humiliation," "inhuman living conditions and racism," and not because the Comrades-Brothers here at Pontiac were no longer willing to compel themselves to endure those like conditions.

When revolutionary organs such as the Torch resort to relying on the imperialist press as a source for information to be disseminated among the masses, the truths of what goes on in the bowels of amerikkka, and what inhuman and racist conditions exist which make revolts inevitable, will never be known by the masses.

Finally, I wish to make known to those kamp, officials, FBI and CIA agents who will read this before it is

received by you. As "Prisoners of War," we have no acrimony against the correctional officers. It's their uniform we hate. So when we stab at their uniform, and there happens to be a man inside, we're sorry, there's not much we can do about it. It is not the correctional officer—his function we want to eliminate. Not one of those officers who died July 22nd was innocent.

I greet you with the heart of a New Afrikan Freedom Fighter! I salute you with a mailed clenched fist! From the bowels of Illinois, Comrade M. Pontiac, IL

"We are treated like animals"

Dear Comrades of Torch,

I hope when you read this letter the struggles for the oppressed people are going strong. Well, my name is B. and I'm doing time in Pontiac.

Today I read the Torch and read what you wrote about

Pontiac. I'd like to say that it wasn't organized the way it should have been. But let me say we did get down. The only reason we had a riot was because the pigs here treat us as animals. You were right, we were treated as animals and we still are. All we ask for is better food, clothing, education, etc., etc. These pigs took our Latin studies and Black studies away just to put the library in a bigger space. We wrote to a lot of people for help and nothing. Then they tried to make us walk around the grounds with our shirts on in 90 to 100 degrees. Then we have to take all this swearing the police give us if and if we swear back we end up in the hole! Let me say if the pigs here don't change their ways, there will be an organized revolt and more people will rise than the last time. People of the Torch, we prisoners will fight back till the last one if we have to. All we ask is to be treated as humans!!

Long live the struggle, Comrade B. Pontiac, IL

Love Canal: Where Death Cost a Dollar

Love Canal is a quiet working-class community in upstate New York, eight miles from Niagara Falls. Like many such communities, Love Canal was built on a landfill. Only this particular landfill is sitting on top of a chemical dump. For 23 years, the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company buried tons of chemical wastes there. In 1953, Hooker filled in the dump and sold it to the city for \$1. The city built a school on part of the landfill and sold the rest to a developer to build houses.

Workers who bought homes in Love Canal didn't know they were moving into a potential disaster area. Even though a lot of children were born with birth defects—four retarded children in one block; even though an awful lot of women had miscarriages—50 percent more than average; even though too many people died from cancer; nobody knew why until three years ago when heavy rains started flushing out the chemicals! A poisonous mud coming out of the ground burned holes in the kids' sneakers. Trees turned black and died. The air stank.

The city council ignored

the complaints of community residents. The county health commissioner laughed. Finally the people organized and forced the state health authorities to investigate.

So far, scientists have identified 82 different chemicals in the dump, 11 of them known cancer-causing agents. Blood tests reveal that the majority of the residents have blood counts showing signs of cancer or liver disease. No one can say for sure how many children who have no visible birth defects will be affected later in life or whether they'll be able to have healthy children some day.

Workers victimized

The residents of Love Canal have no place else to go. Most of them are workers. Quite a few work in chemical plants, so they're doubly exposed, on the job and at home.

Since this is an election year, New York Governor Carey has promised that the state will buy up their now worthless homes. But whatever the state pays won't be enough for them to buy new

houses. They're stuck.

Love Canal no accident

Love Canal is no accident. There are known places just like it in Tennessee, Massachusetts and Michigan. Health experts suspect that there may be anywhere from 400 to 1,000 communities like Love Canal. Nobody knows how many people are being slowly poisoned where they live and where they work.

There are over 70,000 chemicals now in use. Over 1,000 more are developed each year. A lot of them shouldn't be on the market. Hundreds are known to cause cancer. Many cause birth defects or sterility. According to a government survey, 25 percent of U.S. workers are exposed to deadly substances every day on their jobs. And when they leave their workplace, the poisons follow them home, in the form of industrial waste.

For example, the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company no longer buries chemical wastes in Love Canal. But they still dump them into the Niagara River. That's



how industry gets rid of wastes in this society, by burying it in the ground, or pouring it into the nearest river or lake.

Today's advanced technology could make the job safe for the workers, and it could find ways to dispose of waste materials instead of just dumping them.

But to do all that would cost money, and the capitalists don't want to spend money. They don't care how many workers die of cancer

or how many children are born deformed, as long as the profits keep rolling in.

That's one of the reasons we need a revolution. To get rid of places like Love Canal! When the working class controls production, we'll test every substance to make sure it's safe and necessary for human use. We'll take dangerous materials out of circulation. We'll control the use of chemicals for the benefit of society—not let them control us. □

September 3,
1868

Remember El Grito de Lares!

By ADELE LOHMAN

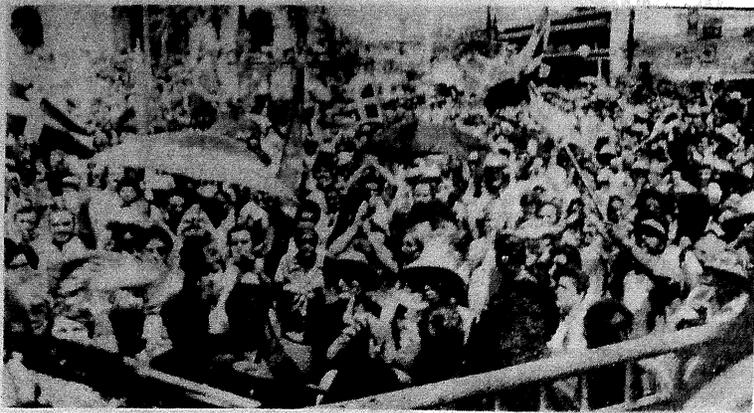
One hundred and ten years ago Puerto Rican revolutionaries rose in armed rebellion against Spain. Their proclamation, El Grito de Lares (the Cry of Lares), called for independence and an end to slavery.

On the night of September 23, 1868, 400 armed men under the command of Manuel Rojas took the town of Lares. They declared the Republic of Puerto Rico and formed a provisional government. The next morning the rebel army set out to liberate the neighboring town of San Sebastian. But the knives and machetes of peasants and agricultural laborers didn't have a chance against the guns of the Spanish soldiers. Within two days most of the freedom fighters were either killed or imprisoned.

The Lares rebellion was defeated but not forgotten. It was the first uprising of Puerto Rican revolutionaries against colonial rule. There have been—and will be—many more.

U.S. capitalists steal island

The United States took Puerto Rico from Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898. U.S. imperialism needed the island as a military base to give it control of the Caribbean. And they could make superprofits by exploiting the fertile soil and making the people work for



Mass demonstration in Puerto Rico to celebrate the Grito de Lares, 1976.

starvation wages.

U.S. sugar corporations turned the island into a big plantation. Puerto Rican peasants became landless laborers, forced to work in the cane fields or starve. There was no decent land left to grow food. To this day a big part of the island's food supply has to be imported from the U.S.

Today Puerto Rico is covered from one end to the other with U.S.-owned sweatshops. The U.S. points to the island as a miracle of development. This miracle was accomplished off the backs of the Puerto Rican working class. "Operation Bootstrap" was a plan to turn Puerto Rico into a bonanza for U.S. capitalism. The plan offered U.S. manufacturers tax exemptions and

low wages.

Any company that builds a plant in Puerto Rico pays no taxes for 10 to 17 years—no corporate taxes and no individual income tax for the American bosses. More importantly, wages are a lot lower than in the States. Since industry pays no taxes, the working class is made to pay for everything—roads, schools, all the services that a modern industrial society needs.

Puerto Rico is a colony!

With no taxes and low wages, is Puerto Rican industry producing cheap goods for the people who live there? No! Capitalists aren't interested in making

things that people need. They want to make high profits. So they make products for export, to sell at high prices in the U.S. and abroad. And everything the Puerto Rican workers need has to be imported from the U.S. They have to pay high U.S. prices plus shipping costs.

The cost of living in Puerto Rico is at least 25 percent higher than in New York City. But the average income is lower than in Mississippi, the poorest state in the U.S. Unemployment is near 40 percent, and the island has a high percentage of old people and young children because young adults are forced to leave and look for work in the U.S.

Puerto Rico is officially called a "Commonwealth"

(Estado Libre Asociado—Free Associated State). That's a fancy name to hide a plain fact: The island is a colony under U.S. rule just like it used to be under Spanish rule.

For independence and socialism

Puerto Rico is an oppressed country and has the right to be independent. But independence by itself wouldn't solve the problems of poverty and exploitation. The island has few natural resources such as minerals and it can't feed itself. Fifty years of growing nothing but sugar wrecked its agriculture; most of the good land is owned by absentee landlords. An independent capitalist Puerto Rico would still be dependent on the imperialist countries for most of its needs.

One hundred and ten years ago the rebels of Lares took on the armed might of the Spanish Empire. Their action has been an inspiration to Puerto Rican revolutionaries ever since. Today, the Puerto Rican working class has to take on a bigger giant: U.S. imperialism. To win real freedom and independence, workers and small farmers must fight for a socialist revolution in Puerto Rico and throughout the Caribbean. As was the Grito de Lares, such a revolution would be an inspiration to the workers and the oppressed all over the world to rise up against their masters. □

IRAN:

Mass Demonstrations Rock Shah's Regime

The oppressed masses in Iran are waging a heroic struggle to overthrow the brutal dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Pahlavi. On September 7 hundreds of thousands of people in Tehran, the national capital, took over the streets in anti-government demonstrations. They were rebelling against the shah's declaration of martial law the day before. Angry crowds in Tehran wrecked over 100 banks and

rallied at a mosque in Abadan to demand: "Death to the murdering shah!"

The following week the shah tried to quiet down the protests by reorganizing his regime. He appointed a new prime minister, Jaafar Sharif-Emami. Sharif-Emami then announced a series of measures aimed at winning right-wing religious support for the government. These included restoring the Moslem calendar, closing eight gambling casinos, and abolishing the post of Minister of State for Women's Affairs. He also announced that the government would allow the participation of "legitimate" — meaning pro-capitalist — political parties in elections scheduled for June 1979.

These fake "reforms" failed to end the mass campaign to overthrow the shah. By September 4, a new series of revolts had already exploded in at least 15 cities and towns. The government reacted by declaring martial law.

However, some right-wing

religious leaders and capitalist politicians are trying to use the mass opposition movement to grab more political power for themselves. While the masses were fighting the shah's army in the streets, they were warming up to the shah's "reform" government. Ayatollah Shahriatmadari, a Moslem religious leader, promised the government three months of peace. Ahmad Baniahmad, the "opposition" leader in the shah's rubber-stamp parliament, offered to negotiate with the new prime minister. Only the mass rebellions on September 4 forced him to reverse his stand and boycott the negotiations.

These traitors will never allow the masses to take power. The Iranian working class must reject their leadership in the opposition movement. A revolutionary leadership, determined to overthrow the shah and smash capitalism, must be built to lead the workers and peasants to power in Iran!



PSP, Cuba betray PR independence

On September 12, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization passed a resolution, submitted by Cuba and Iraq, which approves Puerto Rico's colonial status, under the guise of advancing its self-determination. In it the UN accepts "free association" so long as, in its words, "it is consistent with full sovereignty." It calls for elections to determine the island nation's future. (Puerto Rico's current status is called, in Spanish, "free associated state.")

This resolution is a bourgeois trick. What "free association" can there be between a small colonized nation and the strongest imperialist power in the world? Concerning elections, U.S. imperialism has always hidden its colonization of Puerto Rico and its brutal repression of the independentistas behind a curtain of "democracy." The resolution is a complete capitulation to U.S. imperialism on the part of the state-capitalist Castro regime. Cuba in recent years has played the champion of Puerto Rican independence at the UN. It has attacked Puerto Rico's current status as disguised colonialism. Now the Cuban "socialist" bourgeoisie is mending fences with the U.S. So last year's colonialism becomes this year's "self-determination" and "sovereignty."

Such cynical betrayals are understandable when they come from capitalist forces like Cuba, Iraq, and the UN. More disconcerting is the role played by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which claims to be a revolutionary party. The PSP joined the Cuban move. In so doing, it allied itself with the pro-imperialist Puerto Rican bourgeoisie, represented by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). Said PSP leader Juan Mari Bras: "I am totally satisfied with the resolution" — saying he had no reservations about it. And for good reason. He and ex-Governor Hernandez Colon of the PPD wrote the resolution which Cuba submitted!



The shah of Iran.

police stations, and in Qom and several other Iranian cities, demonstrations also broke out. Government troops, ordered in to stop the protests, fired machine-guns point-blank into crowds in Tehran and Qom. In Tehran, over 250 militants were slaughtered by the troops. Despite this brutal repression, the demonstrations continued for the next four days.

The last wave of rebellions began after more than 400 people were killed when arsonists set fire to a crowded movie theater in the city of Abadan. Many people in Iran immediately accused the shah's secret police of starting the fire. On August 21, at least 30,000 people

A FRIEND OF THE SHAH

While thousands of Iranians rebelled against the shah's government, Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-Feng paid an official state visit to Iran on August 29. The shah's troops shot down demonstrators in the streets, while Hua showered praises on this butcher as a fighter against imperialism. Once again, the state-capitalist rulers of China have shown their true colors as enemies of the working class.

The Chinese ruling class claims to stand for socialism. But it is openly allied with U.S. imperialism and its hired puppets. China was

the first country to give diplomatic recognition to the military dictators in Chile. The Chinese government saluted the imperialist invasion of Zaire by French and Belgian troops. Now it is holding hands with the shah, whose government is drenched with the blood of the Iranian people.

The capitalist rulers of China in alliance with the imperialists are trampling on the world revolutionary movement. This gives the lie to their claims to be the leader of the international struggle against capitalism. □

Zimbabwe: Racist regime collapsing

On September 10, Ian Smith, prime minister of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), declared martial law over large sections of the country. Three days earlier he said the government might have to delay the elections scheduled for the end of the year. These measures are an admission that the minority white rulers in Zimbabwe are rapidly losing control.

Last March, Smith worked out an "internal settlement" to share power with three Black politicians. He hoped the white rulers could hide behind these hacks while continuing to run the country. But the Patriotic Front, which has led the armed struggle in Zimbabwe, rejected the settlement and continued fighting. It now controls large areas of the country bordering on Zambia and Mozambique. It has broken down government authority over much of the countryside. As a result, over 1,000 whites are leaving Zimbabwe every month.

Last August, Smith held secret negotiations with Joshua Nkomo, leader of a wing of the Patriotic Front. He wanted to split the Patriotic Front by offering Nkomo a place in the settlement. But Nkomo refused any deal which did not give him supreme power. Now Smith has jailed 19 of Nkomo's supporters and refused further negotiations. He claims the shooting down of a plane carrying 48 whites by Nkomo's forces on September 3 ruined any chance of a deal. The truth is, Smith has nothing left to offer.

Latin American workers on the move

Latin American workers are fighting back against starvation wages and government repression. In Peru, 48,000 miners have been on strike since August 3. They are demanding a 25 percent wage hike and the rehiring of 311 miners fired for participating in general strikes against the government. On August 23, Peru's government declared a state of emergency in five mining provinces. It suspended the constitution and sent in troops and armored cars to suppress the strike. But the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers says the strike is continuing. The government has also tried to smash the miners' efforts to organize working-class support. Last August, over 5,000 miners and their families marched to Lima, the capital, to mobilize support there. On September 7 the government sent troops to drive the miners out. At least 15 miners were wounded in the attacks.

In Chile, workers are marking the fifth anniversary of the military government by stepping up the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship. In early September the government arrested copper miners at Chuquicamata, who have been on strike for several weeks. Police also jailed steelworkers at Huachipato for demonstrating for higher wages.

Meanwhile, in Santiago, on September 8, 100 militants demonstrated against the regime. Thirteen were arrested and later released. Fistfights broke out between militants and government supporters during illegal political meetings at the University of Chile and the Catholic University. And 17 people whose relatives have "disappeared" in Chilean prisons began a hunger strike, demanding that the government take action on their cases.

—PB & TC



On September 1, over 350 Iranian students, wearing masks to prevent identification by the police, marched in Los Angeles. They were protesting false accusations in the U.S. press that Iranian leftists were responsible for the fire which killed over 400 people in a movie theater in Abadan, Iran. (See article on this page.) Club-wielding cops attacked the march, injuring 25 demonstrators. The students fought back and put five cops out of action. One hundred and ninety-two students were arrested. U.S. cops and FBI agents regularly supply the names of Iranian militants in the U.S. to the shah of Iran's secret police. They and their relatives face deportation, imprisonment and torture for opposing the shah's dictatorship. DOWN WITH THE SHAH!

Mass Demonstrations Rock Shah's Regime

The oppressed masses in Iran are waging a heroic struggle to overthrow the brutal dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Pahlavi. On September 7 hundreds of thousands of people in Tehran, the national capital, took over the streets in anti-government demonstrations. They were rebelling against the shah's declaration of martial law the day before. Angry crowds in Tehran wrecked over 100 banks and



The shah of Iran.

police stations, and in Qom and several other Iranian cities, demonstrations also broke out. Government troops, ordered in to stop the protests, fired machine-guns point-blank into crowds in Tehran and Qom. In Tehran, over 250 militants were slaughtered by the troops. Despite this brutal repression, the demonstrations continued for the next four days.

The last wave of rebellions began after more than 400 people were killed when arsonists set fire to a crowded movie theater in the city of Abadan. Many people in Iran immediately accused the shah's secret police of starting the fire. On August 21, at least 30,000 people

rallied at a mosque in Abadan to demand: "Death to the murdering shah!"

The following week the shah tried to quiet down the protests by reorganizing his regime. He appointed a new prime minister, Jaafar Sharif-Emami. Sharif-Emami then announced a series of measures aimed at winning right-wing religious support for the government. These included restoring the Moslem calendar, closing eight gambling casinos, and abolishing the post of Minister of State for Women's Affairs. He also announced that the government would allow the participation of "legitimate"—meaning pro-capitalist—political parties in elections scheduled for June 1979.

These fake "reforms" failed to end the mass campaign to overthrow the shah. By September 4, a new series of revolts had already exploded in at least 15 cities and towns. The government reacted by declaring martial law.

However, some right-wing

religious leaders and capitalist politicians are trying to use the mass opposition movement to grab more political power for themselves. While the masses were fighting the shah's army in the streets, they were warming up to the shah's "reform" government. Ayatollah Shahriatmadari, a Moslem religious leader, promised the government three months of peace. Ahmad Banihmad, the "opposition" leader in the shah's rubber-stamp parliament, offered to negotiate with the new prime minister. Only the mass rebellions on September 4 forced him to reverse his stand and boycott the negotiations.

These traitors will never allow the masses to take power. The Iranian working class must reject their leadership in the opposition movement. A revolutionary leadership, determined to overthrow the shah and smash capitalism, must be built to lead the workers and peasants to power in Iran. □

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the first country to give diplomatic recognition to the military dictators in Chile. The Chinese government saluted the imperialist invasion of Zaire by French and Belgian troops. Now it is holding hands with the shah, whose government is drenched with the blood of the Iranian people.

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PSP, Cuba betray PR independence

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This resolution is a bourgeois trick. What "free association" can there be between a small colonized nation and the strongest imperialist power in the world? Concerning elections, U.S. imperialism has always hidden its colonization of Puerto Rico and its brutal repression of the independentistas behind a curtain of "democracy." The resolution is a complete capitulation to U.S. imperialism on the part of the state-capitalist Castro regime. Cuba in recent years has played the champion of Puerto Rican independence at the UN. It has attacked Puerto Rico's current status as disguised colonialism. Now the Cuban "socialist" bourgeoisie is mending fences with the U.S. So last year's colonialism becomes this year's "self-determination" and "sovereignty."

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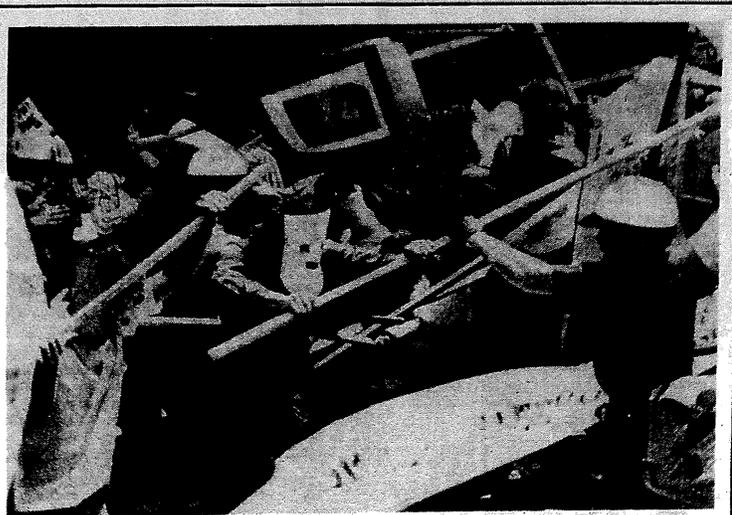
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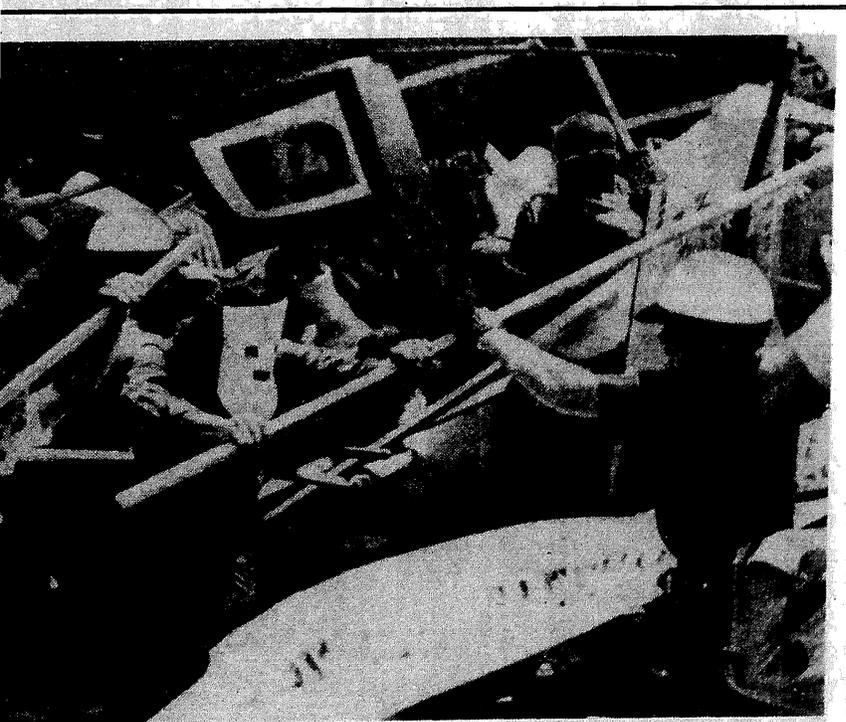
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else who might threaten its rule.

If the bourgeoisie manages to keep control of the anti-Somoza movement in its hands, and set up a so-called progressive government, the workers will end up paying dearly. After Somoza goes, the workers will see Somoza's departure as a green light to widen their struggle against the rotten conditions that they live and work under. At that point, or as soon as the tactical situation permits, a so-called progressive government of the bourgeoisie will turn on the workers with all its fury.

The Tercerista wing of the FSLN bears the main responsibility for the fact that the bourgeoisie has seized the leadership of the struggle. The Terceristas claim to be revolutionary Marxists. But they worked out their strategic political alliance with the bourgeoisie just when Somoza and the capitalist system started to unravel.

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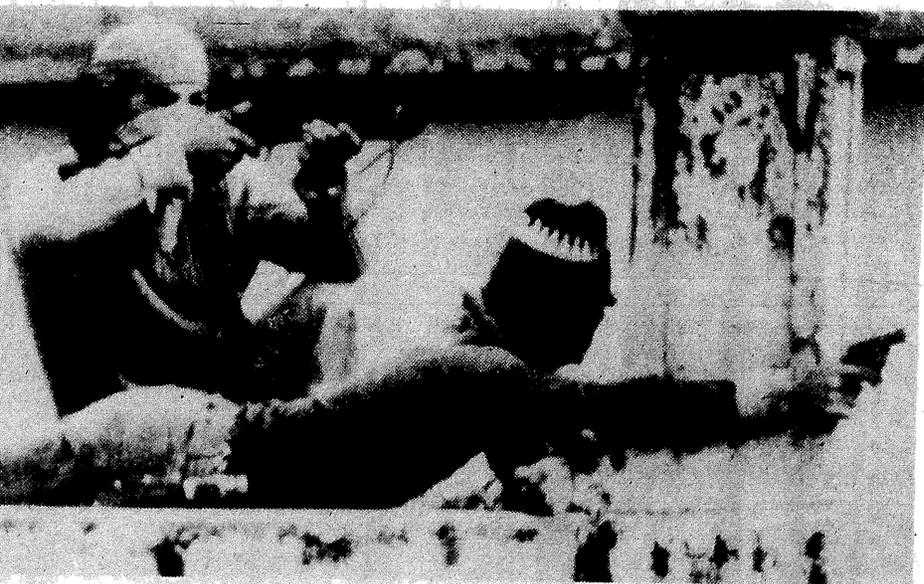
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But after Somoza goes, the Terceristas will continue to back the bourgeoisie in its efforts to regain political control.

To get their alliance with the bourgeoisie, the Terceristas did not hesitate, even in the face of a threatening split in the FSLN. Their new-found policy led to the breaking up of the organization, since there were many militants who could not accept this class betrayal. The future of the Nicaraguan revolution lies with those who have rejected this sellout. In particular, this means the Proletarian Tendency of the FSLN. Although the politics of this tendency are far from clear to us, it is taking part in the current rebellion. And so far as we know, it remains the only wing of the FSLN that refuses to capitulate to the class treason of the Terceristas in the name of "unity."

The revolutionaries in the Proletarian Tendency should separate themselves organizationally from the Terceristas, and organize themselves as an independent party. This is the only way they will be able to provide the workers a clear choice between reform and revolution, and give them political and tactical leadership. These revolutionaries must devise a strategy to give the workers the political and military leader-

(Continued on page 11)



the battle of Matagalpa.

ANDINISTAS FOR SOCIALISM!

NICARAGUA EXPLODES

(Continued from page 1)
political prisoners released, they flew to neighboring Panama.

On August 25, the Broad Opposition Front (FAO)—a coalition of 15 organizations called a nationwide strike which has shut down more than 90 percent of all businesses.

Between August 27 and 29, some 1,000 rebel youths seized control of Matagalpa and held it for a week against overwhelming odds.

Three weeks after the start of the general strike, the country remains shut down tight. A wide range of anti-government forces are united in the FAO, including capitalist parties, private businesses, religious leaders, three union federations, and the Tercerista (Thirdist) wing of the FSLN. As a result of this broad alliance, the bourgeoisie is now in the lead of the anti-Somoza opposition, even though it is doing very little of the actual fighting.

Over the years, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie has always been a faithful ally of U.S. imperialism and of the Somoza family. But starting last year, the bourgeoisie decided it had to bring down Somoza at all costs. It started to fear that the longer Somoza remained in power,

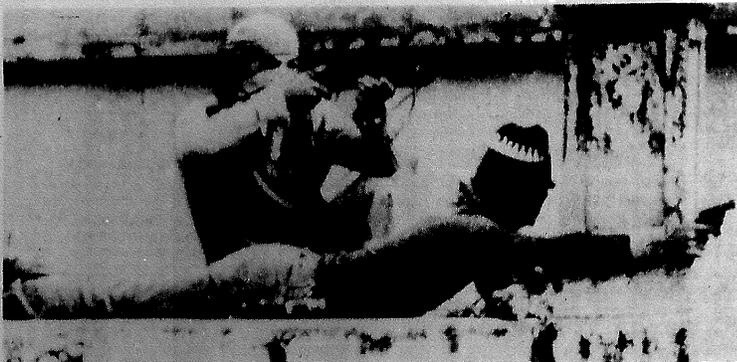
the more the working class would become a danger to the system.

The capitalists realize that if the workers get the chance, they will strike at the whole fabric of capitalism, which has oppressed and exploited them for decades. In the words of a leading Nicaraguan capitalist: "The longer Somoza stays, the closer he brings the country towards communism." This is why the capitalists formed their political alliance with the Terceristas, the labor bureaucrats and other forces.

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moza's early departure in order to set up a so-called democratic popular government. It hopes that this would cool things down, and allow it to keep its plants, property and power.

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DEFEND THE SANDINISTAS FOR SOCIALISM!

The night of Thursday, August 31, at 8 p.m. in MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, the reactionary ringleaders of the so-called Frente Amplio Antisomocista (FAA—Broad Anti-Somoza Front), attacked two members of Sandinistas por el Socialismo en Nicaragua (SSN—Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua).

The SSN members were on the corner of Seventh Street and Alvarado, selling the magazine *Rojo y Negro* and talking to workers about the class struggle in Nicaragua, a block away from where a group of people were assembling for a demonstration that the FAA had called for that night in the park.

Seeing the great interest with which workers were buying *Rojo y Negro*... six ringleaders of the Front came up to a member of the SSN, telling him that he was "confusing the people" by talking about socialism, and that they weren't going to permit it. He then tried to threaten him into leaving his assignment. Once he realized that the SSN members were determined to stay at their posts, the person in charge of press and "propaganda" for the FAA, a member of La Raza Unida, hurled himself hysterically at a member of the

SSN, striking him and throwing him into the street.

The assault was used to try to get the group under its rotten influence to join in the attack, stirring it up with anti-communist slogans and urging it to tear up the newspapers of the SSN, like they were doing. This attempt, however, came up against determined resistance from a group of workers who had remained around the SSN members and among whom stood members of the Progressive Labor Party.

On January 22, 1978, in a message sent to members of the FAA after their reactionary ringleaders had initiated a semi-public campaign of lies, slanders and threats, the SSN maintained that:

"The peaceful resolution of these contradictions must be an important task of revolutionary groups in the struggle against the common class enemy. To attempt to solve these contradictions by means of crude attacks by one group on another can only lead to the direct collaboration with the forces of oppression....

"We favor the development of a dialogue directed at establishing the basis for complete unification of the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement...."

Consistent with their political principles of struggle,

the SSN members decided to respond to the aggression of the reactionary ringleaders of the FAA with an invitation to a political forum in order that the workers themselves could decide which of the two groups represents and defends in practice the interests of the Nicaraguan working class. This invitation was made personally the following Friday, September 1, by a member of the SSN to the key honcho of the FAA, who responded that the SSN "would have to take the consequences" if they returned to MacArthur Park, where he would be with "his people" at nine that night.... Finding himself completely out of control and not interested at all in a peaceful settlement, the main ringleader of the FAA threw himself on the member of the SSN, dealing him a sneaky blow in the face as clear proof that he would carry out his threats.

Confronted with the necessity of continuing their revolutionary work of political education of the working class concerning the class struggle in Nicaragua, and facing the probability of another physical attack by the reactionary ringleaders of the FAA, the SSN members decided to carry out their assignment with the help of a group of revolu-

tionary workers from the Revolutionary Socialist League.

This time... the reactionary ringleaders of the FAA took "their people" away from the influence of communist workers, thus completing their rotten role as enemies of the working class. The SSN members, on the contrary, continued their task by selling more than 100 copies of *Rojo y Negro*, thus educating more than 100 workers.

The provocative action of the FAA... served only to uncover the counter-revolutionary character of the FAA ringleaders before the eyes of the North American working class, that they try to trick with their religious "anti-Somoza" mask. The harshest lesson that the FAA ringleaders got was that it was precisely workers—like those they arbitrarily try to keep away from the principles of socialism and keep from assuming the post that belongs to them alone as vanguard of the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the Somoza Military Dictatorship—who came to the defense of the SSN. This is the clearest proof that the workers are capable of absorbing the ideas based on their class outlook. They know how to identify the true

defenders of their interests and take on their enemies.

Class struggle continues

Since October of 1977, the SSN has been under the constant harassment, threats and sneak attacks of the reactionary ringleaders of the FAA. These attacks are based primarily in the political class character that distinguishes and sets apart both groups....

The FAA, known before as the Committee for Restoration of Human Rights in Nicaragua and, even earlier, as the Latin American Civic Committee for Nicaraguan Liberation (CCLN), is what is left of an organization that in 1975 claimed to be "socialist" and "anti-imperialist," and to oppose the conception of a purely anti-Somoza struggle because they considered it a strategy of the bourgeoisie, with whom they were in "total opposition of interests."

However, after October of 1977, the reactionary ringleaders of the CCLN decided to change the name, "for tactical reasons," for one which would be more in accord with the "new" politics of human rights advanced by Yankee Imperialism. (Continued on page 17)

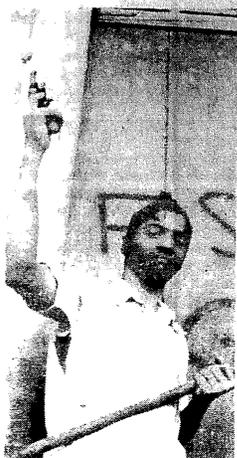
Letter From the Broad Anti-Somoza Front

Dear Editor

We have received the July-August 1978 issue of your revolutionary newspaper. We have read all the articles and commentaries in the Spanish section, which seemed to us very important, and speaking for myself and the comrades who make up the Frente Amplio Antisomocista en Los Angeles (FAALA—Broad Anti-Somoza Front), permit me to congratulate you on the revolutionary approach which you take. However, we are obliged to respectfully ask that you allow us to clarify certain points which we think pertinent in relation to the interview with certain members of the so-called Sandinistas for Socialism. This interview appears under the title: "The Struggle for Socialism in Nicaragua—Interview with Nicaraguan Revolutionaries."

The points we wish to clarify are these:

A) The aforementioned interviewees are a (small) group whose socialist (Marxist-Leninist) convictions we do not doubt. [For security reasons, we have left out the



exact number of people listed in the original letter—Ed.] But their practice has a dogmatic and theoretical form, which has led to their isolation from the Nicaraguan people. They were expelled from our organization for this same dogmatism and lack of discipline at a time when we appeared under a different name for tactical reasons.

B) The so-called Sandinistas for Socialism (SPS) are lying when they say they are sympathetic to the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinist National Liberation Front), since they have continually attacked the glorious, revolutionary FSLN in their paper and at public meetings. However, when it's a question of soliciting economic aid, they have been able to deceive certain people and groups by proclaiming themselves FSLN sympathizers.

C) One of those interviewed, who functions as the chief or "brain" of the mini-



Nicaraguans cheer as guerrillas' plane takes off for Panama.

group SPS, when asked if there are national liberation groups, among them the FSLN, who have adopted the strategy (my emphasis) of alliance with progressive capitalists, says that he only accepts this strategy in theory. Here it is necessary to point out that all theory which is not carried out in practice is time lost, and unfortunately G... has his head full of theories that he never puts into practice. In any case he has never applied them to date.

D) La Antorcha asked the mini-sect SPS if there were divisions within the FSLN and they answered yes, and listed three:

- 1) Those who advocate prolonged people's war;
- 2) The Terceristas, or those who accept the participation of all sectors in Nicaragua, including the bourgeoisie;
- 3) The proletarian faction, which advocates developing a program of political education of the working masses with the aim of forming a political party.

He was then asked which of the three he identified with. After going off on a tangent so comical it surpassed Cantinflas, the famous Mexican comedian, the question remained unanswered. Why? Because this grouplet doesn't sympathize with the FSLN or any faction in it. Nor will they support anyone who doesn't accept their dogmatic theories. This can be easily seen with the last question, which was:

"What is the relative strength of the faction that

represents your point of view?" The SPS replied: "We don't think there is a group that represents us within the current divisions in the FSLN right now," etc., etc. Is that clear? Because of this we of the FAALA reaffirm that there is no room among Nicaraguan revolutionaries or revolutionaries anywhere in the world for the SPS members, now or ever. The only "comrades" for the theories espoused by the SPS are those you can find in cafes or restaurants where certain individuals gather to make the world revolution over a hot cup of coffee. These are the same people who believe that the socialism of Marx and Lenin can be transmitted anywhere as if by magic, overnight, or by simple prescription. They can't consider that our peoples, and the Nicaraguan people in particular, have never even known democracy, so how are they to set themselves the goal, "at one blow," of socialism. This will happen, but at the appropriate time and when the people understand it and want it.

Finally, to clear up other points raised by the SPS, you will find attached to this letter copies of FSLN documents which will show we are not only trying to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship (though this is our first objective), but that we will also make many changes when we form the future Popular Democratic Government with the glorious and heroic FSLN at its head as the guiding armed hand of

the Nicaraguan people.

Moreover, to bring you up to date on internal developments in the FSLN, I also attach the declarations of Comrade Plutarco, whose authority inside and outside of Nicaragua no one can doubt.

**For the FAALA,
Press Secretary,
Pedro Arias**
(The letter was approved by a general meeting of the FAALA [22 signatures are attached.])

RSL REPLIES:

Dear comrades

Thank you very much for your letter. We are aware of the importance of opening discussions and debates concerning the tasks of revolutionaries, particularly now when the Nicaraguan masses are in open insurrection against the state.

Nicaragua Explodes!

(Continued from page 10) ship of the current struggle. They must explain why the workers should place no confidence in the bourgeoisie opposition or in any other self-styled "popular forces" which try to seize the leadership of the struggle. They must show why the goal of the struggle must be to set up a workers' and peasants' government. In addition! they should agitate for the formation of workers' and peasants' committees throughout the country. These committees must organize the broad masses of workers and peasants, and must be democratically run by the workers and peasants themselves.

In addition, revolutionaries should call for the organization of a workers' militia, affiliated with the committees and in conjunction with the trade unions. This militia can then be used to both topple Somoza and defend the workers' and peasants' movement from the bourgeoisie.

If such workers' and peasants' committees can be organized, given a broad popular armed base, they can be-

You raise various points in your letter which seem to us to be little more than subjective or personal questions or irrelevancies (like the size of the SSN which you call SPS). Other points are inexact. For instance, it seems to us, upon reading the SSN periodical that the group does support a wing of the FSLN—the Proletarian Tendency.

However, you evade the central point that is that there is a line of blood that separates the SSN from your group. You have placed yourselves in a traitorous alliance with the bourgeoisie of your own country. You are deceiving the workers and peasants. You are helping the bourgeoisie to cover its tracks with phrases like "the future Popular Democratic Government" which cannot and will not be anything more than a capitalist government in short. You have placed yourselves in a strategic alliance with the hangmen of the working class.

The comrades of the SSN on the other hand, whatever problems they may or may not have, have taken a consistently revolutionary Marxist line. They reject a strategic alliance with the class enemy. Unlike you they understand very well that the workers that are fighting right now, arms in hand, are quite capable of recognizing their class interests. Unlike you, they tell the workers that they can and must break with the bourgeoisie and take power.

It seems to us that it precisely this consistent Marxist position of the SSN, that has led to the victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution in Nicaragua.

Fraternally
Tony Curzo
for the RSL

come the backbone of the workers' seizure of power and the core of a future workers' government.

While Somoza is still around, the revolutionaries in the Proletarian Tendency should enter into a tactical (i.e. temporary) military bloc with all forces and classes which are actually fighting Somoza. This tactical bloc can greatly increase the military pressure against the enemy and assist in the mobilization of the masses. While in this bloc, the Proletarian Tendency should continue to fight for a strategy of socialist revolution, and to counterpose this strategy to that of all the other forces.

It is possible that in the next few days Somoza may be toppled. Even should he manage to hang on, it is unlikely to be for long. But Somoza's downfall will hardly be the end of the struggle. A new period of unprecedented struggles lies ahead. The workers' revolution is on the agenda. If the revolutionaries do their work well, they will open up a new and more heroic page in the history of the Nicaraguan people.

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In the following article, the first part of a series, Ron Taber, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist League, outlines the nature of the period and one of the main threats to the workers' movement—the growth of the right-wing forces. In addition, the article discusses a strategy to fight the most dangerous section of the right wing—the Nazis and the Klan.

Next month, Part II will cover the threat to the workers' movement from within—the growing reformist forces on the left itself.

By RON TABER

U.S. capitalism is in trouble. Despite what the government says, the economy is clearly heading for a crisis of major proportions. Exactly when it will come cannot be predicted, but a tremendous economic depression is on the agenda for this country.

However, it is not just U.S. capitalism that is headed for such a crash. The entire world economy is charging full steam ahead in the same direction. In the 30 years since World War II, international capitalism has not solved any of its problems. On the contrary, the international capitalist class merely learned how to hide and/or temporarily suppress the contradictions of the system. But now these contradictions are breaking out into the open with a fury that reflects the accumulated pressure of 30 years.

The coming world crisis will not be merely an economic one. In this epoch the political, social and economic aspects of society are increasingly interconnected. The coming depression will throw all of society into chaos.

Imperialist crisis and socialist revolution

The relative political stability of the U.S. for the past 30 years was based on the ability of the U.S. ruling class to provide large sectors of the population with a relatively comfortable standard of living, or at least the promise of one.



July 9, 1978: Black man attacked by racists in Marquette Park during Nazi rally.

The economic fat that made this possible resulted from the U.S.'s position as the dominant world power and chief imperialist looter. Today, the U.S. is losing this position. As this happens, and as the system as a whole heads toward a crash, the imperialists' ability to bribe sections of the working class will decrease.

The result will be a stupendous heightening of the class struggle. Whole sections of society previously quiet will go into motion in a desperate struggle to retain the standard of living they were accustomed to. This will tear to shreds the entire political and social fabric of the system.

This process will occur throughout the world—not only in the traditional capitalist countries, but also in those that call themselves "socialist." The result will be a total crisis of world capitalism, a crisis that will make the 1930s appear mild by comparison—a tremendous increase in the class struggle; an aggressive capitalist attack on the workers and other oppressed people to try to make them pay for the crisis; the rise of mass Nazi/right-wing movements; and a powerful drive toward militarism, world war and possibly the total destruction of humankind.

There is only one way out of the barbarous future that capitalism has in store for us. This is an international socialist revolution, a revolution in which the workers, peasants and oppressed people rise up, overthrow the capitalists and set up a society run collectively and democratically by themselves.

Right now the tremendous economic apparatus produced by capitalism is controlled by a small minority of society. As long as this is the case, this apparatus can only serve as a weapon in the struggle among this minority over who is to dominate the world and plunder its people and resources. Only if this apparatus—the means of production (and destruction)—is placed in the hands of the working class and its allies can this bleak future be avoided. In other words, the choice facing humanity today is "socialism or barbarism."

This worldwide proletarian revolution is not only necessary; it is also possible. As we have mentioned, the developing crisis will shake up millions of people, who will enter into struggle on a scale never seen before. It will clearly demonstrate to them that capitalism is a decrepit system, a rotting corpse. Meanwhile, the capitalists themselves will be at each others' throats, as one part of the class tries to save itself at the expense of the others. In short, the objective conditions for a successful international socialist revolution will be present.

However, one condition may be lacking. The enemy is well-armed and highly dangerous. To beat the capitalists, we will have to be organized and united. Above all, we will need a political leadership that can unite our forces and chart the course to victory. To Leninists, this means—and can only mean—a revolutionary party.

If we are to emerge victorious from the coming crisis, we will need an international revolutionary party, based on the model provided by the Bolshevik Party and the Third International. It must be a strong and disciplined party. It must be primarily made

up of workers who are prepared to devote their lives to overthrowing the capitalist gangsters who dominate and control the world. This party must be steered in the understanding that world capitalism can only be overthrown in a powerful revolution, led by an armed, class-conscious proletariat.

Unfortunately, such a party does not exist. In the U.S., as throughout the world, there are many left groups each claiming to be revolutionary, and all claiming to be either the revolutionary party or the nucleus of such a party. By and large, these organizations are small and lack any significant influence in the working class. A real danger exists that as the crisis emerges and the capitalists prepare themselves for the coming struggle, there will be no revolutionary party to guide the working class in its fight to the death against the capitalists.

U.S. capitalists prepare for showdown

There can be no doubt that the capitalists in the U.S. are preparing for this showdown. For the past few years, they have aimed their fire at the weaker, less-well-organized sectors of

the workers. Afraid to take the workers in basic industry head-on, the capitalists pursued a flanking operation. Now they are beginning to take on the better-organized workers. In the coal strike of this past winter, the miners faced a calculated capitalist campaign to wipe out the rank-and-file movement and permanently cripple the union. This spring and summer, municipal and postal workers also had to engage in pitched battles merely to hold their own.

The present and potential allies of the capitalist class are also getting ready for the coming crisis. The right-wing movement, for example, is growing and getting organized. The most dangerous are the extreme right-wing racists like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. Today, these groups are small, and many liberals like to downplay the threat they represent. But they have a tremendous growth potential, especially in a period such as the one we are entering.

Right-wing forces growing

As society decays, people will look for radical and total solutions to the misery that they face. The Nazis and the KKK are among the few political forces that pose, or appear to pose, a radical answer to the problems of society. That these solutions are false will matter little to confused and hysterical people searching desperately for a way out of the crisis. Sections of the middle class, better-off layers of white workers, poor and unemployed white workers, all poisoned by the racism of this society, are easy prey for the Nazi and Klan demagogues.

Basing themselves on such social forces, the Nazis and Klan are trying to build a mass movement which can hire itself out to the capitalists at the proper moment. When the capitalists feel that they might need an additional club to keep the workers and other oppressed people in line, they will turn to the Nazis, the Klan and similar organizations with money and support. If need be, the capitalists will place them in power (as they did in Germany and Italy), so the fascists will smash the unions and other working-class and left organizations, throw Blacks, Latins, Asians, gays and Jews into concentration camps, and turn the

rest of the workers into slaves.

In addition to the Nazis and the Klan, there are other right-wing forces on the rise. They are the people behind Proposition 13 in California and similar proposals. They are the people, such as Anita Bryant, who are organizing to attack the rights of women and gays. They are the forces behind Bakke and the attacks on Blacks, Latins and Asians generally. They are also the academic right-wingers, professors, economists, philosophers and others who are providing the ideological weapons for the capitalist offensive against the workers and oppressed people.

The leadership of this section of the right wing appears to consist of elements from the right-wing sections of the ruling class, small businessmen, and politicians and intellectuals. Unfortunately, they have managed to mobilize a significant number of white lower-middle-class and working-class people behind their American flag, apple pie, and Bible crusade. The capitalist class as a whole has already shown its willingness to use this movement as a screen for an attack on the labor movement and the entire working class.

A first step in organizing and preparing the working class for the coming crisis must be taking on this growing right-wing threat. How to do this is one of the crucial questions facing the left today. Future articles in the *Torch/La Antorcha* will discuss the fight against Bakke, Anita Bryant, Jarvis-Gann and other forces of the "respectable" right. Here we will discuss how to combat the "extreme" right-wing organizations, such as the Nazis and the Klan.

In past issues of the *Torch/La Antorcha*, we have put forward a two-pronged strategy. First, we have argued that the Nazis and the Klan must be confronted through direct action. The left and labor organizations must organize to defend workers and oppressed people from physical assault by the Nazis, the Klan and similar forces (such as the anti-abortion fanatics, who have fire-bombed and attacked abortion clinics).

In addition to defensive operations we must also organize to take offensive action where and when this is possible. For example, where the balance of forces allows it, we must organize to drive the Nazis and the Klan off the streets. We must also

UNITE TO FIGHT THE RIGHT!



Anti-Nazi demonstrators charge police barricades at Chicago federal building on June 24.

organize commando-type actions, attack their rallies, close their stores and break up their marches. Nazis and Klan organize by threatening and using violence. We must be prepared to reply to them in kind, organized and effective way.

The second prong of our strategy to organize among the workers and other oppressed sections around a program that addresses their needs, we have said, the Nazis and Klan recruit among social layers—wholly white—who are being oppressed by the developing crisis. These people see Blacks, Latins, Asians, women and gays, and the whole as a threat. Fearful that they might lose the little they have, they buy the myth that the problem is people trying to steal their homes, etc., rather than the decay of the capitalist system.

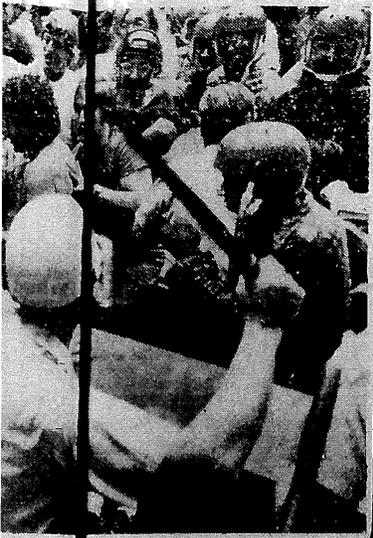
As long as there appears to be no alternative to fighting over a shrinking social "pie," the Nazis and the Klan will get a hearing among these people.

The only way to undercut the power of the right is to organize a working movement that can fight for and win the things that people need, for example, jobs, housing and schools. We can demonstrate concretely that there is an alternative to the Nazi/Klan



Detroit workers demonstrate against...

FIGHT FIGHT!



lution." And it can win to the ranks of the workers' movement many of these people who are now open to Nazi/Klan propaganda.

In all areas of our organizing, we must carry out consistent propaganda explaining that capitalism is responsible for unemployment, rising prices, rotten schools and housing, and the rest of the decay we see around us. And we must expose the fact that, while the Nazis and the Klan make Blacks, Jews, gays and other oppressed people the scapegoat for the crisis, their aim is to destroy the entire workers' movement. Therefore, they are a threat to all workers—Black, Latin, Asian and white.

At the present time, we see two main arenas for carrying out this anti-right-wing organizing. One arena is the trade unions. Revolutionaries must organize to get the entire labor movement to take up the fight against the Nazis, the Klan and the other right-wing forces. We must build support for the proposal that the unions organize defense guards that can take up the military side of the struggle. In addition, we must fight to get the labor movement to take up the struggle for the things the workers and all oppressed people need.

However, there is very little chance that the unions will today take serious steps to defeat the Nazis and the Klan. This will take a serious struggle inside the unions as well as an increase in the class struggle as a whole.

But we cannot wait to take action against the Klan and Nazis. This would only give them more time to organize and grow. We must take on the Nazis and other right-wing forces in the other arena open to us—the streets. In fact, decisive action in the streets against the extreme right-wing forces will demonstrate to the workers in the unions that such a struggle is possible.

Direct confrontation with the Nazis and the Klan has already occurred in a number of places, such as Oxnard, California; Detroit; St. Louis; and at Marquette Park and the Federal Building in Chicago. This work must be stepped up and systematized.

A number of objections have been raised against the approach we are proposing. One is the argument that the Nazis, Klan and similar forces are a lunatic fringe—that they are not really important and we should not be devoting our attention to them. Some organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party counterpose the struggle against the so-called respectable right, the people behind Bakke, Anita Bryant, the Briggs Initiative, Proposition 13, etc., to the fight against the Klan and the Nazis. There is no doubt that the struggle against the Bakke/Bryant/Briggs forces is important. But it is not counterposed to the anti-Nazi, anti-Klan fight.

In fact, it is part of the same battlefield. The "respectable" right is picking up support in the lower middle class and among better-off sections of the white workers. Meanwhile, the



Nazis like Frank Collin and his band must be smashed.

Klan and Nazis are making headway among different layers, mainly poor, white workers and unemployed white youth. We cannot leave these people to the Nazis and Klan uncontested.

The second objection we have heard in opposition to our approach is the claim that it is a mistake to meet the Nazi/Klan violence with physical force. Instead, the argument goes, we should limit ourselves to peaceful picketing. This argument is usually connected (explicitly or not) with the idea that we should rely on the capitalist state—the police and the courts—to keep the Nazis in check. These arguments reflect a profound misunderstanding of the origin of the right-wing threat and the strategy necessary to beat it.

In the first place, the "peaceful" approach tells the workers that they do not have the power to deal with the Nazis and the rest of the right wing. This can only sap the workers' self-confidence. Instead of becoming more determined to organize for the fight against the right wing, the workers will look to some other class to defend them from the Nazis and Klan.

In the second place, any strategy that tells the workers to rely on the police and the courts, spreads dangerous illusions about the capitalist state. It says that the state is neutral in the class struggle and therefore the workers can look to it for support and protection. This at a time when the state is one of the main weapons in the capitalists' offensive against the working class! This can hardly help the workers develop a true understanding of their tasks.

Left organizations divided

The struggle against the Nazis, Klan and other right-wing forces must be taken up now, in the unions, and in the streets and communities. Unfortunately, the left organizations presently willing to engage in the type of struggle we have proposed are relatively few and their resources are

limited. In particular, only a handful of organizations, such as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), ourselves and a few others, have seen the need to drive the Nazis and Klan off the street without relying on the police and courts.

The fact that so few organizations are prepared to take such action is bad enough. What is worse is the fact that up until now these organizations have failed to organize for a united struggle against the Klan and Nazis. In most cases, each organization has mobilized its own forces, made its own tactical plans, and carried out its own actions independently of the others.

The result, in many instances, has been a Nazi or Klan victory where coordinated action might have meant their defeat. Such was the case on August 4, when the Nazis rallied in Lansing, Illinois. The RSL, PLP and the Committee Against Racism (CAR—a group with close ties to the PLP) showed up to fight the Nazis, but failed to coordinate our activity.

RSL calls for united revolutionary fight

Our failure to unite our forces can only benefit the Nazis and the Klan. We are inadvertently giving them the opportunity to grow and gain footholds in areas they might not have. And while there are important political differences dividing the left-wing organizations, it is largely petty competition that prevents unity in action against the Nazis and Klan.

For these reasons, the RSL has proposed that those left organizations which agree on the need for a revolutionary class-struggle policy for fighting the Nazis and Klan take steps to unite our forces for this work. Right now, this means organizing a series of united fronts over specific anti-Nazi/anti-Klan demonstrations and similar actions. Through such united fronts, the RSL, PLP and other forces can arrange to coordinate tactics on the day of the actions.

Where this approach proves workable, it might be expanded to involve joint organizing (such as leafleting at factories and in working-class neighborhoods), as well as combining the contingents during the action itself. Where other organizations are involved, a united front committee can be set up to arrange coordination among a broader range of forces.

Finally, if this type of arrangement is successful, we can begin to apply it to other areas of anti-Nazi work—like the fight within the unions. Joint anti-Nazi resolutions can be raised in union meetings. United front petitions to form union defense squads can be circulated in the plants. Joint leafletting campaigns to raise consciousness about the right-wing threat can be carried out.

We must take the first step. The Revolutionary Socialist League calls on all organizations and individuals who want to participate in a united revolutionary fight against the Nazis, Klan, and other right-wing forces, to contact us. Time is short. We must unite our forces now.

organize commando-type actions to attack their rallies, close their bookstores and break up their marches. The Nazis and Klan organize by threatening and using violence. We must be prepared to reply to them in kind. In an organized and effective way.

The second prong of our strategy is to organize among the workers and other oppressed sections around a program that addresses their needs. As we have said, the Nazis and Klan recruit among social layers—overwhelmingly white—who are being hard pressed by the developing crisis. These people see Blacks, Latins, Asians, women and gays, and the left as a whole as a threat. Fearful that they might lose the little they have, they buy the myth that the problem is people trying to steal their jobs, homes, etc., rather than the decay of the capitalist system.

As long as there appears to be no alternative to fighting over a shrinking social "pie," the Nazis and the Klan will get a hearing among these people.

The only way to undercut the appeal of the right is to organize a workers' movement that can fight for and win the things that people need, for example, jobs, housing and schools. This can demonstrate concretely that there is an alternative to the Nazi/Klan "so-



Detroit workers demonstrate against the Nazis. December 1977.

Rank and File Fights Firings

The following article was sent to the *Torch/La Antorcha* by a supporter of the Detroit Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee, who is working with the Committee to Bring 'Em Back.

On May 11 workers at the Ford Tractor plant in Romeo, Michigan, wildcatted over speedup and harassment. Ford management responded by firing 17 workers. The United Auto Workers (UAW) International promised to fight the conditions in the plant and have an official strike to get the 17 workers' jobs back. After 11 days, Romeo workers ended their wildcat and returned to the plant.

Some Romeo workers believed the International's promises. Others did not and continued to organize to make sure that all 17 would be reinstated. They formed the Committee to Bring 'Em Back.

At the first meeting of the committee, people weren't sure what to do. Workers were angry at Ford's for years of rotten treatment. People were also angry at the UAW for selling out the strike. But no one had experience in building the kind

of defense that could bring back all the fired workers.

Supporters of the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee proposed that 'the most militant and dedicated workers in the plant—those who fought to organize the wildcat and fought against the International's sellout—should continue to meet and organize their forces by drawing out the lessons of the wildcat for the rest of the workers. Most importantly, they had to convince workers that the International and Local 400 bureaucrats were going to continue to sell out and that only militant rank-and-file action would get results. To accomplish this, they needed to build off the organization of the wildcat and show how the most militant workers in the plant could unite. In addition, they needed to build a leadership which represented the rank and file—a leadership that could organize the power of the ranks to fight the company and prevent a sellout.

This was not a quick or easy thing to do. Not all of the committee thought that it should be done—or could be done. People got together and did what they thought

was best. There were public meetings, building for union meetings, leaflets, buttons and a petition demanding a strike vote. All this was done plantwide. Some sections of the plant had work slowdowns.

Workers in the plant who saw it was important that

they take responsibility for organizing support for the fired workers became the core of the committee. They became a network of organizers in the plant.

Before the wildcat, some departments in the plant were tightly organized. There were also less organized

areas of militants who could fight for themselves and sometimes got others to stand up with them. But through working together, militants developed ways to organize plantwide, using departments that were united as models for other areas.

Finally, the organizing work paid off. Two months after it was promised, the local leadership was forced to schedule a strike vote. The committee organized for a "yes" vote. The plant voted overwhelmingly to strike—1253 to 93.

Support the Romeo Workers!



Eleven of the fired workers from Ford's Romeo Tractor plant. During an 11-day wildcat strike last May, 17 workers were fired.

Organize to strike!

Through these struggles, three things have become clear: The union bureaucrats have continued to sell out, rank-and-file action gets results—from the company and the union tops; and the ranks desperately need their own leadership to point the way forward.

Many battles still lie ahead. These include: 1) getting authorization from the International; 2) forcing a strike; 3) organizing a militant and effective strike; and, 4) building ties to auto-workers in other plants who will support a militant fight. The committee is taking up these tasks. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



67 fight deportation

Sixty-seven Latin workers are fighting deportation in Los Angeles as a result of a raid on the Sbicca shoe factory in South El Monte, California. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested them at their jobs during a union organizing drive and shipped them to the border for immediate deportation.

However, a judge ruled that the arrests had been illegal and ordered the workers returned to Los Angeles for full hearings on their case. Most of the workers are back on their jobs at Sbicca, but the harassment by the INS and the company continues. Friends, relatives and neighbors of these workers have been threatened. One worker's house was searched and his roommate was arrested and deported. Immigration authorities have also asked the Mexican government for birth certificates, to prove that the workers are "illegal aliens."

The owner of the Sbicca shoe factory turned over his personnel files to the INS so his workers would be deported for organizing a union. And the INS is trying to make an example of these workers in order to scare all Latin workers. Instead, let them be an example—to show other Latin workers how to resist. The Sbicca workers are fighting for the right of all workers to a decent living, and the right to cross all borders freely to look for work. The attacks and deportations must be stopped.

Ohio farmworkers on strike

Two thousand migrant farm workers have been on strike since August 25 against the tomato growers and canners in northwestern Ohio. The workers, who have been organized by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), demand union recognition and a contract including a wage increase, paid transportation and health insurance.

The tomatoes have been rotting on the vines since the workers walked out. That's why the canners and the growers are coming down heavy on the strikers and have called on help from the government to try and break the strike.

Cops and deputy sheriffs arrested 40 pickets outside a Libby plant on August 26. Immigration authorities deported 100 strikers who were undocumented workers. A large number of strikers have been evicted and are living in a tent city set up by the union. And the Ku Klux Klan has burned crosses at the homes of FLOC members.

The main targets of the strike are Campbell and Libby, the two giant canners who set the prices for the whole industry. These big companies decide how much the farmers who grow tomatoes for them will get for their crops. And the growers make their profit by paying starvation wages to the workers who pick the crops.

Most of the migrant workers have to depend on supplementary welfare and food stamps to feed their families. They have the right to earn a living wage. Their strike must be supported by the whole working class.

Scab kills Teamster picket

On the night of August 21, striking teamster Randy Hill was murdered by a scab. Teamster warehouse workers and drivers are on strike against California's four biggest supermarket chains. Hill was picketing a warehouse when this scab car came speeding down the left side of the road with no headlights and ran him over. A worker who tried to help Hill was hit and hurt badly by a second scab car. Other pickets have been shot at by armed security guards and by off-duty cops hired to ride on scab trucks.

The strike started on July 15 with a walkout at a Safeway warehouse. When the strike spread to another chain, the employers' association answered with a lockout. The bosses are trying to take away gains that the union won years ago, including sick leave, paid holidays and a union hiring hall. Safeway has also put in a computerized speedup system, which even times workers when they go to the bathroom—they're allowed 4.8 minutes!

At first, the Teamster leadership called the Safeway walkout a wildcat. However, when the bosses locked out 3,500 workers, the union was forced to make the strike official. But the union

bureaucrats have limited picketing to only a few locations.

On the day after Randy Hill's murder they tried to make everybody go back to work so they could work out a sellout with a federal mediator. But the strikers picketed the negotiations and swore to stay out till they get a decent contract.

Workers all over California can help the Teamsters win their strike by refusing to deal with the four chains: Safeway, Lucky's (including Gemco stores), Alpha Beta and Ralph's. Workers should neither handle any of their merchandise nor shop in their stores. Hit the bosses where it hurts—in their pocket! That way they'll have to give in to the demands of the workers.

In brief...

The Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that excluding pregnancy from a company health plan doesn't discriminate against women. This year, Congress passed a Pregnancy Disability Bill to reverse that ruling. But the House version of the bill discriminates against women who don't want to give birth. It allows the bosses to exclude abortion from health, sick-leave and disability plans. Several Senate-House conferences over the anti-abortion clause have failed to reach agreement. The bill is probably dead for this session.

Teachers all over the country are striking to defend their jobs against cutbacks and layoffs. In Philadelphia, Mayor Rizzo swears they won't get a dime. This summer the city laid off 1,700 teachers. The city wants more firings and no wage increase this year. In spite of an injunction against mass picketing, the teachers are continuing a militant fight.

New Orleans teachers, who are among the lowest paid in the country, are demanding an eight percent wage increase. The school board has refused to negotiate since the strike started. The teachers say they'll stay out until they get a decent contract.

NYC Newspaper Strike Continues

By PAUL ALDRIDGE

The New York City press operators' strike is now in its fifth week. The operators walked out on August 10, shutting down the three big city dailies. The strike was provoked by the New York Publishers Association's attempt to impose union-busting work-rule changes. These changes would have eliminated nearly 800 of the 1,550 union members' jobs. At the time of this writing, union members are expecting a long, bitter strike.

The publishers' attack on the press operators is part of a nationwide campaign to weaken or destroy the newspaper workers' unions. The publishers of the *New York Times*, the *Daily News* and the *New York Post* claim that increased automation of the printing presses justifies reducing the operator levels by half. So far, they appear to be willing to take a long

strike in order to break the press operators' backs.

The New York newspaper unions responded to the publishers with an unusual show of solidarity. After the press operators struck, the deliverers' union agreed to honor the picket lines and not deliver any newspapers. The publishers immediately locked out the other workers. One week later, the paper handlers, electricians, and machinists voted officially to join the strike, raising their own demands. The remaining unions, all members of the Allied Printing Trades Council, are also honoring the picket lines.

While it is questionable how long the union bureaucrats will maintain their solidarity, most rank-and-file union members understand that the attack on the press operators is just the opening round in the publishers' war on all the unions. Most of the newspaper workers, in-

cluding the press operators, have been without a contract since March 30

Publishers wage war on unions

There is no question that the publishers, led by the Australian newspaper czar Rupert Murdoch, are determined to gut the press operators' union. The publishers provoked the strike and have refused to bargain seriously with the union negotiators. At one point, the unbending attitude of the publishers forced the federal mediator to suspend talks indefinitely. On August 27, they reduced payments to health insurance plans, and threatened to cut them off completely. The newspaper owners want to establish a beach-head in New York, long a stronghold of the printing trades.

The same thing has been

happening across the country. In 1975, the press operators at the *Washington Post* struck against a similar job-cutting scheme pushed by the Post's owners. The strike, which lasted for over a year, ended with the union being broken and the union operators replaced by scabs. Press operators' unions have also been smashed in Dallas, Texas; Kansas City, Missouri; Madison, Wisconsin; and Los Angeles, California. In over 100 cities, press operators have accepted job losses. And recently, Cleveland, Ohio, press operators voted to strike if the two dailies in that city try to impose similar cutbacks.

Bureaucrats weaken fightback

The main responsibility for the situation facing press operators lies with the union leaderships. For decades, the union leaders have steered the newspaper unions into looking out for only their own narrow interests. The newspaper unions have tightly restricted entry into the trades. The membership is overwhelmingly white. While this racist, aristocratic policy has led to higher pay and improved benefits, it has divided their forces and cut them off from the rest of the labor movement. Now that they need support from other unions, they may have a difficult time winning and keeping those allies.

To break out of this trap, New York union members must go beyond a narrow craft union policy. Specifically, they must force the union leadership to broaden support for the strike. This

offices to the rank and file while his fellow bureaucrats inside laughed about the demonstration.

Despite the bureaucrats' chuckles, rank-and-file militancy once again opened the situation up. Just a few days after the New York demonstration, Biller was forced to call an emergency meeting of APWU presidents from locals around the country. Feeling the heat of their respective memberships, the local presidents declared there would be a strike if the workers were not permitted to ratify a renegotiated settlement. And, the bureaucrats finally assigned union lawyers and took steps to implement a convention vote to dispense relief money to the postal workers fired for wildcatting.

Today, the situation remains deadlocked. The 15-day bargaining period—which expires on September 16—is not likely to produce a new contract or a contract acceptable to the ranks. The union leaders will then try to sell an arbitration agreement, claiming they "have no other choice." Clearly, this is a lie. For nearly two months, rank-and-file postal workers have fought for the alternative of a militant nationwide strike which could cripple much of the country's communication system and win.

Whether postal workers will be able to win a new improved contract and amnesty for the fired workers is not clear at this point. But postal workers, like the miners, have demonstrated a growing consciousness of the need for rank-and-file organization, unity and militancy. Whatever the outcome of the current contract battle, postal workers have learned important lessons about the tasks ahead. □

POSTAL WORKERS DEMAND DECENT CONTRACT

(Continued from page 1) ment by large margins in membership-wide balloting in all three major postal unions.

Strong opposition to the contract also led the union conventions to pass by-law changes which mandated a strike if management refused to renegotiate, or if no new agreement could be reached after 15 days of bargaining.

Union leaders maneuver

Postal workers have made it clear that the contract negotiated in July stinks. Further, they have repeatedly demanded a national strike if no acceptable agreement is reached. Yet, at every turn, NALC and APWU bureaucrats have come up with new ways to stab postal workers in the back.

The latest maneuvers by the union "leaders" began right after the August union conventions and the membership votes rejecting the contract. Postmaster General William Bolger announced that he would refuse to negotiate and dared the union leaders to call a strike. Postal workers considered Bolger's hard line the last straw and rank-and-file sentiment for a strike reached the boiling point. More and more, postal workers began to say: "If Bolger wants a strike, let's give him one!" In New York, the day tour went home on the deadline day, August 28, fully expecting they would be out on the picket lines the next day.

But once again, rank-and-

file sentiment was thwarted. Eight hours before the strike deadline, Joseph Vacca, president of the NALC, Emmet Andrews, president of the APWU, and James LaPenta, president of the mailhandlers' union, caved in and made a deal. In return for a promise by Bolger to "talk," the bureaucrats agreed to call off the strike. Further, they announced they would bargain over two issues: the no-layoff clause—which had already been won in the July contract—and wages. Clearly, these misleaders had decided to trade away job security for a wage increase in the hope of selling a new contract to the rank and file. On top of all this, the bureaucrats agreed to submit to binding arbitration if no agreement was reached after 15 days of negotiations—one more violation of decisions made at the union conventions!

PO militants demonstrate

Immediately after the announcement of this latest sellout, rank-and-file postal workers in New York held a press conference on the steps of the Manhattan GPO (General Post Office). The press conference, organized by a rank-and-file group called the Good Contract Committee quickly turned into a militant demonstration. After speaking to reporters, angry postal workers marched to the offices of the New York APWU to demand that local president Moe Biller back up his months of tough talk with strike action. Biller, in usual fashion, closed the union

have replaced the struck operators. So far, the union leaders have agreed to let union members work on these papers as a way of allowing them to make some extra money and to keep public opinion from turning against the unions. This is a dead end.

If all the newspaper unions involved in putting out the so-called independent papers agreed to stop work, this would strengthen the operators' position. It would increase the chances of getting other unions, such as the Teamsters, to support the strike. A broad-based show of labor solidarity would help in turning public opinion against the publishers for stonewalling the negotiations and taking the jobs of the operators. This solidarity should include a boycott of the "independent" papers and support on the picket lines.

Rank and file must take up struggle

However this is only the most immediate task and does not get to the root of the problem. For years the newspaper unions have been inconsistent in supporting each other and their strength has been sapped. Militants must take up the fight to change the basic outlook of the unions. This would include fighting to unionize the non-union shops, for wage parity and opening up the apprentice programs.

In addition, militants must begin to build for a national conference of union rank-and-file representatives to plan how to defeat the publishers' campaign. One of the key items on the agenda must be merging the individual craft unions into a strong and united industrial union.

The key to a victorious



would involve convincing other workers that if the press operators are defeated, it will only be a matter of time before other union members' jobs are on the line.

Rank-and-file militants should demand that delegations be sent to the other newspaper unions to convince them to actually join the strike rather than merely honoring the picket lines. Further, the union leaders must be forced to take action against the three dailies that

strike lies in the rank and file aggressively fighting to broaden support for the strike and forcing the union bureaucrats to maintain their solidarity. A militant strike, with support from the rest of the labor movement, will force the publishers to back down on their union-busting demands and avoid a repeat of the *Washington Post* catastrophe. The New York newspaper unions' strike can become the turning point in beating back the publishers' offensive. □

By PAUL BENJAMIN

September 3 is the fortieth anniversary of the Founding Convention of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. When Leon Trotsky and his comrades founded the Fourth International in 1938 they were continuing the work begun by the great working-class revolutionary leaders of the past. Over the past 100 years revolutionaries like Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V.I. Lenin have struggled to build an international workers' party.

The working class is international

Why is this so? Because the workers are an international class, the class of propertyless wage-slaves, the proletariat. In every capitalist country the workers own nothing and must sell their labor-power to the capitalists in order to survive. And they have no control over the wealth produced by their labor. This common oppression means that it is in the interest of workers everywhere to unite against the capitalist exploiters.

But obstacles like national boundaries, language, and differing ethnic and cultural backgrounds stand in the way of uniting the international working class. The capitalists use these to turn workers from different countries against each other. For instance, giant textiles and electronics companies in the U.S. build plants in Asia and hire workers at starvation wages. Then they tell U.S. workers they must hold down their wages because of "foreign competition." In this way the capitalists get rich by forcing the workers to compete against each other.

Imperialists fight to control world

This competition is a reflection of the competition between the capitalists, themselves. Capitalism has created a worldwide economic system controlled by a few imperialist superpowers. The imperialists are locked in a struggle for domination over the world market, investment opportunities, and shrinking natural resources. Twice in this century these rivalries have exploded into world wars in which millions of workers were slaughtered.

Today the U.S. and Russia are battling it out for world domination. This conflict threatens to break out into a Third World War which could destroy the planet.

The threat of another world war makes overthrowing the capitalists and building a socialist world order a life or death question. But to succeed, workers must unite behind a common understanding of their tasks, and a common strategy for carrying them out. This kind of unity will not happen by itself. It must be organized and fought for.

This is the task of the international revolutionary party. Its role is to unite the most advanced workers from different countries into a

single organization to lead the struggle for world revolution. A disciplined world party can overcome the national divisions among the working class. It can mobilize the enormous resources of the international working class to support revolutionary movements around the world.

The first two attempts to build an international revolutionary party in the 19th century ended in defeat. But in 1917 Lenin and Trotsky led the workers to power in Russia. The Russian Revolution won the support of revolutionary workers all over the world. In 1919, the Russian

ing for alliances with the imperialist rulers of France and Britain to save Russia from Hitler's armies. He ordered the communist parties to form class-collaborationist alliances with liberal capitalist politicians willing to ally with Russia. These alliances became known as popular fronts.

The Stalinist parties, in alliance with the liberal capitalists, kept the workers' struggles firmly within the bounds of capitalism. In Spain, this policy led to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution and the victory of fascism. During World War II, Stalin disbanded the Third

class, and no other class, could save humanity from famine, fascism and war. It opposed every form of political collaboration with the capitalists, including the Stalinist popular fronts. It warned — correctly — that Stalin's strategy, which tied the workers hand and foot to their capitalist oppressors, would end by dragging the working class into a second world war.

Although its numbers were small, the Fourth International was now the world party of socialist revolution. It included sections from Russia, China, Vietnam, South Africa, several Latin

Fourth International tried to apply Trotsky's predictions to the changing world situation. But they lacked the Marxist training and experience in the class struggle needed to develop a revolutionary strategy. They became demoralized and disoriented in the wake of the post-war defeats of the workers' movement. They began to turn away from the revolutionary program of the Fourth International.

Trotsky erred on Russia

A fundamental reason for this decay was Trotsky's theoretical error on the nature of Stalinism. Trotsky correctly believed that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia was a capitalist force which would overthrow the Russian workers' state. But he thought this process would be completed only when the Stalinists dismantled the government-owned industry in Russia and divided it among individual capitalist property-owners. He did not recognize that by 1938 a new state-capitalist ruling class based on control of nationalized property had consolidated itself in Russia. He continued to see Russia as a workers' state, even though he admitted the workers had no control over the government. Consequently he defended Russia until his death.

Trotsky's predictions wrong

Since Trotsky didn't understand the class nature of the Stalinist regime, he mistook it for a weak bureaucracy with no real chance to survive the pressure of the world war. He predicted that either the imperialists would invade Russia and restore capitalism, or the workers would overthrow Stalin and lead a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. But his predictions proved wrong. The Russian ruling class emerged from the war as a world power second only to that of the U.S.

In spite of all this, the leaders of the Fourth International clung blindly to Trotsky's analysis of Russia. But they could not explain how a degenerating Stalinist bureaucracy could achieve such successes. Consequently, Michel Pablo, a leader of the Fourth International, (Continued on page 17)

Build an International Revolutionary Party!

Bolsheviks called on these workers to join in the Founding Congress of the Third, or Communist, International.

The International organized revolutionary parties in countries all over the world. It set up a centralized international leadership to direct the work of the party's national sections. It won support from workers everywhere.

But after Lenin's death in 1924, the International was destroyed by the counter-revolution in Russia. Joseph Stalin and his allies wrecked the Russian workers' state and built a state-capitalist regime on its ruins. Even before his final victory in Russia, Stalin used his prestige as head of the Russian government to sabotage the Third International.

As a result, the workers' parties in the Third International suffered a series of crushing defeats. The most important of these was the victory of Hitler's fascist movement in Germany in 1933.

The German Communist Party shared major responsibility for this disaster with the social-democratic leadership. The party refused to fight for united fronts with other workers' parties and organizations to fight the fascist threat. Instead of struggling to win social-democratic workers away from their rotten leadership with the united front tactic, the Communist Party just denounced the Social Democrats as being no better than the Nazis.

In addition, it told the workers that Hitler's victory would pave the way for socialist revolution. This treacherous policy allowed Hitler to come to power and smash the working class.

The defeat in Germany was a death blow to the Third International. About a year after the crushing defeat in Germany, Stalin began work-

International altogether to please his imperialist allies. This was the logical conclusion of the popular front strategy.

Throughout these years Leon Trotsky and his supporters continued to fight for a Leninist revolutionary movement. Beginning in 1923, Trotsky fought to defend the Russian Revolution and the Third International. He and his Russian supporters were expelled from the Third International in 1927 for opposing Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies. Then Stalin began purging the Trotskyists from the other communist parties.

Until 1933, Trotsky continued to struggle to reform the Third International. He fought to replace the Stalin clique with a revolutionary leadership. But the German catastrophe forced him to conclude that the Third International was dead. In July 1933, Trotsky began a campaign to build a new international party, the Fourth International.

The Fourth International was based on the Leninist principle that the working

American countries, the U.S., Canada, and most European countries. It had the potential to grow into a mass international workers' organization.

But this potential was never realized. Trotsky himself was murdered by a Stalinist assassin in 1940. Thousands of Trotskyists died in Russian prison camps. Hundreds more were killed by both the Stalinists and the fascists during World War II. Within a few years of its founding, the most experienced leaders of the Fourth International were dead.

Their successors were unable to deal with the problems which faced the Fourth International after World War II. As Trotsky predicted, a wave of militant struggles broke out all over the world following the end of the war. In Western Europe the communist parties betrayed these struggles by cooperating with the imperialist powers. The Russian ruling class conquered Eastern Europe and set up a series of state-capitalist regimes there.

The new leaders of the

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DEFEND THE SANDINISTAS FOR SOCIALISM!

(Continued from page 10)
ism—a new name which would permit them to take off the "socialist" mask, finally acknowledging in a cynical manner, that they were in error. This "tactical change," in reality, met with ... [the need to] justify, support and defend with extraordinary virulence the "tacti-

cal alliance" with the bourgeois represented by "the Twelve."

In the face of their inability to lead the struggle of the Nicaraguan workers along the paths of socialism, the "old commanders" of the "old days" of the CCLN decided, one more time, to change their name, falling

this time to the most degenerate level of petty-bourgeois populism by allying with UDEL (Union of Democratic Liberation)—whom they accused in 1975 of selling out to Yankee imperialism—and by dissolving themselves totally in a strategy of bourgeois-religious struggle, blocking the development of the revolutionary potential of the Nicaraguan workers, promoting anti-communist ideas with respect to the revolution in Nicaragua, and collaborating with Yankee imperialism.

Among the characteristics that distinguish the FAA, appear the following facts. The FAA:

- is not a revolutionary Marxist organization; . . .
- does not call on the Nicaraguan workers to combat capitalism and Yankee imperialism, subtracting them from the revolutionary process in North America; . . .
- promotes the policy of Yankee imperialism, creating false expectations among the workers under their rotten influence, urging

them to hope that their enemies will solve that which only the workers themselves, through their conscious and organized actions, under a revolutionary leadership, can solve;

• does not have as its objective assisting the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation and the triumph of a socialist revolution in Nicaragua.

The events of October 1977, in Nicaragua marked the initiation of a new stage in the process of the class struggle. . . . For the "opposition" bourgeoisie, there is the clear need for a "unification of all democratic forces to save the country." For this they propose a "national dialogue" with the dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

For the rising proletariat, their education and organization into a revolutionary vanguard, based on a program of struggle in which there would be no room for a "tactical alliance" with the forces of the bourgeois reaction . . . presented itself as the order of the day.

However, this task which should be obvious to all revolutionaries, was understood by some as "something which would require much time and would distract from the struggle against Somoza."

But not everyone was stumbling around and giving up in this conjuncture of the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement. Abroad, the emergence of the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua in Los Angeles marks the first step in the direction of the preservation and defense of the interests of the Nicaraguan proletariat.

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the SSN says no to class collaboration, breaks with the forces of petty-bourgeois procrastination, and prepares itself to continue the struggle for socialism. It criticizes and exposes those who, invoking the name of the Nicaraguan people, in reality fight to deny the people the chance to be the force who . . . overthrow the capitalist state and seize power in Nicaragua. "G"

—Nicaraguan correspondent

Support the ERA

(Continued from page 3)
things women need.

Furthermore, no amount of legislative lobbying will win these things. Concessions from the ruling class on the just demands of women (and workers and all other oppressed people) will only be won through mass, militant struggle, organized in the workplaces, communities and the unions. In addition, the struggle for women's rights must be united with the struggles of the working class and other oppressed people. In this way, all our forces will be stronger.

In fact, this kind of struggle, which would be a lot more threatening to the capitalists than the fight for the ERA, would have the best chance of winning the ERA. The capitalists would then gladly adopt the ERA to try to quiet the movement while making it look like they were giving in.

Finally, the mass struggle, to win and guarantee everything people need, must lead to wiping out the source of exploitation and oppression—the capitalist system itself. Therefore our purpose in the women's movement is to: 1) win real gains as a way of eliminating the oppression women face, as well as building the confidence of the movement; 2) unite it with the struggles of the working class and all oppressed people; and 3) win people over to the strug-

gle to overthrow capitalism and construct a socialist society.

Over 60 years ago, Emma Goldman, a leading anarchist and feminist, opposed the struggle for women's suffrage on the grounds that it "fetishized" what could only be an empty gain under capitalism. She also pointed out that single-issue suffragists wound up ignoring the fight around many other key issues affecting women.

Emma Goldman was wrong to oppose the vote for women. She misunderstood the Leninist principle of standing with the oppressed in the struggle for democratic rights while pointing out the limitation of those rights under capitalism. But the criticisms she had of the women's suffrage movement were right on the mark. The vote did little to solve the oppression of women, and when it was won the movement just fell apart.

The Equal Rights Amendment would in fact be an even more limited gain than was the right of women to vote. We have nothing but contempt for the fake revolutionaries like the SWP who work to keep the women's movement in the swamp of bourgeois legality. But we are in total solidarity with the aspirations of the masses of women who support the ERA because they want to fight against their oppression. □

Nazi Bookstore

(Continued from page 5)

stop the Nazis. However, they can hold back the working class from carrying out this task.

To fight against this danger, all organizations and individuals who are serious about building a militant working-class struggle against the Nazis have to unite. United action will accomplish three things. First, no single left organization is large enough or has enough support in the working class to defeat the Nazis independently. As the Nazis grow, this will become increasingly true, especially given the protection the fascists get from the cops. A united front of the most militant anti-fascist fighters would open greater opportunities for dealing the Nazis setbacks.

Second, the liberals and their supporters have the organization and resources to make themselves look like a serious alternative in the anti-fascist fight. United ac-

tion on the part of all militant forces would show workers that there is a viable alternative to the liberals' reliance on the cops, courts and union bureaucrats.

And lastly, united action would increase the confidence of all revolutionaries and militants to carry on the anti-Nazi fight. The refusal by various organizations who claim to want to destroy the Nazis, to work out a common strategy and tactics weakens the anti-Nazi forces. When workers see that different groups fighting for the same things can work together, they will be more eager to join in the struggle. Therefore, we are calling for a series of on-going united fronts to fight the Nazis wherever they raise their heads.

The failure of all uncompromising anti-Nazi forces to unite is already beginning to be told in blood on Detroit's west side. And it is the workers' blood that is being shed. We must unite to smash the Nazis now! □

Build an International Party

(Continued from page 16)
national, argued that the Russian bureaucracy and the Stalinist communist parties were not the counter-revolutionaries Trotsky made them out to be. They had, he claimed, spread the socialist revolution into Eastern Europe. Because the workers in these countries had played no role in these "revolutions," Pablo called these countries "deformed workers' states."

Pablo's theory struck at the heart of the Fourth International. The International had always maintained that only the working class could make a socialist revolution. But Pablo said that the Stalinists could create workers' states without the workers rising up and seizing state power. In 1951, the International accepted this anti-Marxist idea. Trotsky, who devoted his life to the cause of workers' revolution, would have spit on this betrayal of his life's work.

This marked the collapse of Trotsky's Fourth International.

In 1952, Pablo carried his theory a step further. He

concluded that to overthrow capitalism, the workers did not really need a revolutionary International. Instead, they should join the Stalinist, social-democratic, or middle-class nationalist organizations, and push their leaders to make "deformed" revolutions.

Some sections of the International, including the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., drew back from Pablo's conclusions and split away in 1953. But they supported Pablo's basic claim that workers' states can be created without the active and conscious struggle of the working class.

Today many so-called Trotskyist groups, including the Socialist Workers Party, claim they are the Fourth International. Despite their claims, all these parties trample on the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. They reject the revolutionary role of the working class and look for some other force to take its place. Thus they continue to defend the state-capitalist ruling classes in Russia, China, Eastern Eu-

rope and Southeast Asia. They look to middle-class forces, like nationalists, students or labor bureaucrats to lead the struggle. By doing so, they smear the revolutionary meaning of Trotskyism in the eyes of workers around the world.

Build a new international party

The Revolutionary Marxist League in Jamaica, West Indies, and the Revolutionary Socialist League in the U.S. are fighting to build a new World Party of Socialist Revolution based on the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. We begin where they began, with the conviction that the liberation of the working class must be the task of the workers themselves. The workers must build revolutionary parties in every country to smash the capitalist class throughout the world. They must overthrow the Stalinist regimes which are only a new form of capitalist oppression. Workers of all countries, unite! □

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