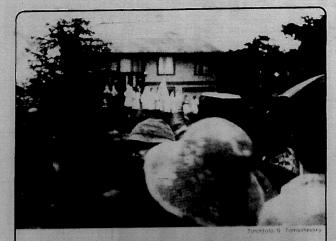
Reconstruct the Fourth International!

## TORCH

Newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 8/25¢

AUGUST 15-SEPTEMBER 14, 1979



Militants Confront Ku Klux Klan Rally in New Jersey

See page 16

KKK: 100 Years of Racist Terror

See page 12

# Carter: A Crisis of Confidence?

By PAUL BENJAMI

President Carter came into office in 1977 as the "honest outsider" who would wipe out the memory of Watergate and restore the people's faith in the government. Two and a half years later he has succeeded only in reducing the presidency to a shambles. Popular support for Carter has dropped to 25 percent in recent polls. Leaders of his own Democratic Party, like senators George McGovern of South Dakota and Henry Jackson of Washington, are proclaiming that Carter has no chance in the 1980 elections. Anti-Carter Democrats in Oregon, lowa, Ohio and other states are openly organizing to kick him off the ticket in 1980.

The failures of the Carter presidency are obvious. Carter claimed he would lower both inflation and unemployment to four percent by 1980. Instead, inflation is running at a 13.2 percent annual rate, and a government study leaked to the press predicts unemployment will reach 8.2 percent by the 1980 elections. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is

powerless to prevent the fall of longtime allies like the shah of Iran and General Anastasio Somoza Debayle in Nicaragua. These domestie and international setbacks have reduced the authority and prestige of the U.S., to its lowest point in years.

The ruling class places the blame for all this on Carter's own personal (Continued on page 15)

### NICARAGUA: LET WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS RULE



Crowds toppled statue of Anastasio Somoza Garcia, founder of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua.

See page 11

### Chrysler Lays Off Thousands as UAW Contract Talks Open

By MIKE EVERETT

When contract negotiations between the United Auto Workers union (UAW) and the Big Three car manufacturers opened on July 16, slightly over 25,000 autoworkers were on indefinite layoff. As we go to press just one month later, that figure has grown to over 55,000. Many of these workers will never be called back because plants are being closed and shifts permanently cut. In addition, the jobs of hundreds of thousands more workers are threatened because one of the Big Three, Chrysler, is in deep financial trailing.

cial trouble.

Job security, therefore, is the number one issue for

autoworkers this year. And UAW leaders say that a shorter workweek for the industry, which has the potential to create jobs, is one of their top priorities. As a result, they have proposed a shorter work time plan that is based on compensation in time off for overtime worked. But this plan will do virtually nothing about job security.

(See box on page 8.) The problem of lost jobs in auto is too big for the Mickey Mouse solutions proposed by the UAW leaders. This can be seen especially clearly in the case of Chrysler. Chrysler announced a loss

Chrysler announced a loss of \$207,100,000 in the second quarter of this year. Analysts predict that 1978-79 (Continued on page 8)

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

### Ford worker: vou've been right

As a reader of your paper the Torch I feel that what you have been saying about the ruling class beating down the working class to main-tain their profits is finally beginning to hit home.

All the economists keep

saying that we are heading for a recession, well, the

### Africans in China fight racism

Dear Torch,
This week I read that
African students held a demonstration in Beijing (Peking), China, against racism They held signs reading "Down with anti-African propaganda of Chinese authorities" and "Down with racism in all its forms." Students told journalists they were supporting African and Arab students who fought a pitched battle against Chinese students in Shanghai in early July. The battle followed earlier tension because the Chinese

students resented Africans dating Chinese women. One student told a journal-ist, "Protesting to the Chinese does not help so we decided to ask the Moroccans to tell our governments to let us go home and not to send any more African stu-dents to China."

The story reminds me of an experience I had in Russia in 1966. I found that Russian students disliked Africans studying in Moscow. One of them told me, "These Afri-cans are just out of the jungle. They think that they can just take a woman if they like her." It was just racist crap. The Russian men stu-Russian women could like African men. The story out of China sounds like more of

I was shocked to find such blatant racism in Russia. But knowing that Russia and China are state-capitalist countries makes this gar-bage less surprising. Racism must be fought wherever it appears—and that means fighting capitalism

Chicago

Torch has been saying the same thing and what it will take in this country and around the world to bring us out of this mess. The truth will always find a way of coming out

coming out.

I'm a UAW autoworker with 11 years at a Jersey Ford auto plant that is being hit by a massive layoff. The UAW, one of the largest labor unions in this country, is doing nothing. Thousands of autoworkers are on indefinite layoff because the auto nite layoff because the auto

nite layoff because the auto companies are trying to keep their profit margin from slipping further down the tubes. The local 906 union leadership is saying that there is nothing that they can do to stop the layoffs (bull). They are protecting their own oushy jobs by working with the company, while I may face a possible layoff.

This letter is just to let you, the people who put out

the Torch, know you have been right and that I hope more working people will start waking up and look around and pay attention to their surrounding as to what is going down in front of them and take what you are

Please keep up the good work on trying to inform and organize the working class. I understand that you are having a fund drive to help keep the Torch and other work operating, you have my support in any way possible. Thought I was "SAFE,"

Local 906

### Prisoner talks about gay struggle

voted to Torch and, generally, the paper is informative and enlightening. My greatest interest, however, is in the article on the Houston conference and that's what 'm writing about.

It seems pretty obvious intend to use this October 14 march as one more money-making scheme and I applaud your open opposition to their position. As a mere morsel for thought, has any-one considered a countermarch? One representing the true Gay needs and atti-tudes? I leave it to you to expand upon that idea, since I have come to the conclusion that RSL knows what's happening and is fully capable of doing whatever must be done. (If I may say so, RSL is the first organization I've en-countered which is really concerned about the people's needs.)

I have asked Barry Mehler of the Committee to Free Russell Smith to give full support to the October 14 march as regards RSL's involvement. I have also asked that he give representation to the plight of Gay prison-

Also, through Barry, I am trying to organize a major letter-writing campaign which would include two European organizations. Our goals are primarily to seek freedom for Gays who, due to political activities, are in danger from officials (including myself, of course); to force officials to provide protection, and medical and psychological treatment for all rape victims: to end the ban on gay publications and end other harassment. The secondary goal is to change the system or, to my per-sonal wishes, tear it com-

Russell Smith

Terre Haute, Indiana
P.S. The article on "Why
the RSL Supports Prisoners" Struggles" answered all my questions on the goals of the RSL. I am definitely interested in the RSL. That's

natural skepticism everyone and everything. But as I said in this letter, the RSL impresses me as being about some solid goals, and not being just a lot of talk. If you're about solid goals (and I think you are), then I want to know more about social-ism and the RSL. Until now,

eventual goals have always been to see the eventual destruction of fucked-up system. But know that a loner is bound to fall eventually. So if RSL's goals and my goals are the same, and I am satisfied that they are, then let's get on with it. Teach me and then show me what to do.

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### "Death to all forms of capitalism"

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

Being someone who is young and gay, who felt on a personal level the anti-gay capitalist oppression we all face in one form or another, I decided to become active in some militant gay organiza-tions working for total gay liberation. It was at these organizations that I first became aware of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Having discussed Marxian theory with some of RSL's competent members (and believe me, you're all quite competent), I began to realize the RSL's important role in building a revolutionary movement. Although I considered myself a socialist for many years, I can honestly state that RSL greatly raised my revolutionary consciousness by teaching me the meaning of true socialism. Although I was previously disillusioned by the existence of so many socalled "socialist" parties not really building a workingclass revolution, I now realize that there is one truly revolutionary party in the U.S., RSL, that calls for a working-class revolution in all countries and is not hesitant in exposing the true nature of state capitalism in so-called socialist nations like the USSR and China.

The RSL is the only Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S. that is fighting for all oppressed groups and refuses to sell out any of its workingclass sisters or brothers. With regard to the gay struggle, RSL has the most revolutionary position in that it refuses to sell out any of our most oppressed gay comrades such as transvestites and gay youth. Although at present I am not a member of RSL, I am sure that in no. time I will become one out of dedication to the working class. In closing, I would like to express my gratitude to all my gay comrades at the RSL, who I am proud and honored to work with, for acquainting me with the RSL. If it were not for RSL, I would not possess the better understanding of gay revolution I now possess. Gay liberation can only occur through socialist revolution! Death to all forms of capitalism! Workers of the world unite!

Love always to my RSL sisters and brothers (gay or

Bayonne, New Jersey

#### SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

its coverage of prisoners' strugg The number of prisoners who the Torch/La Antorcha and respond with the Revolutionary cialist League has also increase

consist League has also increased significantly. The RSL provides revolutionary literature to prisoners to the extent that we can. Also, large numbers of prisoners receive free subscriptions to the Torch/La Antorcha.

Lack of funds keeps the literature the subscription of the control of the literature that want. Thus, to increase the threaders of the Torch/La Antorcha to donate to this fund so that we can supply prisoners with revolutionary literature. Those who can make a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively for providing prisoners with revolutionary.

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- Stop the railroad of the RCP defendants
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Love always to my RSL sisters and brothers (gay or straight),

#### SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

Bayonne, New Jersey

In the past two years, the Torch/ La Antorcha has greatly expanded its coverage of prisoners' struggles. The number of prisoners who read the Torch/La Antorcha and cor-respond with the Revolutionary So-cialist League has also increased experience.

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The RSL provides are subscriptions to the Torch/La Antorcha to seeding prisoners all the literature heavy want. Thus, to increase the amount of literature we can send, we have established a Prisoner Lit-erature Fund; We encourage all readers of the Torch/La Antorcha to donale to this fund so that we can supply prisoners with revolutionary literature. Those who can make a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively for provid-ing prisoners with revolutionary lit-erature.

Send contributions to:
Prisoner Literature Fund
PO Box 562
New York, NY 10036

### **Imperialists Plan New Draft**

By DARRYL CLARK

The draft is coming back. Congress is about to pass a bill to force youth to register for the draft. The Selective Service System is ready to set up local draft boards all across the country again. Unless the government is stopped, within two years millions of youth will be forced into government service.

The government is bringing back

the draft for one purpose: to prepare for war. To keep up their profits and defend their power, our rulers expect to be invading, killing, and destroy-ing someone else's country once again. And they plan to hold a gun to our heads to make us cooperate

#### Bosses prepare for war

The purpose of the army is to maintain U.S. power and profits in other countries. The U.S. bosses are losing ground in the Middle East, they no longer have the shah of Iran

an army with too many Black people. In the 1960s, Black soldiers refused orders to put down Black rebellions in the major cities'. Black soldiers led resistance in the armed forces to fighting the Vietnamese. The same thing could happen again, in U.S. cities, South Africa, or elsewhere. Senator Sam Nunn, a leading racist, worries about a situation "when the lowest economic groups are vastly over-represented in the combat arms. and middle and upper-class America are increasingly exempt from the possibility of service for the

The volunteer army does have many Blacks. Army enlistments over the past several years have been 24 percent Black; in the last quarter of 1978 they rose to 40 percent Black. The proportion of Blacks among front-line fighting men is certainly higher than in the army as a whole Blacks end up doing much of the fighting and dying to defend this racist country.

Black youth unemployment is sky

high-40 to 50 percent and up. To

escape this, many Blacks end up

putting on the uniform of the country

that oppresses them. But reformist

Black leaders have not made an issue

of this-because cutting the number

put more unemployed Black youth on

A recent lawsuit exposed a Navy scheme to keep Blacks out. The Navy, which is whiter and more privileged than the Army, got complaints that too many Blacks were in the lowest grades and worst jobs. Instead of upgrading more Blacks, the Navy kept out Blacks who qualified for the lower-grade positions. That way, the total number of Blacks in the Navy would be so small that the tiny number of higher-grade Blacks would appear natural.

Getting enough men: The generals have several concerns. They have kept the active-duty forces more or less up to strength by lowering the test scores needed to get in. But the reserves are very low. The Army's Individual Ready Reserve, at 182,000, is 600,000 below authorized strength. Also, enlistments are likely to fall because the number of youth reaching age 18 will drop every year from now until 1994. And the cutoff of almost all educational benefits for new enlistees beginning with 1978 seems to be cutting enlistments. Finally, many who would otherwise enlist will stay away as the possibility of war grows more threatening.

### conscription?

In the past, the draft has meant drafting men into military service. Both aspects are now open to change.

First, the capitalists are talking about drafting women. Women are now two percent of the armed forces. Present plans call for doubling this, which will help maintain a large army. But will a draft include women? If it does, there will be strong protests. Many women will resist having their liberty taken from them. Reactionaries who want to keen women in the home will charge that femininity is under attack. If women aren't drafted, some men and some feminists will protest and go to court for equality. We say women should have the same rights as men. But the draft is an attack, not a right.

We oppose drafting anyone. Second, many experts are now calling for compulsory national service as a supplement to the military draft. Every young person would be forced to "serve the nation" either in the military or in a youth labor brigade, which could replace strikers. government workers, or who-ever. One national service proposal calls for five percent of federal employees in every department to be replaced by this conscript youth

#### Down with the draft

The plans for the draft are very thorough. Selective Service and the generals are out to make sure that no one slips away from them. They want to combine Social Security and Internal Revenue Service records to find every young person. There are plans to amend the Privacy Act to make high schools turn over the name of every eligible student. They have already laid plans with Western Union about how to get out hundreds of thousands of mailgrams in a hurry

to call people up.

They know who their friends are.

New Jersey Selective Service has already gotten promises from the reactionary American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars to provide members for local draft boards across the state

We know that our rulers want us as cannon fodder. They talked about invading Nicaragua. They are setting up a 100,000-man "Unilateral Corps" designed to invade the Middle East They are laying plans for war in South Africa or Europe. We say no to all these murderous plans.

We say: Down with the imperialist draft! We support all efforts to stop the draft, to stop registration for the draft, and to stop "national service. We defend anyone who resists or refuses the draft.

But if we and our supporters are drafted, however, we do not plan to resist and go to jail. We will go into uniform and work to win other soldiers to our revolutionary ideas. We do not think military training is a bad thing. But we want working-class soldiers to fight for themselves, not for their exploiters. We want workers to take whatever military training they have and use it to win the war we should be fighting: a revolutionary war against capital-



Draft resister speaking to students in Springfield, Mass., 1970.

as a local ally. In Central America, Somoza was driven out by the Nicaraguan people. When local dic-tators collapse, the U.S. puts more emphasis on building its own relia-ble and well-trained army. That's why the government has drawn up plans for invading the Middle East, has increased the military budget, is continuing the nuclear arms race—and wants to restore the draft.

The use of the draft as the normal way to maintain the army began after World War II and continued until 1973, when it was ended as a concession to the anti-war movement Since then, the armed forces have relied on volunteers. But the volunteer army has some big problems for the capitalists, and as war prepara-tions heat up, these problems become more urgent.

Cost: To get volunteers, pay has been raised since the end of the draft. Personnel costs are now 55 percent of the military budget, com-pared to around 25 percent for the Russians. With the draft, pay could be cut. (One bill in Congress specifies a cutback to subsistence pay.)

Quick replacements: A recent Defense Department report estimates that a non-nuclear war in Europe would kill or maim 500,000 U.S. soldiers in six months. The army wants replacements ready in a hurry-and volunteers don't seem like a good bet. They want a Selective Service System that can start sending them warm bodies in 30 days.

Too many Blacks? The racists fear.



The ruling class fears militancy of Black soldiers.

Below we are printing a slightly shortened version of a talk given by Miriam Lee of the RSL to a workshop at the Michigan Statewide Lesbian Political Action Conference, held June 9-10, 1979.

When a young lesbian first realizes her position in so-ciety, she is beset by all the rules and regulations (legal and social) that try to straitjacket her into "her place." Capitalism defines "our place" as serving a man and tells us that the feelings of love we have for woman are forbidden. We are taught to disavow our innermost feelings and dreams. All thoughts of really being free, really being to act and be as we want, are kept on the level of dreams. Nowhere are we allowed to develop to full capacity, and those women who are brave and try are slapped down pretty hard.
The kind of total liberation

that most women dream about can become a reality, but only if we fight for re are economic barriers that are put in our way-it is almost impossible to find a well-paying job where you can be open and comfortable. If you do have a good job, you have to face the crap the company puts on you all the time. You have to lie to find a nice apartment, or else live in a ghetto. Many sisters stay in the closel because economic pressures force them to rely on their families. The social barriers -which are designed keep us in the closet-loom just as large. Getting stared at while you and your friend walk down the street, going to a bar, having to find a special bar so you can dance, being hassled about 1.D. Especially if you're un-der 21, there is hardly anywhere to go at all. Knowing that people talk about you behind your back and crack lokes. And most of all, the ignorance and superstition that runs through the whole society that feeds the idea that our deepest feelings are not "normal," that we're sick and out to corrupt young

# Lesbian Liberation and the Socialist Revolution



July 1978 Gay Pride demonstration in Los Angeles.

The kind of liberation we need must address all these layers of oppression:

•Re-education. People need to learn what homosex-

eHe-education. Feepine need to learn what homosexuality is, a certain way of living and loving. We need to be open and not be made to feel ashamed.

Legal. The Bolsheviks, when they took power in Russia in 1917, did away with all laws relating to homosexuality. They made divorce, birth control and abortlons easily obtainable, enforced equal pay for equal work and laid the basis to do away with discrimination. The Russian revolution was smashed and as part of the counter-revolution, Stalin reintroduced the anti-gay and anti-women laws that now exist in Russia.

• Economic. We need jobs at a living wage, we need decent homes, food at pre-inflation prices; we need to do away with police harassment.

• Family. We need to be able to choose if we want to stay within the family unit or not

### How are we going to win this fight?

First, we have to understand the cause. We believe lesblan oppression is part and parcel of the capitalist system. Basically, the capitalist system. Basically, the capitalist system concentrates the power and wealth of society in a few hands, and makes everyone else sell themselves to the capitalists to make a living. But their means of control isn't just economic. They create and take advantage of all kinds of divisions among the working class by giving privileges to some sections and oppressing others. Racism and sexism are used to keep us blaming each other for the

problems that capitalism creates. They rely on the family system to pass on property, and to keep us in "our place," as a means of social control. On top of this, capitalist society uses all kinds of moral propaganda to keep the working class in a "straight jacket." The church, the halo around the family, are rammed down our throats to keep us in the closet and to keep our straight sisters and brothers in innorance.

In ignorance.

We want to destroy the whole system. To do this, we have to unite the entire working class, to make a revolution. We need a socialist revolution to gain our freedom. The working class of the world must control the world's wealth if it is to be divided equally. This is the precondition for a humane society where human needs come first. The capitalists will never give up their power and prestige without a battle

which they lose and when the winners (us) force them to give it up.

to give it up.

Within the working class, we look to the most oppressed sections—Blacks, Latins, Aslans, Arabs, Native Americans, lesbians and gay men, straight women, unemployed, prisoners—for people who are most ready today to devote their lives to revolution. These sections of the working class have specific demands of their own, a common root cause of their oppression—capitalism—and a common desire to flight their oppression.

We have to build a movement of all these groups which can take up each of the specific demands and fight for the whole thing. Not just lesbians fighting for child custody rights, but the whole movement fighting for this; not just unemployed fighting for jobs, but all of us fighting for jobs for all. This is what will increase our strength and power.

strength and power.
Unless we as lesbians enter and help build this movement, our demands will only be carried forth by the small number of committed revolutionary socialists. We have to show the working class how to go beyond the layers who receive privileges at the expense of others. Equality has to include us or it will not be equal. Unless we show the working class how to champion the cause of the most oppressed, and push it into the forefront, we will stay ignored.

### Separatism no solution

Many sisters believe that it is impossible to work with men and that a lesbian feminist, or separatist, organiza-tion is the best way to carry politics. We have a strategy that says the whole system must be turned upside down. Lesbians alone can't do this. A working class can. We look for opportunities to unite separatists in the course of struggle, but beliève that men can be trained to combat sexism and that revolutionary men have a re-

sponsibility to do so. Sexism is deeply rooted in all members of this society, and it is particularly diffi-cult to break down a lot of the BS, especially in regard to gaining respect, training men to listen to women, etc. But we feel that the advance guard of the working class—including male mem-bers of the revolutionary party-when they commit themselves to fighting sexism and for revolution, can be won (and have been won) to actively fighting for lesbian liberation. We see this as part of the task of preparing the working class to make revolution

### We have to organize for our demands

The early 1970s saw the rise of a gay liberation movement, which was powerful enough to win a few concessions from the ruling class. A leadership layer took control, oriented the movement to middle-class.

respectable, white male gays and they promised to keep and expand the gains. This new layer spent its time lobbying legislators and Congress to pass laws and told the movement to go home and leave it to them. The movement ebbed, the capitalist crisis deepened, and at the first chance, the right wing stepped in to force lesbians and gay men back into the closet. The strategy of the movement leadership left no way to fight these attacks.

Today the righteous anger and hatred of oppression is

and hatred of oppression is beginning once again to build in lesbian and gay hearts and minds and a new movement is beginning to take shape. We must not make the same mistakes again! We must learn that to fight for legal reforms and leave it to the leaders and congressmen will only leave open for attack and betrayal. We must educate ourselves, organize our-selves and intervene to force the movement to fight for our demands. No more of this "Be respectable! Stay in the closet so Bill 123 can get nassed" ad nauseam. can't leave it to anyone else or it won't get done.

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#### Final goal must be revolution

We've talked about the movement and the struggles of lesbians, youth, gay males and the entire working class. We've talked about the need to make a revolution to overturn the whole structure of society in order to gain our freedom. To do this, we have to organize. The RSL is a revolutionary organization; we want to bring together people who see the need for socialist revolution. We try to convince people that the final goal of the movement must lead to a revolution, and that for this we need a revolutionary party

The tasks of the party are to focus and organize the revolutionary energy of the movement so that it actually takes state power, and to educate and train ourselves and the whole working class so that we can take over the task of organizing society Our goal is a world workers' government. The capitalist system has to be overthrown worldwide. The U.S. is the dominant power; Russia and China and other states which call themselves socialist or communist are state-capitalist. All of them must be overthrown. We have a sister organization in Jamaica the Revolutionary Marxist League-and together we are building a world party so that we have a worldwide force with which to chal-lenge capitalism.

Through our newspaper, the Torch/La Antorcha, and through our active organizing, we support every struggle for every tiny reform, we fight to keep whatever gains we win and we organize toward our goal of total liberation. We believe that lesbians have a crucial task in helping to tear this system down and in helping to decide the basis on which we can rebuild, a new, human society.

### Women's Music Festival To Be Held in Michigan August 23-26



From Thursday, August 23, to Sunday, August 26, thousands of women from the Midwest and beyond will be gathering near Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, for the fourth annual Womyn's Music Festival. Last year over 6,000 women attended. While the nights will be filled with music, each day from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. there will be workshops discussing issues relevant to women and leshian survival and politics.

The Michigan-based Statewide Lesbian Political Action Collective (SLPAC—reported on in the last issue) will be having a mass meeting on Saturday, August 25, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. to further organize Michigan lesbians. In addition, the SLPAC will have workshop time on building lesbian networks and centers.

lesbian networks and centers.

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be giving two workshops: one on "How to Win Total Liberation," and one on "A Revolutionary Strategy for the March on Washington." Both RSL workshops will be held on the weekend so that women who work during the week will be able to attend

attend.
We urge all women to attend this festival. Childcare will be provided. The cost of the festival is based on how much you earn. For further info call: 517-772-0582, or write: "We Want the Music Collective," 1501 Lyons St., Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

PAGE 4/TORCH/AUGUST 15-SEPTEMBER 14, 1979 GARANTHEOTNET, AT REGNATIVE OF TRUE A which they lose and when the winners (us) force them to give it up

to give it up.

Within the working class, we look to the most oppressed sections—Blacks, Latins, Asians, Arabs, Native Americans, lesbians and gay men, straight women, unemployed, prisoners—for people who are most ready today to devote their lives to revolution. These sections of the working class have specific demands of their own, a common root cause of their oppression—capitalism—and a common desire to fight their oppression.

We have to build a movement of all these groups which can take up each of the specific demands and fight for the whole thing. Not just lesblans fighting for child custody rights, but the whole movement fighting for this; not just unemployed fighting for jobs, but all of us fighting for jobs for all. This is what will increase our strength and power.

Unless we as lesbians enter and help build this movement, our demands will only be carried forth by the small number of committed revolutionary socialists. We have to show the working class how to go beyond the layers who receive privileges at the expense of others. Equality has to include us or it will not be equal. Unless we show the working class how to champion the cause of the most oppressed, and push it into the forefront, we will stay ignored.

### Separatism no solution

Many sisters believe that it is impossible to work with men and that a lesbian feminist, or separatist, organization is the best way to carry out politics. We have a strategy that says the whole system must be turned upside down. Lesbians alone can't do this. A united working class can. We look for opportunities to unite with separatists in the course of struggle, but believe that men can be trained to combat sexism and that revolutionary men have a responsibility to do so.

Sexism is deeply rooted in all members of this society and it is particularly diffi cult to break down a lot of the BS, especially in regard to gaining respect, training men to listen to women, etc But we feel that the advance guard of the working class-including male members of the revolutionary party—when they commit themselves to fighting sexism and for revolution, car be won (and have been won) to actively fighting for les-bian liberation. We see this as part of the task of preparing the working class to make revolution

### We have to organize for our demands

The early 1970s saw the rise of a gay liberation movement, which was powerful enough to win a few concessions from the ruling class. A 'leadership layer took control, oriented the movement to middle-class.

respectable, white male gays and they promised to keep and expand the gains. This new layer spent its time lobbying legislators and Congress to pass laws and told the movement to go home and leave it to them. The movement ebbed, the capitalist crisis deepened, and at the first chance, the right wing stepped in to force lesbians and gay men back into the closet. The strategy of the movement leadership left no way to fight these attacks.

and hatred of oppression is beginning once again to build in lesbian and gay hearts and minds and a new movement is beginning to take shape. We must not make the same mistakes again! We must learn that to fight for legal reforms and leave it to the leaders and congressmen will only leave us open for attack and betrayal. We must educate ourselves, organize our-selves and intervene to force the movement to fight for our demands. No more of this "Be respectable! Stay in the closet so Bill 123 can get passed" ad nauseam. can't leave it to anyone else or it won't get done.

### Final goal must be revolution

We've talked about the movement and the struggles of lesbians, youth, gay males and the entire working class. We've talked about the need to make a revolution to overturn the whole structure of society in order to gain our freedom. To do this, we have to organize. The RSL is a revolutionary organization; we want to bring together people who see the need for socialist revolution. We try to convince people that the final goal of the movement must lead to a revolution and that for this we need a revolutionary party
The tasks of the party are

to focus and organize the revolutionary energy of the movement so that it actually takes state power, and to educate and train ourselves and the whole working class so that we can take over the task of organizing society Our goal is a world workers government. The capitalist system has to be overthrown worldwide. The U.S. is the dominant power; Russia and China and other states which call themselves socialist or communist are state-capitalist. All of them must be overthrown. We have a sister organization in Jamaica the Revolutionary Marxist League—and together we are building a world party so that we have a worldwide force with which to challenge capitalism.

Through our newspaper, the Torch/La Antorcha, and through our active organizing, we support every struggle for every tiny reform, we fight to keep whatever gains we win and we organize toward our goal of total liberation. We believe that lesbians have a crucial task in helping to tear this system down and in helping to decide the basis on which we can rebuild a new, human society.

**Anti-Gay Film Must Be Shut Down** 

### **Protests Hit "Cruising"**

A new movie called "Cruising" is being filmed in the gay bars and streets of New York City's Greenwich Village. The film is an open invitation to violence against gay people. As a result, its filming has been bitterly protested in a series of demonstrations organized by lesbian and gay rights organizations.

The setting of the film is gay male leather and S&M bars. The plot centers on a series of murders and mutilations of gay men by a psychopathic killer, and the attempts of a cop (Al Pacino) to track him down. After coming into contact with the gay world through this investigation, the cop realizes that he is gay and then becomes a murderer himself.

At a time of increasing attacks on lesbians and gay males, this movie provides an easy justification for antigay violence: "Gays are violent psychopaths themselves."

paths themselves.

The demonstrations against "Cruising" have included attempts at disrupting the filming and mass protest marches in the evenings. Leaders of the National Gay Task Force and the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights have been playing an active role in leading the demonstrations. But at the largest mobilizations, especially a march of 1,500 on July 26 and a march of 400 on August 1, there have been clear and open conflicts between the leaders and the majority of marchers. For example, on the 26th, according to one participant: "They dragged us on a long march all around the Village. Every time we took a stand, every time people wanted to hold their ground against the cops,

the leaders said 'move.' At one point, they led half the demonstration away while others were attempting to help a sister who had fallen. The cops took advantage of the division and charged at those who remained behind."

The differences about march tactics came from differences over the purpose of the protests. The leaders, many of them supporters of the Democratic Party, wanted to stage demonstrations that could be used as bargaining chips in talks with city officials. The people in

the streets, while they had no clear plan of action, simply wanted to shut down "Cruising" any way they could.

In response to the protests, the makers of "Cruising" have claimed they are making script changes to soften its impact. This is not enough, "Cruising" must be shut down. If it is produced and shown, it will serve to organize and encourage attacks on gays. We urge all workers and oppressed people, gay and straight, to join in the fight to shut it down.



Gay militants took over Christopher Street during anti-"Cruising" demonstrations in July.

## Anti-Disco Movement Whips Up White Racism

By LISA LEMEL

Over this past summer disco music has been under heavy attack. Rock statlons in Chicago and Detroit have launched anti-disco campaigns. The slogan of the campaign is "Disco sucks."

In Chicago, anti-disco fans turned a double-header baseball game at Comiskey Park into an anti-disco dem-



Comiskey Park riot.

onstration. A Chicago radio station disc jockey, Steven Dahl, organized a publicity stunt with White Sox owner Bill Veeck. The admission to the double-header with the Detroit Tigers was 98 cents plus a disco record. The game was sold out and thousands stayed outside the ball park throughout the game. Between the games, the disco records were brought out to center field for a "disco demolition." thousand disco records were blown sky high At this point, the youth stormed the field and fought the cops who tried to bust people. The second game was cancelled.

In Detroit, a disc jockey from WWWW ("W4") organized people to trash a Black disco bar. The name of his group is "The disco duck Klan." And he told his listeners to come out in their "sheets and pillow cases." When the incident at Comiskey Park happened the disc jockey cancelled the plan. What is the meaning of

What is the meaning of these events? It is important to analyze these situations because music helps shape many people's lives.

Disco in the U.S. was developed by Black performers and first became popular in gay bars. This was before John Travolta and "Saturday Night Fever." Disco is based on a Latin and soul music beat. Especially in the major

cities, it is identified with Blacks and Latins. And it has been disco's overwhelming popularity in the Black and Latin communities that has kept if going. Recently, white rock artists have been doing disco, while more recently a few disco artists have been able to cross over to the whiter rock music market.

When disc jockeys organize people to blow up disco records or come out in white sheets, and call this movement a "disco duck Klan." when they say "disco sucks," this is more than an expression of musical taste or preference. It is a thinly covered expression of racism, and anti-gay prejudice. It is especially an attack on Blacks and Latins

### Culture can have political meaning

Cultural trends often have political significance. For example, when rock and roll music first became popular among whites in the 1950s, the KKK and other rightwing "God, country and morality" groups organized against it. They hated rock and roll because it came from Black rhythm and blues, soul, and gospel music, and they didn't want white youth exposed to any

thing from Black culture. They also hated rock and roll because the dancing was explicitly sexual. Rock and roll, they said, would soften the minds of youth, make them rebel against authority and the straight and narrow path, and open the country to "communist subversion." In fact, rock and roll music did have an anti-establishment, anti-authority thrust to it. Later, long hair. Afro or natural hairstyles were other expressions of rebellion.

These were all cultural and artistic differences that had a certain political content. Today, the fight around disco music also has a political content. In particular, racist forces are trying to use the current division in popular music between disco and rock to whip up racist feelings among white youth.

Of course it is possible to have a legitimate and straightforward negative reaction to disco. You just might not like it. Some people react to disco as proestablishment (and some contrast it to punk—new wave—rock in this way). There is no question disco has become big business. But disco is no more commercialized than every other form of culture the capitalists can make money on, including rock music.

But whether you like disco or not, whether you think it is an advance or a retreat in musical development, is not the point. Everyone should oppose the violent campaign against disco because it is a racist attack on Black and Latin people. People should be able to listen to whatever music they want.

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#### Klan organizing continues at TDC

The Ku Klux Klan is still trying to organize in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC). In a July 24 letter to the Torch/La Antorcha, Roberto P. Soliz, a prisoner at TDC, included a newspaper clipping that reads in part:

"An Austin newspaper reported Friday white Inmates in the Texas prison system are attempting to start a Ku Klux Klan chapter in an effort to prevent racial integration in prison. Prison officials said they were unaware of the recruitment effort but the Austin American-Statesman said it obtained copies of a 4-page letter being circulated among the prison system's 25,000 inmates through the help of sympathetic prison employees. The letter urges inmates to pay \$30 annual dues and become secret 'Advocates of the Ku Klux Klan.' Individuals willing to make their KKK affiliation public will 'Automatically be a class member' of a convict lawsuit seeking exemption for some white inmates who oppose integration with black and brown prisoners."

For his protection, Soliz also wrote: "...we have not received letters from our people in the streets. Something is wrong. Also Alvaro [Hernandez] is working in field force No. 2, squad 3. ham in field force No. 2, squad 5. These people have us down on paper as assigned to field force No. 1, Alvaro squad 16, and I squad 14. I for one get the feeling we are being set up. If anything should happen to us they can say, well, they were not supposed to be in that squad or field force."

#### Cancer victim dies chained to bed

James Cavanaugh Jonnson, a 30-year-old New York Oity prisoner, died of cancer August 2, while chained to his bêd with leg irons. Although he had been III for some time, the prison doctors on Rikers Island never tested him for cancer. By the time he was transferred to Bellevue Hospital on June 19, he only had six weeks to live.

Despite repeated protests by his doctors, the shackles were not removed. A spokesperson for the Department of Corrections said: "Departmental policy is that whenever an inmate is housed outside the prison ward, he must be secured to the bed." Johnson was in a semi-private room because he was terminally ill.

What happened to Johnson was nothing unusual. Prisoners have written to the Torch/La Antorcha about conditions in Bellevue's prison ward and mental ward, where people are sleeping on the floors because there are no mattresses or pillows.

#### In brief...

Cassandra Peten, a Black woman who was convicted January 25 of assault with a deadly weapon, has been sentenced to the time already served and released on parole. Peten, a battered woman, shot her husband in the leg after he stole her money and threatened to beat her up again. The judge denied her bail and sent her to the California Institute for Women for 60 to 90 days observation. (If you shoot your husband, you must be nuts, so they observe you.) Last November, the Chicago branch of the RSL hosted a benefit for Peten's defense. It was this kind of support in many parts of the country that resulted in her being freed.

The state of Florida is now charging prisoners up to \$14.64 a day for room and board. That's what they say it cost them to keep a prisoner in 1978. Any prisoner who refuses to file a statement listing bank assets and Social Security income won't be considered for parole.

Meanwhile, a police softball team is selling T-shirts with a picture of Florida's electric chair and the words: "1 down—133 to go." These pigs say the T-shirts merely reflect support for the death penalty! There are 133 prisoners on death row in Florida, more than in any other state in the U.S. Since John Spenkelink was executed on March 25, it is likely that the state will go ahead with more executions.

Bennie Lenard, a Black worker at the Melrose Park, Illinois, International Harvester plant, plans to sue the cops and others responsible for covering up a 1977 police attack on him. Lenard was brutally beaten and nearly blinded by white cops after a minor traffic accident. Lenard says he will use the lawsuit "to show how the courts work, especially for poor people and minorities." He told the Torch/La Antorcha: "The Bennie Lenard Support Committee will organize demonstrations outside the Dirksen Federal Building at 219 S. Dearborn when the new trial starts. And we are building support in the unions and the communities." The trial could start at short notice. Contact the Bennie Lenard Support Committee at (312) 372-5908; or call the RSL at 226-5915.

# Actions Mark Anniversary of Pontiac Rebellion

"The food strike went down beautiful here, the officers were so mad they didn't even bring any food around. They just asked each brother if he wanted to eat. Everyone said yes and when they went and got the food, nobody ate anything. Oh, they were mad, but it was all peaceful. They also changed the menu for breakfast: They had eggs, bacon, juice and cold cereal; for lunch they had fried chicken and steak at night. The plan still didn't work, from what I heard today, more than 80 percent of the population didn't at!"

These are the words of one of the Pontiac Brothers describing the July 22 food strike at Stateville prison in Illinois. The hunger strike was an answer to the guards who wore black armbands in memory of three guards who died in the Pontiac Rebellion a year ago. The strike was also a statement of support for the 31 Pontiac Brothers

who have been indicted for the rebellion.

On the same day as the food strike, outside supporters, the City-Wide Coalition to Free the Pontiac Brothers, held a march and rally. About 100 people marched on Chicago's South Side; the crowd at the rally grew to about 200. Marchers came from many organizations, including the Pontiac Prisoners Organization, Revolutionary Communist Party, Concerned Family and Friends of Prisoners, May 19th Communist Organization, Afrikan People's Socialist Party, New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, the Revolutionary Socialist League and others.

The rally started off with a message from the Pontiac Brothers themselves. They attacked the racism and brutality of the frame-up. There were also solidarity statements from the August 8th Brigade, from prisoners at Somers, Connecticut, and

from the Assata Shakur Defense Committee. Speakers included Dacajeweiah, the last prisoner to serve time for the 1971 Attica Rebellion, Nazareth Gray, mother of one of the prisoners, and several attorneys.

The march and rally were a step forward in the defense campaign. They exposed the frame-up of the Pontiac Brothers. They got some TV and radio coverage, and gave the outside defense effort a coherence and visibility that it had previously lacked.

The case of the Pontiac Brothers is a crucial one. This is the biggest attempted legal lynching in many years. The RSL will continue to be actively involved in building the defense effort of the Brothers. We urge all revolutionary and militant groups and people to join in building a united defense. Don't let the state get away with murder. Free the Pontiac Brothers!

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### Stop the Railroad of the RCP Defendants

By ADELE LOHMAN

Seventeen members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are facing felony charges in federal court that could mean up to 100 years in jail. The charges stem from a demonstration last January protesting Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's alliance with U.S. imperialism. RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and 16 others have been charged with 11 counts of assaulting a cop plus felony rioting.

The 17 now facing these heavy charges were among 78 people arrested at the demonstration outside the White House last January 29. Deng was inside dining with Jimmy Carter at the time. The police attacked the crowd of 500, beating, macing and clubbing the demonstrators. The 17 defendants are now charged with assaulting these

cops.

This is the first time since the anti-war movement of the 1960s-that the ruling class has come down this hard on a left group for staging a demonstration. There are several reasons for this.

First, as the economic crisis is increasing, the rulers want to intimidate the working class and the left. They are afraid of any opposition to their attacks on the workers' living standards. They also want to prevent organizing against their preparations for war, such as restoring the draft. "Step back and stay quiet, if you join protests it will put you in trouble," is the message they are trying to

The RCP is a particular target of the government because they are one of the more left wing of the groups calling, themselves socialist. The RCP played a role in the Moody Park Rebellion of Chicanos in Houston, and they clearly call for revolution in their pewspaper and leaflets.

In addition, the RCP offended the ruling

In addition, the RCP offended the ruling class by opposing the new leaders of China, Deng's visit to the U.S. was the honeymoon of the new U.S. /China marriage. Everywhere

Deng went, the government had arranged to have him meet business people and community leaders who sang praises to him, his government and his policies. The RCP demonstration (and the RCP protests at a news conference and the Chinese Embassy) disrupted the U.S. rulers' plans. Now they want to punish the RCP for these internationally embarrassing incidents.

The RSL has differences with the RCP. For one thing, we disagree over the meaning of Deng's takeover in China. The 17 call themselves the Mao Tsetung Defendants. They and the RCP believe that Mao built social-ism, and now Deng is overthrowing it. As we explained in our January 15, 1979, supplement "Has China Come Full Circle?," the Chinese revolution that Mao led was a bourgeois nationalist revolution. It kicked the imperialists out of China, unified the country, and made important reforms. But the working class never took power, and the country has been run according to the needs of a capitalist class that controls the state. Mao had differences with Deng for many years over how China should be modernized. but both were members of the same ruling class. We agree with the RCP, however, that Deng is opening China to the U.S. and that this represents a step backward for China. We support holding anti-Deng demonstra-

We also support the decision of the RCP to conduct a political rather than a civil liberatarian defense in court. Instead of simply standing on the Constitution and the free speech it supposedly provides for, the defendants are emphasizing that they call for socialist revolution and that this is why they are on trial.

Most of the left has been silent about the attack on the RGP. The Call (newspaper of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist) and the Militant (newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party) went further and condemned the demonstration. These "socialists" are turning their backs on an attack by the ruling class because they have political disagreements with the victims. This petty attitude is disgusting. It is also suicide.

If the government is allowed to put the Mao Tsetung Defendants in jail for their political ideas, they won't be long in coming to get the rest of the left as well. On the other hand, a successful defense of the RCP supporters will strengthen the whole working class in its battles with the capitalists.

The RSL calls on all workers and revolutionaries to protest the trial of the 17. We demand that the government drop all charges against them.

### He Called for "V Remem

By FRANK HOPKINS

Eight years ago, on August 21, 1971, the ruling class murdered George Jackson. The assassination of Jackson in the prison yard at San Quentin, California, caused protest across the country, both in the prisons and on the outside. At Attica, for example, prisoners wore black armbands and remained silent at meal-time.

Millions of sisters and brothers felt solldarity with George Jackson for the same reason that the ruling class hated him: Jackson was a prisoner leader and a revolutionary. He was a member of the Bjack Panther Party when it was an important revolutionary organization. Jackson stood for an uncompromising fight against the capitalist system and the racial oppression that this sytem has always meant. Jackson stood for a "War Without Terms."

### "They never let him out"

George Jackson's life experience made him a revolu-tionary. When he was 18, he was busted, charged with taking \$70 from a gas station. He was told that if he'd plead guilty, he'd get a light sentence. It was the last lesson he ever needed in playing by the rules in a racist society. He pleaded guilty and ended up getting an "indeterminate sentence one year to life. This meant that the keepers and the state had total control over how much time Jackson would spend in prison. And since he fought and organized against racism and oppression in prison, they never let him out. Jackson spent 11 years imprisoned. eight and a half in segrega-

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### He Called for "War Without Terms"

### Remember George Jackson!

By FRANK HOPKINS

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### "They never let him out"

George Jackson's life experience made him a revolutionary. When he was 18, he was busted, charged with taking \$70 from a gas station. He was told that if he'd plead guilty, he'd get a light sentence. It was the last lesson he ever needed in playing by the rules in racist society. He pleaded guilty and ended up getting an "indeterminate sentence -one year to life. This meant that the keepers and the state had total control over how much time Jackson since he fought and organized against racism and oppression in prison, they never let him out. Jackson spent 11 years imprisoned, eight and a half in segrega-

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what it was and consistently organized against the division of prisoners and the brutal racism of the state.

Things came to a head in 1970. A fight between white and Black prisoners broke out in the exercise yard at Soledad prison. The guards had been encouraging the white prisoners to start some shit. When they did, the guards started shooting from the towers. Three Black prisoners were murdered. One white was injured. It was premeditated murder. The state found it "instifiable."

meditated murder. The state found it "justifiable."
Within the month, a prison guard was thrown down three tiers to his death. The state framed up Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette—the Soledad Brothers—for the guard's death. The state was noping the conviction of the Soledad Brothers would kill off the growing anti-racist and revolutionary prisoners' movement.

But instead, a movement developed around the Soledad Brothers. Articles were written exposing that the state of California was buying prisoner witnesses with parole offers and prostitutes. Jackson became a recognized national leader among prisoners.

So the state had him killed. They transfered Jackson to San Quentin and tried to convince white prisoners there to kill him. When one white prisoner exposed this, the guards went ahead and did the dirty work themselves.

### Prisons enforce racist terror

The struggle of George Jackson was a struggle against the racist terror of the capitalist system. Jackson saw clearly that to end racism, you have to put capitalism to death. U.S. capitalism was born with the ugly face of racism. When

# George Jackson knew that to win liberation and equality we have to put capitalism to death. We stand for this same fight against capitalism and the racist terror it breeds.

came because he fought against the racist groups that were an important part of the prison system in Cali-fornia. These organizations of racist white prisonerscalling themselves "Hitler's Helpers"-were encouraged, supported and supplied with weapons by the guards. One or two Black prisoners would regularly end up in a roomful of "Hitler's Helpers." White prisoners who wouldn't go along with the racists were also set up by the guards. They would end up in situations where they were outnumbered by Black prisoners who were angry from taking racist beatings. Jackson saw this situation for

the rulers were barely through writing their Declaration of Independence—you know, equality and all those other nice words—they were committing genocide against the Native American people and destroying Africa and the lives of Black people with the slave trade. The profits reaped from the mass misery of slavery got this system off the ground. And to maintain this mass misery, the rulers needed a reign of terror over Black people

It has always been this way; U.S. history books may as well be written in blood. From slavery to the growth of the Ku Klux Klan, the de-

struction of Reconstruction and the creation of the Jim Crow laws. From the lynchings to the cop terror, the prisons and the legal lynchings that go on today. Capitalism has never meant anything to the masses of Black people but oppression and

The prisons are a large part of today's terror. Working-class people in general, and Black people in particular, face the constant threat of imprisonment. Nine out of every 10' Black males get busted or imprisoned in their lifetime.

The prisons and other forms of racist terror are used to divide and demoralize the working class. First, they demoralize the working class by striking out at its most oppressed sections. Black and Latin people are very much at the heart of the working class—in the auto, steel and other industries. Racist terror is used to keep the Black and Latin working people from fighting against their oppression. Secondly, the rulers of this country divide the working class by trying to win white working-class and middle-class people into going along with

racist attacks. The guards encourage white prisoners to attack Black and Latin prisoners; the rulers encourage white people to fight with Black people over jobs, housing and education.

### Put capitalism to death

U.S. capitalism has grown up. What was once its ugly face of racism is now a festering sore. We can either live with it and get infected or blow its fucking head off.

We choose the latter. And we are building a revolutionary party that will train working-class people of all nationalities how to do the latter. This is why we commemorate George Jackson. He stood for liberation and equality. And he knew that to win these things we have to put capitalism to death. We stand for this same fight against capitalism and the racist terror it breeds.

The Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party during the 1960s made popular the saying "You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution." Eight



George Jackson.

years ago the rulers were able to assassinate George Jackson. They have never been able to kill what he stood for. People all over the world have learned the kind of lessons that Jackson taught. The rulers and their system are doomed. "War Without Terms."

### Walla Walla Guards Riot, Rape Carl Harp

On the night of July 8, prison guards at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla went on the rampage. They began by severely beating five prisoners—Danny Atteberry, Manuel Rampola, Danny Clark, Lynn Brooks and Gary Isaacs. One brother, Carl Harp, who was in the same cellblock, began screaming at the pigs. They then started on Harp. They maced him and beat him. They stripped his clothes off and torture-raped him; a guards' night-stick was forced up his rectum. Then they left him, hoping that he would bleed to death, and took the other prisoners they'd beaten to the "third floor" (Walla Walla's Behavior Modification Unit).

But Harp didn't die. He spent a week in the hospital recovering from this sadistic assault

In response to this latest murder attempt, prisoners are demanding the firing of Warden James "Get-tough" Spaulding. For their part, old "Get-tough" and Governor Dixy Lee Ray are trying to blame the assault on 13 guards. The guards certainly deserve anything they get, and more. But this doesn't hide the fact that Spaulding and Ray are personally responsible for the rape and the beatings.

Walla Walla has been deadlocked since June 15 when a guard was killed. This death is also the re-

sponsibility of Spaulding, Ray, and the state of Washington. For years conditions at Walla Walla have had all the makings of a torture chamber. The Intensive Security Unit where prisoners are kept all day long in cells no bigger than the average bathroom; the Behavior Modification. Unit where pristied down to beds until they piss on themselves, and drugged until they are zombies; the "parole hearings" where the fact that you looked at a guard cross-eyed means continued imprisonment. This kind of treatment inevitably means that something is going to blow up:

Since the mid-June deadlock began, there has been a war going on in the prison. Prisoners weren't even allowed showers. On July 7, guards took several prisoners out to the yard and beat them. The prisoners responded to these attacks. On July 8, 200 prisoners smashed up a celiblock. That night, the guards went on their vicious attack.

Carl Harp was a special target; he was number one on their hit list. The state and the keepers have a good reason for wanting to kill Harp. He is a political prisoner and a consistent fighter for the rights and the lives of prisoners. He played an important role in the 1977 strike at Walla Walla, one of the longest prisoner strikes in ILS history. He was a

founding member of Men Against Sexism, a multi-national prisoners' organization that fought for the rights of gay prisoners. Harp was one of three prisoners who took 10 hostages in May, demanding a federal investi-gation of the prison. Harp's life has been threatened before, but this time the guards felt they had the ability to carry it out. The politics of the attack were shocked when they raped me -I couldn't believe it. The pain was beyond words and then they beat me until I was in a daze and could feel no pain, calling me a political prisoner and a jailhouse

They will still be trying to kill Carl Harp. He has been transferred to San Quentin. This is where George Jackson was assassinated. Harp needs support.

The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Torch/
La Antorcha have sent protests to the governor of Washington demanding the firing of the guards involved, the firing of Spaulding, and the immediate and unconditional release of Carl Harp. We encourage all individuals and organizations to send letters of protest to: Governor Dixy Lee Ray, Capitol Building, Olympia, Washington 98124.

End the deadlock at Walla Walla! Fire the sadists! Free Carl Harp!

### **Chrysler Lays Off** Thousands as Contract Talks Open

(Continued from page 1) losses will probably top the \$750,000,000 (three-quarters of a billion dollars) mark. With the deepening recession and increasing domestic and international competition, Chrysler's continued existence as a major corporation is in doubt. Although Chrysler is telling the press that its troubles are caused by the costs of government pollution, safety and gas mileage regulations, this argument is not taken seriously within the auto industry.

Chrysler has long been the weakest of the Big Three. It has the oldest, least efficient plants. It makes fewer of its own parts than Ford or GM therefore buys from the outside at higher prices. It also has a much smaller financial base than GM or Ford. Finally, Chrysler failed to develop its own sub-compact car in the early 1970s, and is now stuck with lots of gas guzzlers. As a result of these and other factors, the current recession is pushing Chrysler to the wall

But it is only in comparison with Ford or GM that Chrysler looks small. It is the 10th largest company in the U.S. and the 13th largest defense contractor. It is also the only manufacturer of U.S. army tanks.

If Chrysler falls, the effects will be catastrophic. Over 130,000 workers are employed by Chrysler (73,-

amount to nothing.

Fraser Jobs Plan a Sham

As the contract deadline approaches, 55,000 autoworkers are on indefinite layoff and more layoffs are coming. Job security for lower-seniority workers is vital to keeping the UAW united and strong. But the UAW leadership is not seriously bringing the issue of jobs to the bargaining

The shorter work time acheme that the UAW leaders will most likely push this year is compensation for overtime. If a worker works eight hours a day, Monday through Friday, she or he would built up a credit of a half hour off for every hour of overtime worked. After 80 hours are accumulated, the worker is entitled to a week off with pay.

This plan will not create jobs. Any jobs gained replacing workers on paid vacation, will be offset by the jobs lost through the increased overtime that the plan encourages workers to work. The Paid Personal Holiday Plan, which gave 12 paid days off in the last year of the present contract, resulted in less than 2,000 jobs created.

in the face of current layoffs the jobs that would be

created by a few more paid personal holidays would

The plan fits the bosses' plans too. They would rather schedule more overtime than hire new workers. Although UAW leaders claim to be concerned about job losses.

their plans to create more jobs have been shown to be a

The compensatory overtime plan appeals to workers who work a lot of overtime pian appears to workers who work a lot of overtime, mainly skilled workers. In past contract rounds, skilled workers have mounted campaigns to reject contract proposals brought back by the negotiators. Fraser wants to win them to contract ratifica-

000 in the Detroit area), while another 400,000 jobs in related industries are dependent on Chrysler's continued operation at its present scale. If Chrysler goes under, most of these workers will lose their jobs.

Chrysler officials are us-ing the threat of its bankruptcy as a club to try to get money from the government and lower wages from Chrysler workers, "We couldn't belly-up," said a Chrysler manager, "we'd take down banks, towns and even some countries."
Presently, Chrysler offi-

cials, various politicians, the AFL-CIO, and the UAW leadership are all proposing plans for government action to bail out Chrysler. On August 9, when Secretary of the Treasury William Miller rejected a proposed \$1 bil-lion tax credit for Chrysler, he suggested a government guaranteed loan instead.

None of these plans, how ever, will guarantee the jobs of all employed or laid-off Chrysler workers. If Chrysler does get some money from one of these plans, the funds will be used to retool, modernize and retrench its operations. Chrysler might be saved, but tens of thousands of Chrysler workers would still lose their jobs.

On top of this, the govern-ment, Chrysler, and the un-ion bureaucrats will connive to make sure that the working class will pay for bailing out

warned that the government would only help Chrysler if there were "substantive contributions or concessions from management, employ-ees, stockholders, creditors, suppliers and other business associates." (The key word here is employees.) On August 3, Chrysler proposed that its workers accept a two-year wage and benefit freeze to help the company

#### Dodge Main workers backbone of fight

A fight over whether and how to save Chrysler jobs has already begun. This spring, Chrysler's Lyons Trim plant was closed, throwing 700 people out of

Autoworkers' demonstration in Detroit marked opening day of 1979 contract negotiations.

work. On May 29, Chrysler announced plans to close the Hamtramck Assembly plant (known as Dodge Main) and the Outer Drive Stamping plant in Detroit. According to the UAW, 8,000 jobs will be lost from these closings.

In response to the announced closing of Dodge Main, a movement of auto workers began to arise to protest these attacks. On June 3, 3,000 people marched and rallied in Ham-

tramck. On July 19, 1,500 demonstrated outside Chrysnumbers of demonstrators

ler headquarters in Highland Park, and on July 27, 300 marched through Ham-tramck again. The main forces at all three demonstrations were Dodge Main workers and supporters of various left organizations. The main demand of the demonstrators was "Save Dodge Main," while the left groups raised various other slogans. But the declining

#### FROM FORD MAHWAH

### **SELLOUT LEADERS FEED DIVISIONS AMONG WORKERS**

Dear Torch Readers,
Ford Motor Company just announced the closing of the Commercial Section (Truck) of the Mahwah, New Jersey, Assembly Plant as of Friday, July 27. Over the next few weeks, 750 people from Commercial (mostly high seniority workers) will transfer into the main passenger oar system, bumping low-seniority workers off their jobs. All of this will leave at least 750 low-seniority workers (three and a half years seniority and less) on indefinite layoff. Because Ford-Mahwah refused to hire women for years, 80-90 percent of the women in the plant will be laid off.

The company is attacking low-seniority workers the hardest—we'll be in the streets in a few weeks. But high-seniority workers are also getting beaten down. Workers from Commercial (where the truck lines run slow-er) will be forced to work the passenger production lines where the pace of work is brutal. Some of the older workers from Commercial may not be able to handle it will they be forced to guit or die of heart attacks from the pressure of the line? Other workers who have worked their way off the worse jobs will be forced back into those jobs again. The hopes that people have—to become an inspector, to get a relief job, to get into Freight and drive a tug around, or to get into the skilled trades-have been wiped out overnight.

Everyone is getting beaten down and the union is selling everyone out. At the special UAW Local 906 union meeting on July 29, President Reilly told us that there nothing he could do but pray for the 750 people who will be on the streets! We need action-not prayers!

The UAW is a big union with one and a half million members. An industrywide strike against all the auto companies could force the companies to shorten the work week to 30 hours at full pay so that the available work gets divided among all the people. Workers are paying for this recession, but the UAW could turn things around by telling the companies that no one works unless we all do. To do this, the locals that are being hit hardest by the auto layoffs will have to organize against the International UAW bureaucracy that wants to keep the rank and file quiet. Without this kind of a fight to defend everyone's job, things will get much worse.

Already the sellout union leadership is

having a strong impact on conservative workers in the plant. Racial tension has

increased and will get worse. Already a few conservative white workers have said openly that they're looking forward to taking jobs away from Black people. The UAW leadership is blaming the recession on foreign auto competition and this is leading to a strong anti-foreigner and "the U.S. comes first mentality. The union leadership has fed the attitude that more-backward men have about women working in the auto plant: don't we really belong at home or doing "women's jobs"? These attitudes in Local 906 reflect and reinforce the conservative political climate that is growing in the country. But this is only part of it.

The sellout leadership of the union also makes people who know the whole system is unjust and brutal feel more demoralized. You watch everyone getting beaten down while the union leadership tells you there's nothing you can do and you know in your heart it's dead wrong, but how do you do something to change it? The whole system is organized against you. You realize that it's going to take a long, hard struggle to turn things around and you're not even sure there's enough time before the capitalists blow up the world trying to protect their profits and position over the rest of us.

But the reality is that if we don't organize around a program that can unite the working class against the capitalists who are our common enemy, the union leaders will continue to feed the divisions among workers. The capitalists will continue to attack our standard of living and they'll get away with it if our divisions increase. The most conservative, right-wing elements within the country will gain confidence as they look for people "below them" to blame capitalism's problems on. This is what developed in Germany that led to the rise of Hitler and the extermination of six million Jews. The only alternative we have to the death agony that capitalism is going through. is to organize for a workers' revolution that will overthrow the capitalists and run society in the interests of the overwhelming majority of people. Any struggle that improves the situation of the working class is a step forward. The fight against these layoffs throughout the auto industry is where we must start. The struggle will be long and hard, but I ask you-what other alternative do we really have?

Mary M. UAW Local 906

Order from:

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**Haymarket Books** PO Box 8062 Chicago, IL 60680



#### **UFW** strike in troub

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This past week, Sun Harvest the biggest growers (and also Brands), offered a plan for 20 d talks, to be followed by binding there's no agreement. Chavez's Jane Fonda's nationwide tour v

#### Union tops talk tough

Resolutions passed at the an August 4 indicate that the council inch away from its usual hide-bo policies. Council members are u supporters of capitalist "free ent

mainly from more oppressed groups: women, Blacks, Arabs, youth, etc. Between the lines, Fraser is saying that in these time of recession and layoffs, he can deliver only so much. Therefore, some people are going to have to settle for less—namely, settle with not having a job.

By winning demands that appeal to a section of the UAW membership, the leadership is selling out the laid-off, lower-seniority workers. These workers are

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Local 906

reveals that the movement is losing steam. Why?

The UAW leaders have made no real efforts to mobilize people from other plants or those on layoff. They have refused to alert workers about the full extent of the crisis at Chrysler or to warn workers that thousands of other jobs, in addition to those at Main, may be lost. In fact, UAW head Douglas Fraser, has already told the corporations that there will be no strike at Chrysler. The UAW leaders wanted to keep the demonstrations to the sole demand of "Save Dodge Main." Fraser, UAW Vice President Marc Stepp, and liberal politicians like U.S. Representative John Conyers proposed that this be done by having the government buy 30 percent of Chrysler stock at a cost of \$1 billion and placing workers and "citizens" on Chrysler's Board of Directors along with the present manage-

This plan tries to lull workers into inactivity by en-

couraging them to think that some half-assed government intervention and worker cooperation with Chrysler man-agement will begin to solve the problem. This plan is nothing but another variation of all the other give-Chrysler-\$1-billion plans. It is like using a bandaid to deal with a cancer: It covers over the real problem right now-but the sickness remains and will erupt in more gruesome form tomorrow

#### Political education needed

What then is the solution? The underlying problem is capitalism—its functioning for the sake of profit, its lying, thieving ruling class, this ruling class's assorted agents who can be found throughout government and other institutions, including our unions, and its looting and plundering of the world's peoples and resources. This

is the cancer which must be dealt with, not by applying bandaids, but with radical surgery. The only lasting solution is international so cialist revolution in which the working and oppressed people around the world organize themselves, over-throw the ruling classes, set up their own states and take control of industry and all society

But the vast majority of

U.S. workers are neither

class conscious nor revolutionary. They will have to get a political education in the course of struggles to de-fend their jobs and livelihoods. The real crime of the bandaid reform proposals of Fraser and the rest is not even that they are no real solution. The real crime is that they fail to educate. organize and mobilize the masses of workers and oppressed people to defend themselves. Without education as to the nature and extent of the crisis we are facing, workers will be unable to chart a course to fight it. Without organization and mobilization of our forces, the workers are disarmed in the face of these

But political education does not come automatically from struggling against the capitalists. What people will learn depends on what they are struggling for and how the fight is conducted. The most immediate question for revolutionaries in the auto Industry is-what slogans. demands and program of action will increase the class consciousness and fighting ability of their fellow workers, and recruit the most advanced workers to the struggle to build a revolutionary party of the working

#### RAC's program for crisis

The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) is proposing the following program to deal with the crisis at Chrysler:

Time to draw the line-no jobs losses! No plant closinas!

1. The UAW should launch a nationwide struggle to demand the complete nationalization of Chrysler without compensation to the capitalists. Funds for retooling and operating must be drawn not from the pockets of working and poor people, but from taxing the banks and corporations who refuse to invest in Chrysler since it is not profitable. Control of the nationalized industry's operations and renovations must be placed in the hands elected committees of UAW workers. Such a na-tionalized firm could be reorganized to be part of a mass public works program involving the production of such things as clean, safe mass transit, attractive, lowrental housing, etc.
2.Dodge Main and Outer

Drive must remain open Lyons Trim must be reonened.

3. No worker on layoff must be permanently cut. The workweek must be shortened with no loss in pay to ensure this

4. The present SUB fund, which is about to run dry must be guaranteed for one vear. All workers regardless of seniority must be eligible for SUB.

5. No separation of the Chrysler contract-for an industrywide strike.

6. Open negotiations-no secret deals. Elected strike committees in every local.

#### Demands point the way forward

This program, by itself, is only one step toward solving our problems. If the workers won control of Chrysler while the rest of the econ omy and the government remained under the control of the capitalist class, we would face constant harassment and sabotage from the capitalists. They would do whatever they could to re-gain full control. And we'd have to struggle to defend our gains. As a result, the situation we would be in could only be temporary, transitional Either we would move forward and take con-trol of the whole of society gain control. But the demands we are proposing point out the direction we have to move. An organized struggle around this program can move the working class forward toward our goal—to seizing political and eco-nomic control over society and using it to create a new and free social order.



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

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



### LABOR IN STRUGGLE



#### **UFW** strike in trouble

The United Farmworkers (UFW) convention opened August 11 in Salinas, California, with a big rally addressed by Governor Jerry Brown and actress Jane Fonda, among others. UFW President Cesar Chavez went on a 12-day fast and organized a march to the rally site in an effort to breathe new life into a seven-month-old strike against California's vegetable industry. The union is demanding a 40 percent raise, from \$3.70 an hour base pay to \$5.25.

Chavez called for an expanded boycott against the products of United Brands (formerly United Fruit Co.), especially their Chiquita bananas. He also threatened a general strike if the growers don't settle soon. But it may be too late for that. The

workers can't afford to stay out any longer. Chavez called a selective strike against eight lettuce growers last January 19. The rest of the growers were making money and funneling some of it to the eight so they could hold out. After a picket was shot to death last February 10; there was a one-day general strike. Instead of putting more pressure on the bosses. Chavez preached non-violence and ordered everybody back to work

This past week, Sun Harvest Company, one of the biggest growers (and also owned by United Brands), offered a plan for 20 days of intensive talks, to be followed by binding arbitration if there's no agreement. Chavez said no. He's hoping Jane Fonda's nationwide tour will build a boycott

### Union tops talk tough

Resolutions passed at the annual meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council over the weekend of AFLOID Executive Council over the weaken) and August 4 indicate that the council is beginning to inch away from its usual hide-bound conservative policies. Council members are usually enthusiastic supporters of capitalist "free enterprise." But they

passed a resolution calling on the government to "seriously consider" nationalizing the oil industry. In addition, the council gave a qualified endorsement to the SALT II arms agreement, a departure from its traditional support for a superanti-Russian U.S. foreign policy.

The main reason for these resolutions is that the labor leaders are under increasing pressure from workers who want peace and some relief from the growing economic crisis. They may also reflect political differences within the labor bureaucracy. George Meany, the 84-year-old head of the AFL-CIO, was too ill to attend the conference, and may retire in November. He is expected to be replaced by Lane Kirkland, the AFL-CIO's present secretary-treasurer. In addition, five or six openings are coming up on the council itself. More liberal union heads, such as William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, think it is necessary for the AFL-CIO to support militant-sounding reforms in order to keep its domination of the labor movement. The resolutions demonstrate that other bureaucrats agree.

But council members made it clear that they will

continue to put the interests of U.S. imperialism ahead of the needs of the working class. Although they called for reforms like expanded jobs programs and improved unemployment compensation, they declared that the U.S. can't afford to "risk national security" by cutting defense spending to carry out these measures.

Similar considerations dominated the annual conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), held in early July. The conference passed a series of strong resolutions calling for nationalization of the energy industry, "32 for 40" (32 hours' work for 40 hours' pay), an end to the union's no-strike pledge (the Experimental Negotiating Agreement—ENA); and the right of the rank and file to ratify the contract.

Fifteen resolutions supported issues of particular concern to women steelworkers, such as the Equal Rights Amendment and childcare.

District 31 represents the Chicago/Gary union leadership, led by District Director Jim Balanoff. Balanoff is taking the place of Ed Sadlowski, the former District 31 director, as the head of the opposition to USWA President Lloyd McBride and his conservative allies. The tough talk at the conference is in part a bid for rank-and-file support against the McBride bureaucracy. It also represents a bid to head off any rebellion by rank-and-file steelworkers when the national steel contract expires next year.

#### In brief...

Workers for the Westinghouse Electric Corporation have been on strike since July 16. Westinghouse workers are fighting management attempts to engineer what amounts to a wage cut against them. The company is demanding that workers pay three percent of their wages over \$13,400 to a pension fund. Up till now, the company alone had funded the pension plan. Workers are also demanding two years notice of plant closings, transfer rights to new plants, and other protection against company efforts to shift their operations to non-union plants in the South and overseas.

Two unions have won major victories in the battle to organize workers in the Sun Belt states of the South and Southwest. On July 19, the United Auto Workers won a union representation election at a new General Motors plant in Oklahoma City by a two-to-one margin. Farlier in the same week, the United Rubber Workers won a representation election at a Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. plant near Nashville, Tennessee.

-PR & AL

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### WHY THE BOAT PEOPLE ARE LEAVING VIETNAM

V TONY CURZO

A debate concerning Vietnam is raging among groups and individuals in the U.S. left and the old anti-war movement as thousands of boat people stream out of Vietnam.

thousands of boat people stream out of Vietnam.

This debate points to an increasing split among these forces over events in Southeast Asia. One side—typified by people like Joan Baez, Daniel Berrigan and other pacifist and social-democratic anti-war activists—is sharply attacking Vietnam for alleged human rights violations.

This group, however, is not saying a word of criticism against the U.S. for its far greater human rights violations: its responsibility for destroying Vietnam with millions of tons of bombs and napalm; its continuing economic and diplomatic boycott of the country; and its refusal to open its doors to most boat people. Because of the selectivity of its attacks, this group is objectively on the side of U.S. imperialism.

The other side—represented by forces like Wilfred Burchett, David Dellinger, William Kunstler, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party—is made up of apologists for the Vietnamese Stalinists, who have set up a state-capitalist regime in Vietnam. These people have taken up the pen to refute Baez and Co. in order to prove that the Vietnamese rulers can do no wrong. To cover for their wholesale capitulation to the Vietnamese rulers, they adopt a "militant" anti-II. S. posture.

wholesale capitulation to the Vietnamese rulers, they adopt a "militant" anti-U.S. posture.

Both sides stand for capitalism: One is allied with U.S. imperialism; the other, with Vietnamese state capitalism. Neither side gives a damn what happens to the boat people, or to Vietnam's workers and peasants. There is another way to look at events taking place in Vietnam. The article below gives our view of what is going on.

Hundreds of thousands of people are leaving Vietnam, heading for the open sea on overloaded boats, seeking refuge wherever the winds might take them. Fifty percent or more never make it. They die from exposure, hunger, thirst, or the capsizing of their badly overloaded boats.

Those who reach land tell of harrowing days marooned at sea without food or water; of fishermen turned pirates, who board these boats to rape and steal; of local navies which force them off the coasts, back out to sea.

. So far this year more than 300,000 people have left Vietnam. Around 80 percent are ethnic Chinese. Known as the Hoa people, the Chinese have lived in Vietnam for generations. Why are they leaving Vietnam now?

### Government carries out mass expulsions

All the facts point to a mass expulsion carried out by the Vietnamese government. Beginning about a year and a half ago, when relations between Vietnam and China were taking a turn for the worse, the Vietnamese government began to subject the Hoa people in both north and south to systematic harassment, designed to encourage them to leave the country.

For example, the government has fired tens of thousands of Hoa workers, particularly in the north. According to Time (July 9, 1979), they "have been dismissed from government jobs, forbidden to conduct private businesses, told they can no longer associate with their Vietnamese countrymen. Their schools have been closed, but their children have not been allowed to attend classes with Vietnamese."

The government has imposed dusk-to-dawn curfews on the Hoa, cut off their food rations, arrested, detained and beaten them—all in an effort to persuade them to leave. These measures, according to The Economist (July 21, 1979), "have been applied solely to the Chinese. And, refugees claim, to every Chinese."

North and south, the Vietnamese government is giving the Hoa a choice of leaving on the boats or moving to so-called New Economic Zones. The New



well as loans from wealthy Chinese and from relatives in

other countries. According

to Fox Butterfield, a reporter for the New York Times, in

one month alone last April, overseas relatives remitted

Vietnam to help the Hoa get out, more than half the value

of Vietnam's total exports for

1978. This grisly traffic in human beings is becoming

Vietnam's most profitable

Chu Van Tan and Le Quang Ba, two Vietnamese generals under house arrest because of their ethnic background.

Economic Zones are—in the words of The Economist—"barren areas or jungle, incapable of supporting life."

The overwhelming majority of the Hoa have lived in the cities for generations. They have no agricultural background whatsoever. Now they are being forced to rot and starve in these jungle areas as agricultural serfs, or leave the country.

For the "privilege" of risking their necks on the open sea, the Vietnamese regime is charging up to 10 taels of gold (more than \$3,000) per adult; "children are often charged half price," says Newsweek, "and infants travel free." People are using all of their life's savings—traditionally kept in gold—as industry, replacing coal as the leading earner of foreign exchange.

### Policy is anti-Chinese

The Vietnamese Stalinists claim that they are not anti-Chinese, but anti-capitalist. They argue that they are moving against capitalist forces in an effort to build socialism. It's just coincidence that most of the capitalists happen to be ethnic Chinese, they say.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Socialism means that the workers are in power and control the government and the society.

But in Vietnam the workers are an exploited class that has to sell its labor power to the state in order to survive.

Far from building socialism, the Vietnamese rulers are building a state-capitalist system in which the economy, production, the government, and every important aspect of life is controlled by a ruling class organized around the party and state apparatus.

Their moves against the Chinese are aimed primarily at building and consolidating their state-capitalist system, which has only recently been grafted onto the southern part of the country.

A socialist state would move against any remaining capitalists in the south, but the Vietnamese rulers have done a lot more: They have also seized the property of the hundreds of thousands of petty proprietors remaining there. Last May they took over the "assets" of small shopkeepers, street peddlers, fishermen, and other tiny independent vendors. Most of these were Chinese, who have dominated retail trade in the area for generations.

Through the expropriations of the Hoa merchants' corner stalls and carts, the Vietnamese government at one stroke took away their means of earning a living. This left them no alternative to boarding the boats or moving to the resettlement areas.

Another indication that these measures have nothing to do with socialism is that they are not limited to the newly liberated south; they are not limited to petty proprietors; and they are not limited to likely enemies of the state-capitalist system. On the contrary, they are being applied nationwide, and they encompass all the Hoa people, including tens

of thousands of workers, as well as party officials of Chinese descent.

In the north, where pre-sumably a "socialist" transformation of the economy took place a long time ago, the Chinese have lived under Hanoi's rule for a generation. They have proved their loyalty during more than years of war. And—as the August 4, 1978, Far Eastern Economic Review pointed out as early as last summer-the overwhelming majority are workers. Yet tens of thousands of themminers, dock workers, facworkers-have been fired from their jobs, harassed and forced to board boats or head for the jungle. How can this be squared

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"You have always been a loyal Communist, but isn't your grandmother a Chinese?" the police were said to have asked. When Mr. Minh said that she was, he was given the choice of a boat or a resettlement area."

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A provincial official from the south, who had been an officer in the National Liberation Front, also came under attack for having a Chinese ancestor. "I expected more, after 11 years of fighting for the motherland," he told Butterfield in his refugee camp. Other reporters have met many similar cases. At the refugee camp on Bidong island alone, in Malaysia.

there are today 75 Commun-(Continued on page 17)

### NICARAG LET WOF AND SM FARMER

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Right now, the new rulers of Nicaragua are taking steps to remove the worst excesses of the Somoza regime. They have dissolved Somoza's rubberstamp Congress and the corrupt National Guard. They have nationalized the enormous property holdings of the Somoza family, as well as several banks owned by other Nicaraguan capitalists. They have also ended restrictions on the press and radio stations, and ordered police to release prisoners arrested without charges after 24

#### Sandinistas in alliance with the capitalists

These reforms, however, leave the basic issues facing the Nicaraguan revolution unanswered. Will the workers and peasants who fought so heroically against Somoza succeed in finishing, off capitalist rule in Nicaragua? Or will the victory be stolen from them by pro-capitalist forces who are already maneuvering to take full control of the country for themselves? These are the questions which the Nicaraguan people and all those who support them must consider.

Some of the Sandinistal leaders claim to be Marxists whose goal is to build a socialist society in Nicaragua. For example, the Sandinista paper Barricada announced that "all the tasks of defending the revolution and national reconstruction are passing to our combative working class." It also called on workers in every factory and plant to form Sandinist Workers Defense Committees to protect the gains of the revolution

the revolution.
Meanwhile, local Sandinista commanders are taking radical measures to reorganize the areas under their control. For instance, in Leon the military administration controls supplies through a series of committees with the power to expropriate businesses and requisition goods without compensation. The director of these committees regards them as a model for the whole country, saying:

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### PLE TNAM



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### **NICARAGUA: LET WORKERS** AND SMALL **FARMERS RULE!**

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Meanwhile, local Sandinista commanders are taking radical measures to reorga nize the areas under their control. For instance, in Leon the military administra-tion controls supplies tion controls supplies through a series of committees with the power to expropriate businesses and requisition goods without compensation. The director of these committees regards them as a model for the whole country, saying:

"There are a lot of people here who would like this to be a Marxist state."

But instead of moving to overthrow the capitalist class in Nicaragua the top Sandinista leaders, without exception, are presently in alliance with them. The provisional government is a coalition between the Sandinistas and capitalist business leaders and politicians who opposed Somoza. In this coalition, the capitalists have the majority. The fivemember junta that runs the government includes three representatives of the capitalist class, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, Sergio Rami-rez Mercado, and Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, but only two Sandinista leaders, Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Moises Hassan Morales, In addition, the cabinet only

minister of agrarian reform, and a leader of the Proletarian Tendency of the Sandinista National Liberation Front:
"We made this revolution without radicalism and that is how it will continue." Wheelock insists: "We have a respect for those who favor private enterprise and we intend to work with them When the banks were na-

Jaime Wheelock Roman

tionalized, Robelo Callejas announced: "In no way does mean we're about to embark on an uncontrolled series of appropriations and takeovers." In fact, he promised to issue bank stockholders bonds paying six and a half percent interest

and cashable any time.
Government officials are also taking pains to assure the U.S. ruling class that they will protect U.S. imperialist interests in Nicaragua.
On July 22, Ramirez Mercado told the New York
Times: "What would make them [the U.S. ruling class] react against us? If we were to say we were Marxist-Leninist, but we're not going to do that. If we were to expropriate U.S. companies, we're not going to do that

Instead, the government plans to try to stabilize cap-



Sandinistas clean out Somoza's bunker in Managua

includes one Sandinista leader compared to 18 capitalist members.

Despite some socialist words, all these figures, including the Sandinistas have no intention of setting up a socialist society in which the workers and peasants actually control the government and the economy. Hassan Morales claims: "We cannot afford the luxury, at this moment of the reconstruction, of pushing the government along certain ideological lines." This typical opportunist language means he won't fight for socialism "at this moment." By putting the socialist revolution off into never-never land, the Sandinista leaders are trying to cover up their support for capitalist efforts to sidetrack the revolution

The provisional govern-ment has already shown both in word and in deed that it supports capitalism in Nicaragua. It is promising the capitalists that it will italist rule in Nicaragua by mortgaging the country to U.S. imperialism. It is asking the U.S.-controlled Inter-American Development Bank for up to \$500 million in loans, some of them paying 10 percent interest. These loans will give bankers in the and Latin America a club to wield against any government which threatens their interests.

To prevent the workers and peasants from disrupting these pro-capitalist plans, the government is mounting a drive to disarm them. Mercado announced that government troops would "go from house to house" searching for weapons if necessary. At the same time, the government has asked the U.S. for arms and military training for its new army. These measures reveal the regime's fear of the revolutionary workers and peasants, and its will-ingness to join with Somoza's old sponsor, the U.S.

(Continued on page 17)



#### Khomeini regime in chaos

The Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeini is unraveling Tehran has seen the most violent clashes since the shah's regime fell. On August 12, the social-democratic National Democratic Front (NDF) called a march to protest the closing of the popular morning paper Ayandegan. The demonstration became a rallying point for the left. Press estimates on its size ranged from 20,000 to 100,000.

Right-wing Khomeini supporters, so-called Hesbollahis, or "members of the party of God," attacked the leftists with clubs, rocks, bottles, crowbars, chains, belts and metal spikes. The leftists had come prepared. According to one reporter, they "gave as good as they got." Chanting "Death to the fascists!" and "We demand freedom!" they counterattacked and were able to inflict heavy casualties on the Hesbollahis. About 160 people were seriously burt on both sides, but the goons failed to halt the march. The next day, the Hesbollahis went on a rampage, attacking every leftist office they could find. They ransacked the Fedayee headquarters, badly mauling four militants, and burned down a leftist student office at Tehran University.

Meanwhile, other events point to the rapid disintegration of the regime. Last August 3, most of the left, the lay parties, and the peoples of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Khuzistan boycotted Khomeini's rigged elections to the constitutional convention. In all, 20 political groups abstained. But Khomeini still had to fix the vote in Tabriz-the capital of Azerbaijan—to get two of his people elected. This created an unprecedented political furor. Clashes continue between the regime and the Arabs and Kurds. On August 11, there were food riots in Tabriz, and workers' struggles are spreading. because of the deep economic crisis.

#### Israelis attack Palestinians, workers

On August 15, Israeli raiders killed eight Palestinians in southern Lebanon. The attack was the latest in a series of actions that have included air raids into Lebanon on July 22 and commando raids on August 2 and August 11. In addition. Zuheir Mohsen, military operations chief for the Palestinian Liberation Organization, was murdered in Cannes, France, on

July 25, by Zionist secret police.

At the same time these raids took place, Israeli workers were protesting new attacks on their standard of living. On August 13, over one million is reli workers staged a two-hour strike to protest reductions in government price supports for essential food items. The reductions have led to 50 percent price hikes for essential items like bread, milk, chicken and cooking oil.

It's no accident that the offensive against the Palestinians

and the attacks on the working class are going on at the same time. The Zionist state can survive only by smashing the Palestinians and their Arab supporters. To do this, it must maintain an enormous war machine regardless of the cost to the Israeli working class. As long as Israeli workers support the Zionist ruling class, they have nothing to look forward to except attacks on their living standards and war. They can escape this trap only supporting the national rights of the Palestinian people, and joining with Palestinian workers and farmers to smash the Zionist state

#### **British troops out of Northern Ireland!**

On August 12, over 7,000 Catholics marched in Belfast demanding that British troops get out of Northern Ireland. The previous day, 15,000 Protestants marched in Derry in support of British rule. August 12 marks the 10th anniversary of the British military occupation of Northern Ireland. The British ruling class claims the troops are there to keep "peace" between Protestants and Catholics. This is a lie. Their real purpose is to defend the last remnants of British imperialism

The Irish people kicked Britain out of most of Ireland in 1920 after a centuries-long struggle for independence. But the British were able to hand on to six northern counties where the pro-British Protestant minority, largely descended from British settlers, formed the majority of the local population

When Catholics in Northern Ireland stepped up their fight for unification with Eire (the Republic of Ireland), and for an end to economic and political oppression against them in Northern Ireland itself, the British Army stepped in to crush their struggle. Since then, the British have organized a reign of terror against nationalist militants in Northern Ireland. They have armed and trained over 20,000 "Loyalists" and turned a blind, eye to a dozen private Loyalist armies. At the same time they have murdered, jailed and tortured thousands of Irish Catholics, particularly militants of the Irish Republican Army, Despite this repression, Irish nationalists are continuing their just struggle to complete the unification of their country

#### By PAUL ALDRIDGE

From its beginning, the Ku Klux Klan has been one of the most violent organizations of the right-wing move-ment in the United States. Its main purpose is to defend "white suprem-

#### Part 2

acy," to keep Black people in a second-class economic, social and political position through terrorist

But the Klan is not just hostile to Blacks. It is also against Latins, Asians, Jews, Catholics, gays, and all foreign-born workers, as well as the trade union movement and the left. The Klan, in fact, is the deadly enemy of all working-class and oppressed

Today, the Ku Klux Klan is growing and becoming more and more bold in its racist attacks. To fight our ene-mies, we must know them. For this reason, the Torch/La Antorcha is running this two-part series of articles sketching the history of the Klan from its beginning to the present.
In last month's Torch/La Antorcha.

we traced the history of the Ku Klux Klan through the end of World War II. Beginning with the founding of the

a decision in the Brown vs. the Board of Education case outlawing segregation in public schools. This decision sparked a mass uprising of Black people that became the civil rights movement. The Klan revived as part of a racist attempt to stop the militant struggle of Black people against seg-regation and other forms of racist oppression in the South.

The largest Klan organization during the mid- and late-'50s was the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This group was led by Eldon Edwards, an autoworker at GM's Fisher Body plant in Atlanta, Under Edwards' leadership, the U.S. Klans reached their high point in 1958 with 12,000 to 15,000 members. However, they were known more for their talk than their actions. Edwards died in 1960 and the U.S. Klans was taken over by Robert Shelton in 1962, when it was merged with Shelton's Alabama Klan group to form the United Klans of America.

While Edwards' Klan was relatively inactive, other groups carried on the Klan's tradition of racist terror and brutality. For example, there were the actions of Asa Carter's Original Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy Alabama. In April 1957, six of Carter's Klansmen attacked singer Nat Cole on the stage of the Birmingham Municipal Auditorium. In September, four more of Carter's thugs castrated a



The murders of Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner in the summer of 1964 shocked the nation. All three were participants in the Mississippi Freedom Summer project, a campaign to register Blacks to vote. KKK member Klansmen who shot them and buried their bodies in a pond on a cattle farm.

Klan in 1866, the article discussed the decline of the Klan following the end of Reconstruction and its first resur-gence in the 1920s. Finally, it de-scribed the degeneration and splintering of the Klan in the '30s and '40s.

By the late 1940s, the Ku Klux Klan no longer existed as a unified national organization. Instead, warring factions and self-proclaimed competed for members across the country. Despite this, between the end of World War II and 1954, organized Klan activity occurred in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, the Carolinas and

One of the most active of the independent Klan groups was the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Tallahassee, Florida. This group was headed by a plumbing contractor named Bill Hendrix. Hendrix's Klan waged a terror campaign in Florida. His organization was responible for widespread beatings; the bombing of a housing project and a school and synagogue; and the bombing-murder of Harry Moore, the leader of the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and his wife. Hendrix also tried, unsuccessfully, to link up with two other Klan groups the Federated Klans of Alabama and the Association of Carolina Klans. The Southern Knights were forced into retreat after Hendrix came under increasing government harassment and the leaders of the Carolina and Alabama Klans were imprisoned in the

The second major resurgence of the Klan began after the U.S. Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, handed down

early '50s on charges relating to

misuse of the mails.

Black house painter, Judge Aaron. The men responsible for the victimization of Aaron were eventually sentenced to 20 years in prison. Soon afterward, Carter shot two of his This effectively killed his organization

Despite the growth of the civil rights movement and the increasing violence and activity of the various Klans, membership did not increase substantially. In part, this was the result of competition from the Citizen's Councils that first sprang up in Mississippi and then spread through most of the southern states. Organized to oppose school desegregation, the councils were often referred to as "white-collar

The councils allowed southern politicians and businessmen to carry out Klan-type activities without being openly tied to the violence of the Klan. As a result, they kept the Klans from becoming the mass organizations they had been in the 1920s. Nevertheless, by 1958, total Klan membership was estimated to be between 50,000 and 65,000.

#### March 26, 1960: A thousand crosses burned

Although the Klans declined somewhat in the late '50s, they became more active as the civil rights strugge became increasingly large and militant in the early '60s. Following the first sit-in, at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, Klan representatives from seven states met in Atlanta to decide on a plan of action. Over 15 different Klan organizations were represented. Although no unified plan was agreed on, over 1,000

### The Ku Klux Klan: One Hundred Y of Racist Ter

crosses were burned in a single night in March 1960.

The cross-burnings were soon followed by a new outburst of Klan violence. In August 1960, civil rights workers organized a series of lunch counter sit-ins in Jacksonville Flor-The non-violent demonstrators were attacked by a mob of Klansmen and supporters armed with ax handles. A bloody struggle lasting three days ensued. The local police and the Klan carried out a coordinated attack on the protesters, subjecting them to mass beatings and arrests.

After this, the Klan declared open season on the movement. Taking advantage of the non-violent, pacifist tactics of the civil rights leadership, the Klan broke up sit-ins, beat and shot freedom riders and escalated its bombing campaign.

#### Civil rights activists murdered

A key phase in the Klan's hysterical struggle against the mounting Black liberation movement took place in 1964. A confrontation occurred in the summer in St. Augustine, Florida. Local Black leaders had invited the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Martin Luther King, Jr., to help with a drive to integrate the city's public restaurants and beaches. The Klan also mobilized its forces against what it claimed was a Jewish-inspired communist conspiracy to destroy the "white" way of life in the South.

Racist Klan leaders like J.B. Stoner and Connie Lynch openly called for attacks on Black demonstrators. Blacks were attacked on the beaches by club-wielding Klansmen and beatings occurred daily. As usual, the cops arrested the Black demonstrators but left the Klansmen untouched. After a month, the situation cooled.

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march in Alabama from Selma to Montgomery in support of a voting rights bill for Blacks. The march was attacked by the cops and state troopers, sending 25 marchers to the hospital. Behind the attack were Governor George Wallace, Sheriff Jim Clark and Colonel Al Lingo of the state

The most gruesome Klan attack in 1964 was the murder of three young civil rights workers in Mississippi by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. James Chaney, a Black man, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman both white, were in Meridian, Mississippi, working on a voter registration drive. On the night of June 21, the cops arrested Chaney for speeding and held Goodman and Schwerner for investigation." They turned the three men over to fellow Klansmen who brutally murdered them

the Noshoba County deputy sheriff, along with five other Klansmen, were eventually convicted of this grisiy orime, and sentenced to a maximum of 10 years in prison. However, this did not happen until 1967, when they and 12 other Klansmen were tried under federal jurisdiction for violating the 1870 Conspiracy Act. A local grand jury had refused to return indictments against the men even though it was common knowledge that they were responsible for the murders.

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tions. It had swept across the South, where tens of thousands of Black people and white supporters had torn down the racist laws and practices that had kept Black people oppressed for decades. But it was also picking up steam in the North, where Black people were supposedly free.
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"When my mother was pregnant with me, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing their shotguns and rifles. they shouted for my father to come out. My mother went to the front door and ppened it. Standing where they could see her pregnant condition, she told them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of town because 'the good Christian white people' were not going to stand for my father's 'spreading trouble' among the 'good' Negroes of Omaha with the 'back to Africa' preachings of Marcus Garvey. Still shouting

threats, the Klansmen finally spurred their horses and galloped around the house, shattering every window pane with their gun butts. Then they rode off into the night, their torches flaring, as suddenly as they had come.'

-The Autobiography of Malcolm X

### Ku Klux Klan: le Hundred Years of Racist Terror

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Perhaps most important, more and more Black people, particularly the youth, were getting impatient with the non-violent tactics of the moderate civil rights leadership. They began looking to Malcolm X, a major leader of the Nation of Islam (until his break with the Nation in 1964). By 1964, Malcolm X had built up a large and militant following based primarily on his call for armed self-defense and his demand for Black liberation "by any means necessary." In the summer of

1964, this urban militancy exploded in a series of rebellions in Harlem; Rochester, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Paterson, New Jersey. The civil rights movement was becoming the Black liberation struggle. And most important, it was threatening to rage out of control of the non-violent civil rights leaders and their allies in the liberal wing of the capitalist class. The ruling class decided it had better grant Black people some concessions as a way to keep the struggle under control of "responsible" leaders.

In 1964, Congress passed the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which outlawed the reactionary politax used to keep Black people from voting. In June, the Civil Rights Act was passed, which promised full racial equality to all Black people, including the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. After a second march from Selma to Montgomery, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed. As part of this strategy, the federal government began a half-hearted investigation and prosecution of the Klan.

For example, in 1965 and 1966, the House Committee on Un-American Activities began to investigate the Klan organizations. Seven Klan officials were cited for contempt of Congress and given jail sentences. Robert Shelton, whose Klan had been prominent in the attacks on civil rights demonstrators, was sentenced to one year in prison and a \$1,000 fine for refusing to turn over the membership rolls for his organization.

After this, the Klan went into retreat. Its legacy, however, was substantial. Between 1955 and 1965, over 1,000 incidents of racist violence had taken place, usually going unpunished. These included 225 bombings, the murder of 40 civil rights activists and hundreds of beatings and maimings.

### Klan undergoing third major revival

Today, the Klan is beginning its third major revival. Across the country, in the North as well as the South, from California to New York, the Klan is growing. It is organizing, marching with clubs, shotguns and machine guns, beating and killing if it can get away with it. It is fighting to roll back all the gains that Black people have won in decades of struggle.

At the present time, the Klan movement is a collection of independent competing organizations. Estimates put the total membership of the various Klan organizations at about 10,000, with 50,000 sympathizers. While there are over 40 different Klan groups, four major outfits make up the bulk of the active Klansmen.

Although estimates are not completely reliable, the largest Klan appears to be Robert Shelton's United Klans of America. With a membership of approximately 3,000 to 4,000. Shelton's Klan goes back to the early 60s. It is generally seen as a more traditional Klan organization and has an older membership. Based in Tusca-

loosa, Alabama, the United Klans is most active in Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Kentucky. Much of the recent growth of the

Much of the recent growth of the United Klans has centered in Louisville, Kentucky. Shelton's Grand Dragon, Sherman Adams, built up his membership through work in the racist movement against court-ordered busing. According to reports, the United Klans' den was first organized among Louisville cops who distributed Klan literature through official police channels.

The second largest Klan organization is actually a coalition of Klan groups called the Confederation of Independent Orders of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The confederation was founded in June 1977 by Klan representatives from 15 states. It has approximately 2,000 to 3,000 members and is led by William M. Chaney, the former Indiana Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America.

The confederation is mainly based in the North, although the South Carolina group, led by Robert F. Scoggins, is the single largest.

In New York, the confederation group, the Independent Northern Klans, has about 200 to 300 members and is led by Earl Schoonmaker, a former teacher at Napanoch prison. Among its supporters are 50 Klansmen in Queens, the first Klan den in New York City since the '20s. Much of Schoonmaker's activity has been concentrated on recruiting prison guards and he has over 35 members in the New York prison system

New York prison system.
Following the confederation in size is probably the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by David Duke. With about 1,000 members, it is the only Klan group that directly admits women and Catholics into membership. The Knights is most active in Louislana, Texas and California.

Duke has been the most success-

Wilkinson has been active against the United League of Mississippi around Tupelo. On July 3, 1977, the Invisible Empire held a Klan rally in Plains, Georgia, which was attended by President Carter's mother. At present, the Invisible Empire is leading the racist attack on Tommy Lee Hines, a Black man being framed for rape in Alahama.

#### KKK: Weapon of the ruling class

The new resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan is not an accident. And the Klan is not a group of fringe elements with no prospects for growth. Its new-found strength is based on deep social processes at work in the country. U.S. capitalism is being racked by a serious crisis. As it goes down, the capitalists are attacking the working class and specially oppressed people to try to shore up their profits. Small-business people and other sectors of the middle class are also being pressed. Many middle-class white people, better-off white workers and poor whites are worried and looking around for someone to blame. Their minds have been poisoned by the racism that is built into this country, and more and more of them believe that their problems are primarily the fault of Blacks, Latins and Asians, as well as Jews and communists

The most freaked out of these people, however, have taken their racism to its logical extreme. They believe that if Blacks are "put back in their place" and the country is completely rid of Latins, Asians and Jews, unions and leftists, things would be all right. This is precisely what the Nazis and the Klan say. For this reason, such people are the present



Eight members of the Camp Pendleton 14, Black Marines who fought against Klan organizing on the base.

ful among the different Klan leaders in getting publicity and national media exposure. In 1975, he ran for the Louisiana state Senate and got 11,000 votes, a third of all the votes cast. Duke's Klan was responsible for the border patrol against Mexican workers entering the U.S. and was active in supporting Alan Bakke's racist attack on affirmative action.

Duke's Klan was also actively involved in organizing white Marines at Camp Pendleton, California, in 1976. On November 13, 1976, Black Marines attacked what they thought was a Klan meeting. For this, they were charged with conspiracy and assault. Although the Marine Corps brass claimed that there were no Klansmen on the base, they transferred 16 whites following the attack.

Recently, the most active of the Klans has been the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This group is led by Bill Wilkinson and has a membership of less than 1,000. Based in Denham Springs, Louisiana, Wilkinson split from Duke's group in 1975. Since the split, he has focused his Klan's activity in Alabama and Mississippi. For example, the Invisible Empire was responsible for the May 26 shootings of two. Black demonstrators in Decatur. Alabama, where the group has marched with clubs, shotguns and machine guns.

and future base of these right-wing racist organizations.

Many people do not see the Klan as a threat. Since it is still relatively small, it looks like a group of nuts who will never have any real power. This is a dangerous illusion. As the economic crisis grows and the class struggle heats up, more and more people will turn to the Nazis and the Klan for answers. Seeing that the system is in trouble, they will look for hard, decisive solutions. And they will want to do something, not just vote, write letters to Congress, etc. As a result, the "nut group" of today can be a mass right-wing movement tomorrow.

There is another, related danger. Today, the ruling class thinks it can keep things under control through its usual methods. But as the working class as a whole begins to fight back in a big way, the capitalists will look for other weapons to keep the workers down. As groups like the Klan and the Nazis grow, more and more of the capitalists will see them as just the weapons they need. They will finance them and support them in millions of other ways. And if things get bad enough, the capitalists will turn the government over to these groups in a last-ditch effort to save their power and privileges and smash the working class. This is what happened in Germany in the 1930s. And it can happen here.

"When my mother was pregnant with me, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out. My mother went to the front door and opened it. Standing where they could see her pregnant condition, she told them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of town because 'the good Christian white people' were not going to stand for my father's 's preading trouble' among the 'good' Negroes of Omaha with the 'back to Africa' preachings of Marcus Garvey. Still shouting

en finally spurred their horses and galloped around the very window pane with their gun butts. Then they rode off torches flaring, as suddenly as they had come."

The Autobiography of Malcolm X

# WORKERS MUST PREPARE FOR COMING CLASS WAR

Today, working and oppressed people are being hit hard by the crisis of U.S. capitalism.

For the second time in five years, the economy is entering a deep recession.
Inflation—spurred by the rising cost of oil—continues

Inflation—spurred by the rising cost of oil—continues to climb. Wholesale prices, an indicator of consumer prices in the months ahead, jumped 1.1 percent in July alone.

Unemployment is expected to soar beyond an official eight percent rate. The auto companies have already thrown tens of thousands of workers out onto the streets, and steel and other industries will not be far behind.

The government economists gloomly admit that this recession will be deeper and longer than they had thought at first. But they're still not saying the half of it. The truth is that the economists—and the bosses and politicians they serve—have no idea how to stop the economy from going down the tubes.

the tubes.

Nonetheless, they are all sure as hell of one basic point: The working class must shoulder the lion's share of the crisis. Workers must eat less and cut their standards of living. Fewer employed workers must work a lot harder. Safety standards that stand in the way of profits must go. Social services must be cut back. Hospitals must shut down.

### Many hesitate to fight back

So far the workers have not responded in a big way to the recession and the attacks it has brought. The first reactions have come from the weaker and more peripheral sections of the working class. School bus and milk truck drivers in New York, public workers in New

Jersey, farmworkers in California, and independent truckers in many states have all waged militant strikes this year in defense of their jobs and to stop drastic cuts in their living standards.

However, the response

However, the response from workers in basic industry has been more laid-back. No major union contract exceeded Carter's wage guidelines by more than a few percent; and none has kept pace with inflation, despite strikes by rubber workers and teamsters.

In addition, no workingclass movements around jobs, high prices, attacks on affirmative action in industry, or much of anything else have emerged. Insofar as people have been fighting around these issues, the struggies have tended to be small, localized and shortlived.

This fairly low level of struggle is not really all that surprising, even with the skyrocketing inflation and thousands of layoffs.

First, the workers are very much on the defensive. In the 1960s, the country was prosperous. On the whole, workers' living standards rose somewhat, while for some workers they rose substantially. While millions didn't share in this, there were some gains won through struggle by Blacks, Latins, women and other oppressed sections of the working class.

In the '70s, on the other hand, these gains have slow-ly eroded. Inflation and recession have eaten away at living standards. The government all but destroyed the Black liberation movement, and the other movements were taken over by firmly middle-class pro-capitalist leaderships. Abortion rights are under attack, and the death penalty has been restored in many states. These defeats have demoralized a lot of working and oppressed people.

Second, many workers are waiting to see what happens with the economy. Many workers think the current recession is just another "down" to be followed by another bout of prosperity. Older workers with more seniority, for example, don't necessarily think the recession will get bad enough to threaten their jobs, and they

see themselves as being middle-class, and, on the whole, there is little awareness that they are all part of one class. Further, only one-fifth of all workers in the U.S. belong to a trade union—the basic defensive organization of the working class. The non-unionized workers have less power and are more atomized than their



New York police attacked militant milk workers' strike this past April.

are afraid that If they rock the boat they will lose the things they already have. On the other hand, many younger workers are glad to have some time off work, particularly if they think they'll get a job again in a year or so. In addition, most workers do not remember the Depression of the '30s and have little idea of the crisis that we are facing today. All this undercuts a fight at this time.

Finally, the workers in this country are not well-prepared for a class battle with the capitalists. The working class is divided along racial, sexual, ethnic, trade and regional lines. Many workers

unionized brothers and sisters. Meanwhile, the unions are run by bureaucrats who for years have cut deals with the bosses to keep the workers under control. And the left organizations, which could play a substantial role in organizing a fightback, are small and have been relatively isolated from the working class.

For all these reasons, the level of working-class struggle—both around economic and social issues—is low right now.

### Class struggle will heat up

But this situation will not continue for long. As things get worse, and the capitalists step up their offensive, people will start to move. When people freeze to death because they can't pay the heating bills, when millions walk the streets looking for jobs that don't exist, when a loaf of bread costs two or more dollars, they will realize that THIS CRISIS IS FOR REAL. They will see that they have no alternative but to fight.

And, when they do, they will fight back with militancy and determination. As the history of the class struggle in this country has shown, when the U.S. working class goes into motion, it explodes.

The real question therefore is not whether there will be a militant fightback against the capitalists' attacks. The issue is whether the upcoming battles will lead to a working-class victory or a defeat. That is the question we now must deal with.

When the class struggle gets really hot in this country, all hell will break loose. From the big cities to the farmlands, from Boston to San Francisco, people are going to be out fighting for their right to have a decent life.

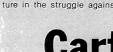
And they'll do so with whatever means they have at hand. When the capitalists try to cut wages and speed up production, workers will strike all over the country. They will take over the factories, shops and offices. Farmworkers will strike and seize land from the giant agribusinesses. People will or-ganize rent strikes and take over buildings. There'll be mass demonstrations and meetings. People will set up community councils and other organizations to run the factories and other workplaces and the neighborhoods. They'll organize armed defense squads to defend picket lines and protect the communities.
There'll be pitched battles with the police, armed goon squads, national guards and right-wing forces like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan.

But these struggles will not necessarily be united. Different sectors of the working class will be fighting for their immediate needs. They will be raising different demands and programs, many of which will conflict with one another. People may be fighting each other for things that everybody needs but there aren't enough of to go around.

In addition, the workers will face tremendous ob-stacles. The capitalists will use everything at their disposal, cops, the jails, hired thugs, the army, the press, TV and radio-everything-to fight for their power There'll also be whole sections of society, people who aren't workers, or workers who don't recognize their class interests, who will be caught between the workers and the capitalists. Some will side with the workers, but others will be the soldiers for the capitalists. Many of them will be recruited to the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing paramilitary organizations.

Finally, the workers will have enemies within their own ranks. Many of the people and organizations that claim to be the friends and leaders of the workers will sell out the struggle whenever they can. The leaders of the trade unions, for example, will sound very militant, even revolutionary, but will continue their lying and trickery to sabotage the struggle.

The whole country is going to be the arena for a tremendous class war, with all the violence and chaos, heroism and treachery, that wars bring. In this war, the masses of working and oppressed people will make up



the revolutionary army. Bulike all armies, the revolu

tionary forces are going to need a leadership—a revolutionary leadership—if the are going to defeat the

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Flint autoworkers took over plant in 1937 sit-down strike.

PAGE 14/TORCH/AUGUST 15-SEPTEMBER 14, 1979

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enemies on the battlefields. Who will work to unite the strikes in New York and California? Who will try to coordinate the sit-downs in De-troit and Cleveland? Who will take the lead in the fight to get arms to put in the hands of the workers and to organize militias and de-fense guards? Who will strive to unite the various mass. organizations so they can function as a unified structure in the struggle against

the capitalists and their allies? Who will fight to expose the enemies within our own ranks? Who will show how to unite the various sections of the workers be-hind a program that deals with all our needs? These are the tasks of a revolutionary

But this kind of leadership cannot be built overnight. If we wait until the struggle gets going, until the barricades go up, it'll be too late. A revolutionary party must be made up of skilled and dedicated people, people who know what capitalism is and how it works; people who have organized in the

factories, communities and prisons; skilled organizers agitators, propagandists, theoreticians; people who know military science.

All these people have to be united in one organization, based on a common pro-gram, that is both democrat-ic and centralized, capable of acting quickly and decisively. To build this organization takes time, planning, organizing and money. To make sure it is strong, we have to work carefully and methodically.

This is what the Revolutionary Socialist League is trying to do today. We are working to prepare the leadership of the future revolutionary party we are going to need to ensure that the battles ahead end in victory

for the working class.

Today the RSL is a small organization. We are training ourselves, developing our skills, working out our theory, strategy and tactics building our ties to working class people around the country and the world. There are many workers in the factories, communities, and prisons who agree with what we fight for and believe in. and who agree on the need for socialist revolution. But many are hanging on the sidelines not so sure that a

revolutionary party is neces-sary, not so sure that it's all that important right now, and not so sure they should commit their time and energy to join us in our work.

We urge everyone who wants to see this whole society turned upside down to think hard and long about how we are going to achieve that, to think about the points raised in this article We want to prepare now for the revolutionary battles that lie ahead. Are there any real alternatives to this?

We urge everyone who is dedicated to the goal of a worker-run society to join us now to make this possible

### **Carter: A Crisis of Confidence?**

(Continued from page 1)

and political weaknesses. Newspapers and TV reporters are ganging up to portray Carter as too inexperienced, indecisive and just plain incompetent to run the country. Time magazine gleefully described how Carter practiced clenching his fist in order to convey a more forceful image during his July 15 energy speech. The Wall Street Journal collected a grabbag of criticisms of Carter by business leaders and ran them in a lead column on July 27.

#### Where have all the heros gone?

All these charges are true, but they are beside the point. The real issue is that the ruling class itself has no answers to the crisis facing U.S. imperialism. The economy has entered a deep recession, the third in 10 years. The value of the dollar is plunging to new lows on the international money markets. U.S. imperialism is in retreat all over the world. Nobody knows how to put the piece back together again and put U.S. capitalism back on its feet.

The ruling class is looking for a replacement for Carter who can restore confidence in the government, both in business circles and among the voting public. But the capitalist crisis is polarizing the



Edward Kennedy has wide popular support.

ruling class and its politicians into warring factions.

The divisions are reflected in the

various would-be presidential candi-dates. Ronald Reagan, the current Republican Party frontrunner, speaks to the frustrations of small business people, middle-class people and people, middle-class people and better-off white workers. These peo-ple see themselves as being squeezed between "big government" and "big labor" and resent the few

1960s. John Connally, the Republican candidate most popular in corporate boardrooms, is hardnosed enough to crack the whip on inflation at the expense of the working class. But he lacks popular appeal precisely because of his well-known friendship with big business and the oil industry. On the other hand, Edward Kennedy, Carter's main rival in the Democratic Party, is the only candidate with wide public support. But his popularity is based in large part on promises which the ruling class doesn't support and canno afford to keep. None of these candle dates has any alternatives to the pro-

dates has any alternatives to the pro-grams which led Carter to disaster. Moreover, none of them is likely to restore anyone's confidence in government. They are really a pretty shabby lot. For example, Connally is a veteran of Nixon's Watergate cabinet who barely escaped conviction himself in a bribery case. Kennedy is still living down the Chappaquiddick scandal.

Certainly the capitalist press isn't showing much enthusiasm for any of them. They are openly wondering why capitalism can't come up with decent political leaders. Newsweek ran a cover story called: "Where Have All The Heroes Gone?" The August 6 All The Heroes Gone?" The August 6 issue of Time magazine included a special section on "Leadership in America" describing the U.S. as a "stalemated society" looking for a new "clarifying idea" and a political leader to sell it to the voters.

The truth is that capitalism has run out of "clarifying ideas." The ruling class can't find anyone who can run capitalist society heralise the so-

capitalist society because the socapitalist society because the so-ciety doesn't work anymore. The rot in U.S. capitalism is spreading through the political system and paralyzing the ruling class's ability to

run the country.

The ruling class needs a strong government to keep capitalist society going. The main function of its government is to keep the working class under control. The role of the capitalist state's army, cops, courts and prisons is to suppress working-class opposition to capitalist rule. At the same time, government programs are used as sops to lull certain sections of the working class and divide the class as a whole.

But the ruling class also needs a strong government to keep its own house in order. At the best of times, capitalism is a dog-eat-dog system in which capitalists compete with each other over the profits produced by the working class. The capitalists need a government set above and beyond their individual and sectoral ambitions to regulate this competi-tion and prevent it from damaging the system as a whole:

As long as everybody's making money, the system works fairly well. The capitalists can afford some economic and social reforms to fool people into believing the system



Many business leaders support rich cattleman John Connally.

works in their interests. At the same works in their interests. At the same time, there's enough grease to keep the different sections of the capital-ist class cooperating to keep the wheels of government turning.

But when capitalism is in crisis, as it is today, the whole system begins to break down. The class struggle between workers and capitalists heats up as the capitalists step up their attacks on the workers and the workers fight back to defend their living standards. Competition within the working class increases as male and female workers, and Black, Latin and white workers struggle over shrinking job opportunities, housing and other necessities.

Competition between the capitalists themselves increases as they turn on each other to protect their in-dividual interests. For instance, high-technology industries able to compete successfully on the world market, like the computer industry, want the government to open new markets for them by demanding reductions in tariffs and other inter-national trade barriers. But industries like textile and steel insist on protective legislation to protect them from more efficient foreign competitors. Companies in financial trouble like Chrysler are clamoring for the government to bail them out, while companies in better shape like General Motors insist that the capitalist system can't afford it.

These conflicts tear the political system apart. The ruling class relies on its political leaders to keep the workers fooled and divided and to try to reconcile the conflicts among the capitalists themselves. But today the politicians can't even meet the demands of one section of the capitalist class without offending the interests of another, let alone keep their promises to both the capitalists and the working class. In trying to satisfy everybody, they end up satisfying no one at all.

Since World War II, the capitalists were able to get around some of their problems by sweeping them under the rug. For example, when the capitalists stepped up government spending to get it going again. This didn't strengthen the sick industries or make the economy healthy. It only made things look better, while it hid

the costs.

Today this method of dealing with problems is bearing its fruit. It's why the old policies don't work anymore. If the government tries to limit the recession by increasing government spending, inflation will zoom upward and the dollar will collapse. If it tries to control inflation by con trolling government spending, it will force the economy into a full-scale depression. If the ruling class tries to escape the energy crisis by switching to coal and lowering pollution standards, it will end up wrecking the environment. The list is endless but the conclusion is clear: All the choices for the ruling class are lousy. No matter what they do, the capitalist crisis will get worse.

The one sure thing is that the working class will continue to pay for the mess the capitalists have made of the economy. Right now, workers with jobs can't afford the cars they need to get to work, or the gas to keep their cars on the road. Thousands are being laid off to join the millions already out of work. Meanwhile, prices for essential goods like food are jumping out of sight while the government cuts social programs

workers rely on simply to stay alive.
The capitalists are proving every day that they can't run society. They can't make peace, they can't end inflation, and they can't even make their own government work. We can't afford to sit back while they run the country into the ground, and threaten

to blow up the world.

Our survival depends on making a revolution to smash the capitalist class and build a new socialist society. We produce the goods and services which keep the economy going. We have the skills to rebuild civilization from the ground up once we are in power. By reorganizing production to meet human needs, we can get rid of the garbage built into the capitalist system once and for

### **Militants Confront** Klan Rally in New Jersey

BARNEGAT, New Jer-sey-Over 100 demonstrators shouted down David Duke, National Director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, when he attempted to speak at a rally in this small inter-racial community on Saturday, August 11. The Saturday, August 11. The raily was held on the front lawn of the house of Aaron Morrison, a 17-year-old Klan member. Reportedly, his parents were out of town the week of the rally.

The New York City RSL

branch mobilized for the counter-demonstration, and cars and vans with around 50 supporters of the RSL, the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, and the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Organizing Committee (LGLOC) made the two-hour trip from New York City to Barnegat. Other anti-Klan demonstrators at the rally included supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, people from the community, and individuals from Atlantic City and Asbury Park, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. Two people there said they had come because they per-sonally had been victims of racist violence in New Jer-

The police cordoned off the rally site with street bar-ricades two to three blocks from Morrison's house in each direction. Only people who could prove they lived inside these police lines were allowed past; even Barnegat residents from outside this "combat zone"

were turned away.

Despite the police lines, anti-Klan militants were able to get through when they broke up in small groups and used back routes. Many people got help from local residents. By 7:30 p.m., a crowd of 100 demonstrators and about 200 onlookers had gathered at the house. In addition, supporters of the Progressive Labor Party and the Committee Against Racism held a picket line at one of the police barricades a

few blocks away.
At 8 p.m. David Duke and about a dozen hooded Klansmen came out of the house, and Duke, standing between a Confederate and an American flag, and protected by a double row of New Jersey state police, attempted to speak. The anti-Klan militants chanted "Death to the Klan!" and "Ku Klux Klan is the soum of the land!," so Duke could not be heard. Soon after the Klan rally started, the drizzle that had been coming down all day turned into heavy rain. De-spite this, the demonstrators held their ground, shak ing their fists at the Klan, chanting taunting and jeering. Demonstrators chal-lenged the Klan to come out from behind the police lines and to take their hoods off Rocks broke a picture win dow and an outside light during the raily.

After 17 minutes, the Klan went back in the house. Police on the scene urged everyone to leave, but most of the demonstrators stayed of the demonstrators stayed for about a half-hour more. Then supporters of the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, the LGLOC and the RSL formed up behind their banners and marched away chanting "Death to the Klanl Power to the Workers!" Though the banners, marchers and everything else were completely soaked by then from the still heavy rains, spirits were high berains, spirits were high be-cause a partial victory had

The Klan had boasted that it would have 200 people a the rally. Instead, they had fewer than 20, while the counter-demonstration had over 100. Duke could not be heard. And the counter-demonstrators were able to defeat the police plans to keep

them out.

The real danger the Klan represents was also clear from the evening. For most demonstrators it was the first time they saw the Klan in its robes appearing in

public, openly calling for racist violence. And the actions of the police showed in real life what the Torch/La Antorcha has emphasized many times: That the cops work hand in hand with the Klan, sometimes openly joining them, sometimes playing neutral and protect-ing them from anti-racist

Death to the Klan!



**Marchers Demand:** Free the August 8th Brigade!



NEW YORK-As part of the continuing effort to free the August 8th Brigade, a march and rally were held on the Lower East Side here on August 4. The action was sponsored by the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee, which chose the date to commemorate the August 8, 1977, prisoner rebellion against the Ku Klux Klan and rotten conditions at New York's Napanoch prison. The Brigade is the group of prisoners being railroaded for the rebellion.

The demonstration marched through the largely Black and Latin community chanting: "Free the August 8th Brigade, Smash the Ku Klux Klan!" and "iLibertad a la Brigada, Muerte al Ku Klux Klan!" People leaned out their windows and waved, and some joined in the demonstration on the way to the rally site.

The rally featured speakers from all the groups that took part in the march: Paul Aldridge and Elizabeth Volkes of the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee; Randy Conrad of the Revolutionary Socialist League; Ben Freiberg of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Organizing Committee; and speakers from Women Free Women in Prison and the Committee to Save the Hospitals.

All the speakers emphasized how we need unity to smask the KKK. The Klan isn't just attacking Blacks in the South. They re part of the growing right-wing movement which is attacking the whole working class. Here in New York State, their main organizing has been among prison guards. Women and men, Black, Latin, Asian and white; gay and straight— all working class and oppressed people can smash the Klan if we fight together.

### **RSL Fund Drive Report**

Since July 15 the RSL has been having a fund drive to raise \$15,000. This money is desperately needed to continue our work. It will help us keep up our organizing in the areas of prisoners' defense, lesbian, gay and women's liberation, work place organizing, etc., as well as our struggle to build the RSL as the U.S. section of an international revolutionary party.

Our goal is to raise \$1,500 a week for 10 weeks. At press

the total raised is \$5,735, just short of the \$6,000 we

should have now, four weeks into the drive.

Each RSL branch or committee is assigned a quota. So far, the best area is Boston, which has turned in 30 percent more than its quota. Los Angeles, with 87 percent, is runner-up.
The money raised by this fund drive covers only the bare

minimum needed to continue the RSL's current activities—more must be raised if we are to expand our work. So if you support our struggle to build a revolutionary party in the U.S. and worldwide, GIVE NOW. The drive lasts until September 22 Make check or money order payable to Torch and send to: PO

Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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### ... • 1979 Revolutionary Socialist Leagu

Editorial Board Largo
Editorial Board Largo
Editorial Board Largo
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Circulation Manager Wayne Placo
Production Manager Lee Ramie
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### Subscription Rates: (U.S., Canada, Mexico)

Sissues (introductory) \$5.00 (Overseas) 12 issues (seamail) \$5.00 12 issues (airmail, unsealed) \$12.00

Make checks payable to the Torch/La Antorcha

### BOATP

(Continued from page 10) ist Party cadres who were kicked out of Vietnam simply for being Chinese, being married to a Chinese, or having Chinese relatives.

#### Rulers appeal to Vietnamese nationalism

Some of the evidence has come from sources within the regime itself. On August 5, Hoang Van Hoan, a very high-ranking party and government official of ethnic Vietnamese background, defected to China. Together with Ho Chi Minh, Hoan had been a co-founder of the Vietnamese Communist Workers' Party in 1930. The reason he cited for going over to China was the Hanoi leadership's treatment of the ethnic Chinese, who he said have been expelled from places they have lived in for generations. They have been dispossessed of virtually all belongings-their land, their houses." Speaking of the Vietnamese people as a whole, Hoan said they have been "reduced to a life of humiliation and repression." In the wake of Hoan's

defection, the Hanoi Stalin-ists purged four of their highest-ranking comradestwo generals and two ministers. Speaking of the generals, a reliable government

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### t 8th Brigade!



The rally featured speakers from all the roups that took part in the march: Paul Aldridge and Elizabeth Volkes of the august 8th Brigade Defense Committee; landy Conrad of the Revolutionary Socialst League; Ben Freiberg of the Lesbian nd Gay Liberation Organizing Committee; nd speakers from Women Free Women in rison and the Committee to Save the lospitals.

All the speakers emphasized how we eed unity to smask the KKK. The Klan sn't just attacking Blacks in the South. hey re part of the growing right-wing novement which is attacking the whole vorking class. Here in New York State, heir main organizing has been among rison guards. Women and men, Black, atin, Asian and white; gay and straight-Il working class and oppressed people an smash the Klan if we fight together.

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### **BOAT PEOPLE**

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In the wake of Hoan's defection, the Hanoi Stalinists purged four of their highest-ranking comrades two generals and two ministers Speaking of the generals, a reliable government

source told Navan Chanda of the Far Eastern Economic Review: "We have to be vigilant. Chu Van Tan and Le Quang Ba are basically good communists but we cannot ignore the fact that they have family ties in China. The Chinese might make an attempt to kidnap them to use their names in an anti-Vietnamese front "

Continues Chanda, in the August 10 issue of the Review: "According to this Hanoi source, both Ba and Tan belong to the Nung minority...[who] feel culturally closer to the Chinese than the Vietnamese."

The fact that all the Chinese people in Vietnam are being hit suggests that the regime is using appeals to Vietnamese nationalism not only to build state capitalism in the south, but also to mobilize the nation against the new threat coming from China. The Vietnamese Stalinists throughout their history have always appealed to Vietnamese nationalism, rather than to working-class solidarity, to build and mobillize their base

In the war against U.S. aggression, for example, they never even pretended to call for international work-ers' revolution. They relied on a straight nationalist line to mobilize their own sol-diers, and they never appealed to U.S. soldiers as workers. They didn't call on

around on their own rulers. for example.

Today, when Vietnam is threatened by China, the Stalinist rulers are using the same nationalist approach. To mobilize a war-weary nation for combat they have initiated an anti-Chinese campaign which paints the Hoa people as "the enemy within

#### U.S. threatens self-determination

These Vietnamese policies are a boon for the U.S. imperialists, who continue to threaten Vietnamese selfdetermination. The U.S. rulers have started a holy crusade over the boat people. They are trying to paint themselves as the defenders of freedom and human they prevent all but a tiny percentage of the refugees from coming to the U.S. (These "defenders of freedom" are the same people who brought the 30-year war to Vietnam in the first place.)

The U.S. crusade is designed to reverse the verdict on its war of aggression in Southeast Asia, in order to win support for future U.S. aggression around the world -the idea being that U.S. imperialism was right to play policeman in Vietnam and should continue to "defend freedom everywhere" (read: freedom to steal and plun-

The U.S. campaign is also

designed to club Vietnam over the head, make it come to the U.S. hat in hand, to accept a deal on U.S. terms. U.S. imperialism has orga nized an economic and diplomatic boycott of the country: has refused to pay the \$3.4 billion in promised war reparations: and was the sponsor of the recent Chinese invasion

These policies reveal that U.S. imperialism continues to be the main threat to Vietnam's self-determination, and the main party responsible for the hunger, devastation and barbarism that 30 years of war have brought to Southeast Asia.

Revolutionaries must continue to place their main attack on U.S. imperialism. But to do this does not mean that we have to paint the Vietnamese bourgeoisie in red colors or pretend that it represents the workers in power. In fact, we have to understand this social force for what it is, if we are to successfully fight imperialism and capitalism

### **Nicaragua**

(Continued from page 11) ruling class, in order to defend capitalist rule in Nicaragua

#### Forward to socialist revolution

Despite the defeat of Somoza, the struggle for free dom in Nicaragua is by no means over. The Nicaraguan people won a tremendous triumph by overthrowing the corrupt and brutal dictator. But as they celebrate their victory, the ruling class is trying to steal it from them. Fortunately, at the moment, the capitalists lack both the military strength and the pounity they need to crush the working class.

Many workers and peasants are still armed and the capitalists do not have an army they fully trust. In addition the capitalists have no clear strategy for preserving their rule, nor do they have full agreement with the Sandinista leaders. As a result, conflicts within the ruling class, within the Sandinista movement, between the Sandinistas and the provisional government, and above all. between the provisional government and the working class, are bound to keep the political situation fluid. Revolutionary workers and peasants in Nicaragua must use this opportunity to organize their political and military forces, particularly a revolu-tionary party, to fight for a truly socialist society in Nicaraqua.

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