

# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 9

SEPTEMBER 15-OCTOBER 14, 1980 / 25¢



## REBELLION ROCKS POLAND

### Workers Force Concessions From 'Red Bourgeoisie'

By PAUL BENJAMIN

After a 17-day struggle that paralyzed the country, caused a massive government shake-up and sent shock waves throughout the Soviet bloc, Polish workers have won the promise of enormous concessions from the state-capitalist rulers of Poland.

Starting at the Lenin shipyards in the Baltic seaport city of Gdansk in northern Poland, a nationwide strike by more than 350,000 workers forced the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) to grant the 21 demands put forward by the Gdansk Inter-Factory Strike Committee, which led the workers' rebellion.

On August 30, top government negotiators caved in on the workers' key demands: the right to independent unions free from government and party control, and the right to strike. Earlier, negotiators had accepted—at least in words—the other 19 demands, including a loosening of government censorship, the freeing of political dissidents, and the granting of substantial wage increases.

Four days later, the government agreed to extend the settlement to 150,000 coal miners who had walked off their jobs on August 29 and 30 in the economically crucial Silesian coal fields in southern Poland. As we go to press, there are still reports of continuing sporadic and smaller strikes in different parts of the country.

Defying any neat categories, the



Workers occupying Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

workers who occupied the Gdansk shipyards sang Catholic hymns, the Polish national anthem and the Internationale; under huge pictures of Pope John Paul II they talked about the need for the workers to be the true masters of the factories. Arguing for a freer society, they dispelled the claims and myths that the Polish government is socialist and acts in their interests.

In the end, the government's surrender to the workers represented only a partial victory, since the PUWP retains its monopolistic control over the state and with it; political and economic power. However, the government is very much on the defensive, and the high degree of organization and combativity demonstrated during the strikes should

help enable the workers to protect and extend their gains in the months ahead.

### Long history of struggle

The immediate issue that triggered the strike wave was the lifting of government subsidies on meat, causing the prices of this already scarce commodity to rise. However, as the demands of the workers show, much more was behind

(Continued on page 10)

### Mass Strikes Show Power of Working Class

By ROD MILLER

Following a summer of militant struggle, the Polish working class has won an inspiring victory. Through coordinated mass strikes—involving nearly 600,000 workers from the Baltic Coast in the north to the Silesian mining region in the south—the workers of Poland forced the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) to make sweeping concessions.

The central demand of the striking workers was the right to form trade unions independent of the government and the PUWP. The PUWP leadership has long held that such a demand was "non-negotiable." But the Polish workers, determined not to halt their near-general strike until this demand was secured, finally forced the government to cave in. Other demands agreed to by the government included:

- substantial wage increases;
- the right to strike and bargain collectively;
- release of political prisoners;
- relaxing of government censorship;
- improved medical care;
- increased supplies of meat and other foods; and,
- elimination of the privileges of what the workers call the "Red Bourgeoisie."

It is clear that the mass strikes in Poland were one of the most militant and extensive working class upsurges in recent years. The fact that this rebellion took place in a country that

(Continued on page 12)

**First Five Months of Black Rule in Zimbabwe**

See page 3



**Navy Conducts Anti-Gay Witch-Hunt; Racism Also Involved**

See page 9



**Detroit Coalition Holds Anti-Racist Rally**

See page 5

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readers  
write...**

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## Impressed with TORCH readers

Dear Torch,

I am a prisoner presently being held captive at Soledad prison in California. Since I was transferred here from San Quentin I was lucky enough to be introduced to some brothers here that are regular readers of the *Torch* and sincere advocates of the positions and politics expressed in the *Torch*. Upon my introduction to these brothers I was hesitant about reading the *Torch*, but after these brothers' persistence, after their efforts to get me to simply, you know, check the paper out, I did, so I began to break down my stubborn resistance and decided to get deep into it—what was I doing so important anyway?

After my reading of a current issue and two former issues I became interested in the politics and ideology of the RSL so I began to attend some *Torch* discussion sessions given by these brothers.

It was at these sessions that I began to notice that these brothers who regularly read the *Torch* were much more politically mature than the rest. They were extremely confident and clear in their belief of the positions placed forth in the *Torch*, and eager to introduce me to other materials published by the *Torch*.

From my keen observation of these brothers here who regularly read the *Torch*, their political maturity and uncompromising revolutionary stance, along with my own experience of reading several copies of the *Torch*, I find it very, very necessary that I immediately write you and request a subscription to the *Torch*, so that I might effectively assist these brothers in presenting the politics and ideology of the RSL.

For now,  
BAF  
Soledad

## IN THIS ISSUE

SEPTEMBER 15-OCTOBER 14, 1980

- 1 Workers force concessions from "Red Bourgeoisie"  
Poland: Mass strikes show power of working class
- 3 First five months of Black rule in Zimbabwe
- 4 Klan rallies in support of Richmond, Ca., police  
Marcus Garvey remembered
- 5 Detroit coalition holds anti-racist rally  
Boston grand jury whitewashes Hart murder
- 6 Indiana prison takeover discussed
- 7 POWs get eight years; march held  
Letter on POW support march  
Prisoner-against-prisoner fight at Monroe
- 8 S.F. hotel strike ends
- 9 Anti-gay witch-hunt in Navy  
Sailors sink Star Spangled Banner
- 15 No choice for Chileans in junta referendum  
El Grito de Dolores
- 16 Poland and the U.S. left

### FEATURES

- 2 our readers write
- 6 Break the Chains  
Tommy Lee Hines... Georgia prisons... Gary  
Tyler
- 8 Labor in Struggle  
Phila. teachers... Chicago jobs rally... Winery  
strike
- 15 World in Revolution  
El Salvador... French fishermen

## New developments in far-right movement

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to inform you about a few new developments in the Klan movement. Within the last month, David Duke resigned from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke has led this organization as Grand Wizard since about 1972 and has built it into one of the largest and best known racist groups in the U.S. and the world. From what I have read, including his letter of resignation, the parting is totally friendly.

Duke's reasons for resigning point to a new development we should pay close attention to. In his letter, he states he still thinks the KKK is a "fine organization," but is lagging behind the needs of the "white fight for survival." His reasons for now thinking that the Klan is not the best vehicle for a "white victory" are: 1) media smear of the Klan and its ideas; 2) irresponsible elements claiming to be Klan play into the smear of the Klan as being a violent, backward organization; and 3) in-fighting within various Klans.

So now Duke has formed the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). He hopes that this pro-white group will be able to overcome the anti-minority "stigma" of the Ku Klux Klan. In his letter, he says: "A policeman, businessman, worker, civil servant or military person will immediately recognize that if it's right and proper for blacks to join the NAACP, then there can't be any justifiable objection to whites joining the NAAWP." He goes on to say the group will be active with demonstrations, talk shows and speeches on the campus circuit. He finishes with praise for the Klan and its leaders, saying the Klan is essential.

The new Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is Don Black, previous Grand Dragon of Alabama. I don't know much about him other than that he was active in some anti-Iran demonstrations on Alabama campuses and is Duke's hand-picked man.

Another newly-promoted leader is Louis Beam, elected Grand Dragon of Texas in 1979. He will be the National Information Officer. Beam is an instructor at a Klan military training camp about 60-70 miles outside of Houston. The camp is geared to training Klansmen in military tactics for a takeover of the U.S. and extermination of Blacks, Jews, communists, etc. They call themselves the Texas

Emergency Reserve.

In a letter to Klan members, Black encourages supporters to help Duke launch his new organization. He ends his letter with "I am sure that I speak for the overwhelming membership of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by saying, thank you, David Duke!"

Basically, I think the NAAWP will be a broad-based organization that will serve as a kind of front for the Klan. Duke is a big personality and believes he can tap the mass racist sentiment that exists in the U.S. He correctly realizes that many racists still don't want to be affiliated with a group like the Klan.

## Autoworker shoots racist foreman

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

I'm writing to inform your readers of an incident that took place at Ford's Chicago Assembly plant where I work. On August 22, Jearl (Lucky) Wood, a young Black worker, shot Cecil Harrell, a white general foreman, in response to continual racist harassment. Harrell had been on Wood's case for two years. After Wood returned from the recent layoffs here he was given a new job. When he had difficulty with it, Harrell sent him to the department office. There, Wood asked for union representation and didn't get it. When Wood went back to his work area, Harrell shouted racist slurs at him. Then Harrell framed Wood for being "drunk." Wood got suspended for three days. Angry from all this abuse, Wood came back the next night and shot Harrell.

Brother Woods gave himself up to police. As of September 3, he was out on bail, facing a charge of "aggravated assault." Harrell is still hospitalized.

Many workers were smiling and joking after the shooting. Most were not shocked. Cecil Harrell is known as a slave-driver. He was extra nasty toward women, Blacks and Latins. A Black woman in her 30s told me that Harrell constantly threatened to fire her if she didn't do her job exactly as he said. A young white woman was verbally abused by Harrell in public. In fact, Harrell even cursed out his own father (who works in the plant) and took him to labor

The pitch of the new organization is much more to the "respectable" middle class racist. I think this fits in with the tendency of the Klan to attract more of a "working class" base. So what we face is a new organization directed at the middle classes who see their standard of living being destroyed by the economic crisis, but who are afraid to be identified with something as far right-wing as the Klan. The friendly relations between the two organizations will only increase their effectiveness over time.

Yours,  
Paul Aldridge  
Chicago

relations to be disciplined.

Most United Auto Workers (UAW) officials did little to fight the company's harassment of workers, and are now doing little to defend brother Woods. For example, when a representative group of workers from all production departments met with the Local 551 union vice-president on August 25, he said the union couldn't do anything for the brother facing criminal charges. Another UAW official gave a slicker argument against trying to get Woods' job back: Most arbitrators, he said, would not consider the shooting "a reply to provocation," since the brother left the plant and then returned sometime later to shoot the general foreman.

I think these excuses are garbage. Brother Wood is a UAW member. His co-workers should get together to clear his name in court and to get his job back. This means lighting a big fire under the UAW representatives at Local 551.

A serious defense campaign should try to force the UAW to do these things: 1) contribute to legal costs; 2) assist in preparing witnesses and documentation on slave-driver Harrell's harassment; 3) encourage UAW members to attend court proceedings with brother Woods; 4) demand that Ford reinstate Woods with full back-pay. I also believe the UAW should fight to get all racist and sexist foremen fired.

In struggle,  
An autoworker  
Chicago

# First 5 Months of Black Rule in Zimbabwe

## — Mugabe Walks a Tightrope

By WILLIAM FALK

"We are of the view that the resources which God has given us, belong to all. They shouldn't be the monopoly of the Rockefellers and Fords."

—Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), in an interview in 1979.

"Forward with the revolution!"

—A ZANU election campaign poster, February 1980.

"We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be farms or whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector."

—Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, March 1980.

Perhaps the most prominent aspect of the first five months of Black rule in Zimbabwe (formerly called Rhodesia by the colonialist white settlers) is what has not happened. Most importantly, what hasn't happened are the far-reaching social and economic changes expected by most people following the victory of Robert Mugabe and ZANU in elections held this past February.

Moreover, during Prime Minister Mugabe's recent trip to the United States, he made it clear that this was no temporary state of affairs. In meetings with business leaders here, Mugabe sought to assure them that his government intended to keep Zimbabwe wide open for exploitation by foreign capital. "Their [foreign corporations] investments are safe. Whatever profits they accrue they can remit abroad," he told a New York City luncheon meeting.

Going even further, Mugabe virtually renounced ZANU's often repeated statements in favor of a socialist Zimbabwe, telling NBC's "Meet the Press" panel that they were wartime "propaganda" for which there was no need now. Instead, he told the panel later in the program, ZANU supporters should focus their attention on "the need to integrate our three armies into one, the need to win over the whites, and make allies out of them, the need on the part of the majority people to forgive the past and regard the whites as their friends and allies."

Mugabe is promising, and indeed his actions confirm, that his goal is a strong, modern and capitalist Zimbabwe. To ensure the cooperation of the Western powers and local skilled whites, his program includes only slow and moderate changes in what



ZANU freedom fighters celebrate end of colonial settler rule in Zimbabwe last April.

has been nearly a century of oppression, repression and discrimination against the Black population by the white settlers and the imperialists.

But slow and moderate change is the opposite of what the Black people of Zimbabwe thought they were voting for when they gave ZANU, which appeared to be the most radical party on the Zimbabwean scene, an absolute majority in the new parliament in last February's elections. It is the opposite of what they need and want.

The whole system of capitalist rule in Zimbabwe has been designed to exploit, oppress and demean the Black people who make up 96 percent of the population. Whites own half of Zimbabwe's 90 million acres—nearly all of it the top-rated farm land or the land in the cities. In addition, nearly 70 percent of the country's abundant mines and factories are owned by firms outside the country; over 30 percent are owned by South African companies alone. The rest belong to local whites. All are managed by whites and worked predominantly by Blacks.

Early this year, the average wage of urban Black workers was estimated to be \$60-75 a month, and "domestic servants and agricultural laborers often receive as little as \$40 a month," wrote Xan Smiley, editor of *African Confidential*, in the Summer 1980 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Meanwhile, whites in mining and industry routinely earn 10 times the wages of Blacks.

In this situation, the only road to liberation for the Black workers and small farmers lies in smashing the white ruling class and its repressive state apparatus. Only through taking over all the country's

replaced not by popular control but by a strong, centralized state, run by bureaucrats. For example, in January of 1980, ZANU elaborated its vision as: "The people's government shall hold the land and shall be administrator and trustee for present and future generations. . . . [It] will put all the means of production under public ownership."

Since gaining power, however, Mugabe—whose ties during the years of liberation struggle were to the now pro-U.S. Chinese ruling class—has tried a course of conciliation over expropriation. To do this he must walk a fine line between the pressure of the imperialists and local whites on the one side, and the aspirations and expectations of people of Zimbabwe on the other.

To date, Mugabe has done this by granting most of the important concessions to the whites, while instituting some minor reforms (and those usually only under pressure) for Blacks. Mugabe hopes that his popularity and prestige as leader of the liberation forces will enable him to prevent any mass struggle to his left, forcing him off the tightrope. It is this balancing act, with its strong tilt toward



Going way beyond what is usual for heads of countries asking for aid, Robert Mugabe used his trip to the U.S. to offer Jimmy Carter a chance to bask in the warmth of Mugabe's prestige and high standing among U.S. Blacks. "It is this admiration we feel for you that leads me to wish you well in the race you are running," Mugabe said in remarks at the White House. Turning to the crowd as it cheered this remark, Mugabe said, "Unfortunately this race is being run in the United States. If he was running in our territory, he would be assured of victory."

Carter loyalist Andrew Young was quick to jump on the possible uses for these remarks. "It's been a long time since any political figure has been able to penetrate the cynicism of Harlem as Mugabe did last week," he wrote. "Mugabe sparked an enthusiasm in Black America that may well rekindle the fires Jimmy Carter so desperately needs for re-election. Here is a president, being questioned by the liberal wing of this own party for supposedly abandoning his commitment to human rights at home and abroad, suddenly receiving accolades from Robert Mugabe—Africa's 'black diamond' . . ."

conciliation with the whites and the West, that has dominated every aspect of Zimbabwean society in the first five months of Mugabe's rule.

### Strikes force wage gains

On April 15, workers at a BL Ltd. (formerly British Leyland) vehicle assembly plant at Umtali struck, demanding wage increases and firing of certain white supervisors. The same week, workers at Rodia Chemical Industries in Msasa walked out, demanding back overtime pay they had been cheated of since 1975. There were also strikes in Gwelo and Sallsbury factories.

Mugabe had not formally taken over when these first strikes occurred, and ZANU did not support them. In fact, in some cases the ZANU-designated Minister of Labor and Social Welfare K.M. Kangai intervened and persuaded the workers to return to the job.

The strikes continued after formal independence and the inauguration of the Mugabe government. On May 2, 4,000 miners walked out of the Wankie coal mine, after rejecting an offer of a 10-percent wage increase that would have brought their wages up to \$2.95 per day. The miners demanded \$3 an hour, which is still less than the average wage for white miners.

Two days later, 8,000 sugar plantation workers walked out at Hippo Valley, followed by another 8,000 workers at Triangle Sugar. On May 13, the Associated Press reported that 5,000 gold and asbestos miners had begun a walkout for higher wages.

The Mugabe government did not support any of these strikes. Nor did it use them as a club to wring concessions from the capitalists. Instead, it allowed companies to begin importing coal from South Africa as a way to break the Wankie walkout.

Mugabe did feel under pressure to make some changes, however. He proposed new minimum wage laws: \$108 a month for industrial workers and \$46 a month for agricultural and domestic workers. These new minimums, while far less than what the workers need or were demanding, are more than the white bosses wanted to pay.

In the weeks before July 1, when the new law went into effect, over 5,000 workers were fired rather than retained at the soon-to-be higher

(Continued on page 14)

# Klan Counter-Demonstrates at NAACP Protest of Police Brutality

**RICHMOND, California—** This heavily-Black working class city was the site of the most recent Ku Klux Klan appearance in the San Francisco Bay Area. On August 23, the Klan held a counter-demonstration to a protest called by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) over the Richmond Police Department's record of brutality. An estimated 25 Klan members, some in sheets and hoods, others with shields, came to "support the police depart-

ment and... support white people." Three dozen riot-equipped cops returned the support by surrounding the Klan and protecting them from 200 local residents and anti-Klan militants.

The NAACP called the August 23 rally and march to protest continual "police abuse," especially the "indiscriminate use of billy clubs" by the cops. The NAACP also charged that the department discriminates against Blacks in hiring and promotion. Only 17 percent of

the police force is Black and no Blacks hold a rank above sergeant. An estimated 55 percent of Richmond's residents are Black, Latin or Asian.

When the Klan announced their plans to counter-demonstrate, the NAACP decided to turn its back on the problem. They urged people to ignore the Klan and to leave them to the police. The NAACP was put in the ironic position of telling people to leave the fight against the racist Klan to the police whose racism the

NAACP was protesting.

The Klan gathered half a block away from the NAACP's rally site 30 minutes before the march was to begin. Residents who gathered to try to remove the Klan members from their community were ignored by the NAACP. Instead, the residents were joined by anti-Klan activists from around the Bay Area. Progressive Labor Party/International Committee Against Racism (PLP/InCAR), the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee

(NAROC) had all mobilized for the action. The lack of a joint strategy, however, prevented a serious attack being made against the Klan. Instead, the seemingly aimless wanderings of the PL/InCAR, CWP and NAROC only served to confuse and demoralize the local residents, independent militants and supporters of other organizations who were serious about fighting the Klan.

One supporter of InCAR was attacked and arrested by police when he attempted to speak to the crowd using a bullhorn. This arrest could have been prevented if people had worked together against the police. Following the arrest, the NAACP leadership decided to march everyone away from the Klan. The Klan then proceeded to the park where the NAACP had been and held their own rally. □



The following article is reprinted from the August 27-September 26 issue of *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, the sister organization of the RSL. Although the article is part of a debate that is now going on in Jamaica over the contributions of Marcus Garvey, we thought it would be useful for our U.S. readers. The two parties that comrade Thomas refers to—the PNP and the JLP—are the major bourgeois parties of Jamaica. The PNP, the more liberal party headed by Michael Manley, is currently in power. The JLP, the more conservative capitalist party, is headed by Edward Seaga and is now in opposition.

By JON THOMAS

The recent commemoration of the ninety-third anniversary of the birth of Marcus Mosiah Garvey saw both the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) opportunistically seeking to exploit his tremendous reputation and prestige in their electioneering. The PNP claimed that it is the party which has implemented Gar-

vey's 1929 programme. For its part, the JLP attempted to use Garvey as a symbol in its anti-communist campaigning.

## What Garvey defended

What is the truth of these claims? What did Garvey really stand for and defend? Marcus Mosiah Garvey was a staunch Black nationalist. He dedicated his life to the cause of the unification and liberation of the Black masses of the world.

Garvey was unique in that during the 1920s and '30s he succeeded in creating an independent worldwide organization involving masses of Black people. As leader of that movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Garvey played an unequalled role in forging racial consciousness and pride among the world's oppressed Black masses. He served as the inspirer of Black liberation struggles throughout the world. These achievements represent the core of Garvey's positive and gigantic contribution to the struggle for Black freedom and dignity.

## Believer in capitalism

At the same time, however, Garvey was a strong believer

in capitalism. He sought the advancement of Black people within the framework of capitalism. Thus, for example, he sought to build Black capitalism in a way later imitated in the Black businesses established by the Black Muslims under Elijah Muhammad.

Garvey failed to accept that at the root of racial prejudice and oppression lies the system of capitalist wage slavery. He failed to acknowledge that, if it is to be truly successful, the struggle for Black liberation must also be a struggle for socialist revolution.

Proceeding from this bourgeois (capitalist) nationalist position, Garvey adopted very harsh anti-communist views on a number of occasions. The JLP has attempted to use this negative side of Garvey's politics to legitimize its anti-communist programme.

## PNP and JLP opposed Garvey

We firmly reject this vulgar maneuver. For it must not be forgotten that the United States, Britain and other colonialist and imperialist powers, the *Gleaner*, Jamaican big planters and merchants all mercilessly opposed Garvey. These are the same type of reactionary forces represented by the JLP today.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that when it formed

# MARCUS GARVEY REMEMBERED

ing sent to prison here in Jamaica. The fact that he subsequently defended Garvey in another case does not erase this vile act.

In connection with the PNP's claims that it is carrying out Garvey's programme, it must be understood that the few social reforms which the PNP has enacted were wrested from them by the struggles of the oppressed Jamaican masses. Indeed, today the PNP and its capitalist bosses are taking back these tiny reforms one by one.

The working and oppressed Jamaican masses must, therefore, not be taken in by the recent opportunist PNP/JLP propaganda with respect to Marcus Garvey.

## Black liberation through socialist revolution

For our part, we communists of the RML, share Garvey's longing for freedom for the Black race. In our work we continue to build on the positive contributions that he made to the Black liberation struggle. But we are not Garveyites. Nor do we pretend that Garvey was pro-communist in the way that the reformist Workers Party of Jamaica has consistently and opportunistically sought to suggest. No! We squarely face the fact that Garveyism is a bourgeois Black nationalist outlook with fundamental limitations.

As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that the true, complete and lasting liberation of Black and other oppressed races, nations and groups will only come with the destruction of capitalism and imperialism throughout the world. That is our programme for Black liberation. □

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August 23 march

By MIKE EVI

**DETROIT—** Although I had received a permit from the city council here, the Nazis and the Klan cancelled the march and rally on August 23, complaining that the marchers were in danger of being "stoned by communists." I was expressing unhappiness over the approved route. Instead of a march, the route was cancelled by the racists.

By SHARON P

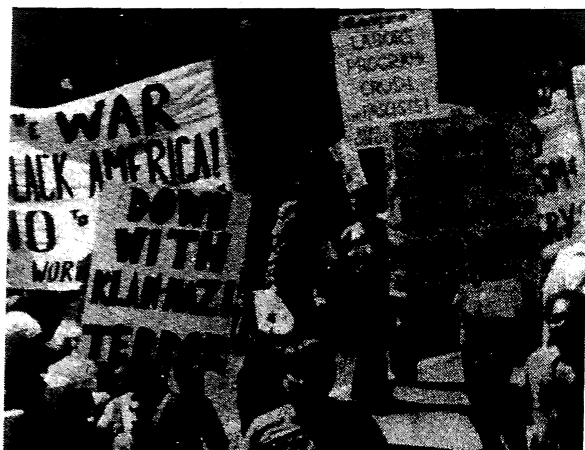
"I just don't believe in Boston justice because I believe this was a

This was the real mother of Levi's year-old Black youth, a police bullet, after County Grand Jury late August to indict responsible for Hart's death. Hart died from a stroke during his arrest. A stolen car chase on August 15. A white cop, Bourque, claims he grabbed his service revolver from its holster and "accidentally" went off during the struggle. This story was reported by several witnesses as well as by two reports that indicate Bourque also suffered a mass fracture, such as caused by a pistol wound.

The grand jury's report indicted Bourque for weeks of judicial whiff. Immediately after Hart's death, the Black community anti-racist forces demanded an investigation into the shooting. As a result, Bourque was temporarily suspended from the force on a paid vacation—and

## Klan/Nazis Cancel March

# Detroit Coalition Holds Anti-Racist Rally



August 23 march against the Klan and Nazis in Detroit.

By MIKE EVERETT

**DETROIT**—Although they had received a permit from the city council here, members of the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan cancelled their plans for a march and rally on August 23, complaining that they were in danger of being "stoned by communists" and expressing unhappiness over the approved route and rally site. Instead of a demonstration by the racists, on August

23 a coalition of individuals and left groups joined for an anti-Klan/Nazi march and rally. Over 80 people marched from the planned Nazi/Klan rally site to Kennedy Square in the downtown area. There, over 150 people attended an anti-racist/anti-fascist rally.

**THE ACTIONS** were organized by the "August 23 Committee Against Klan/Nazi Terror." The committee was formed by individuals and organizations that has partici-

pated in a "Conference Against Racism and Unemployment" held August 9.

The conference issued a call for a counter-demonstration to the planned racist mobilization on August 23. But supporters of Workers World Party, who were the original organizers of the conference, did not move to properly prepare for the demonstration. After the conference leadership failed to respond to calls for action and an organizing meeting, a number of the participants set up the "August 23 Committee." Among the members of the "August 23 Committee" were several independent political activists, the Revolutionary Workers Group, Red Tide, International Socialist Organization and the RSL.

The actions on August 23 were relatively small. The main reason was the announcement in mid-August cancelling the racists' march. In addition the committee had a short time (less than a week) in which to prepare. The news media ignored or gave very little publicity to the effort, while one TV station and one of the major newspapers did large features on Nazi leader Bill Russell. Union officials

around the city rejected petitions calling for support to the demonstration. One radio station was reported to have urged listeners to stay away. The committee was even forced to file suit in a local court on August 22 just to get the city to issue a sound equipment permit.

**ON AUGUST 27**, supporters of the demonstration met. In addition to those who had started the August 23 organizing, there were a number of people who had been newly brought into the anti-racist movement by the August 23

efforts. The meeting decided to maintain the anti-racist committee, re-naming it the Detroit Committee Against Klan/Nazi Terror. The goals of the committee are to:

1) organize a counter-demonstration when the KKK/Nazis do march (which they have said they will do);

2) organize a standing defense network to respond to racist attacks; and

3) work to mobilize the labor and Black community organizations of Detroit to actively oppose the racist thugs. □

An "All Ohio Conference Against Racism and the Klan" will be held in Columbus, Ohio, on Saturday, October 11. The conference, which is geared to building a statewide anti-Klan organization, will include workshops (fascist attacks on women and gays, the Klan and labor, the economics of racism, and tactics and confrontation in the anti-Klan struggle), a debate on "First Amendment Rights and the Fascists" and a slide show, movie and videotape. Conference organizers include Those United to Fight Fascism (TUFF) in Columbus and activists in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton and several other cities. The Revolutionary Socialist League is building for the conference and will speak on the panel on tactics in the anti-Klan struggle. The conference will be held at the Northend Community Center, 5 W. Northwood, Columbus, Ohio, starting at 9:00 a.m. For more information, write or call TUFF: Box 15366, Columbus, OH, 43215, (614) 221-1670; or the Detroit RSL: (313) 893-5868. Childcare will be provided. □

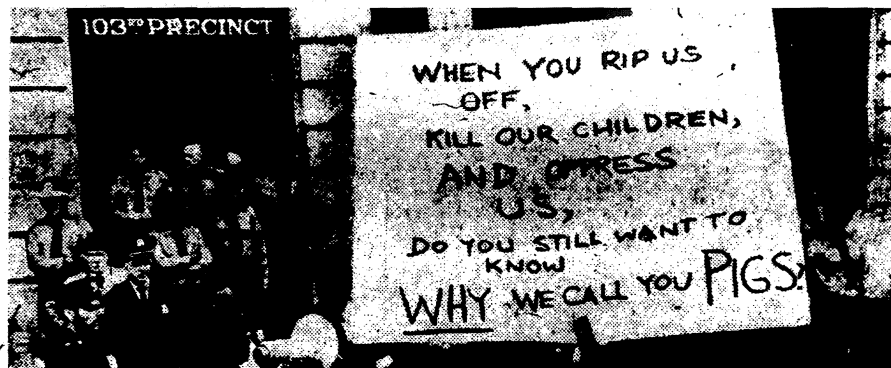
# Boston Grand Jury Whitewashes Hart Murder

By SHARON PAYNE

"I just don't believe we have justice in Boston. I really believe this was a cover-up."

This was the response of the mother of Levi Hart, a 14-year-old Black youth killed by a police bullet, after a Suffolk County Grand Jury refused in late August to indict the cop responsible for Hart's murder. Hart died from a shot to the head during his arrest following a stolen car chase on July 15. A white cop, Richard Bourque, claims that Hart grabbed his service pistol from its holster and it "accidentally" went off during the struggle. This story is disputed by several witnesses, as well as by two coroners' reports that indicate Hart had also suffered a massive skull fracture, such as could be caused by a pistol whipping.

The grand jury's refusal to indict Bourque topped off weeks of judicial whitewash. Immediately after Hart's murder, the Black community and anti-racist forces demanded an investigation into the shooting. As a result, Bourque was temporarily suspended from the force—given a paid vacation—and a well-



known Black jurist, Judge Richard Banks, named to head the inquest. But Banks enraged the Black community by declaring the proceedings closed to the public. (To justify the secrecy, he cited a 10-year-old ruling designed to protect Ted Kennedy during the 1970 Chappaquiddick inquest.)

**RECOGNIZING** that closed hearings would invite a cover-up, protests organized by the newly-formed Boston chapter of the Black United Front (BUF) interrupted the opening of the investigation on July 28. Several hundred

mostly-Black demonstrators demanded the hearings be opened to the Black community. But after meeting with a delegation of representatives, Banks again refused the demand. Chanting "We Want Justice," about 100 angry people occupied the courthouse for several hours, preventing business from continuing as usual. Taking over a courtroom, the militants held a strategy session and called for meetings of the Black community to plan further actions. One BUF spokesperson stated, "Overwhelmingly, the community is in

favor of direct action."

Smaller pickets daily at the courthouse helped keep attention focused on the case, but the closed hearings went on. When Banks' report was finally made public several weeks later, it cited "ample cause to believe" that Bourque had committed "an unlawful act or acts" which brought about Hart's death. Although this report led to the convening of a grand jury investigation, that majority-white body, after four days of hearings, found "insufficient evidence" to indict Bourque.

The U.S. Justice Depart-

ment—nervous at the specter of another Miami—announced that a federal grand jury would soon conduct its own investigation of "possible civil rights violations." Meanwhile, the Hart family has filed a \$43 million lawsuit against the Boston police and the city and county governments, charging that Levi Hart was "the victim of a summary execution."

The Levi Hart murder was hardly an isolated case. Other racist assaults in the Boston area include:

• **ON AUGUST 29**, Hao Tan Lai, a Vietnamese man, was stabbed to death and another was seriously injured in the Brighton section of Boston. Over a dozen young whites, men and women, threw bottles at their car as it drove through Oak Square. When the car stopped, the Vietnamese men were chased and beaten with sticks and bats. Boston police originally tried to pass off this unprovoked violence as a "gang fight" between Asians and whites.

• **ON AUGUST 16**, Charles Keith Sherman, a Black electrical worker, was chased by four white men and then

(Continued on page 17)



## Tommy Lee Hines free — for now

Tommy Lee Hines was released by court order from a state mental hospital August 25, after serving nearly two years of a 30-year sentence. In 1978 Hines, a Black man who is severely retarded, was convicted of raping a white woman in a blatantly racist frame-up in which the evidence played no part in the trial. The Ku Klux Klan in Decatur, Alabama, where the trial was held, actively agitated for a conviction. On May 26, 1979, Black marchers protesting the verdict were fired on by armed KKK members in Decatur. In response, 1,500 demonstrators from across the country went to that Alabama town two weeks later to march against the Klan.

This time, Hines's conviction was overturned by a higher court, on the grounds that Hines could not have understood his constitutional rights when he confessed to rape. The prosecution intends to try Hines again, possibly in October. We demand that all charges against Tommy Lee Hines be dismissed.

## Georgia prisons: 291 death houses

On July 14, John Thomas Gaultney died in a windowless isolation cell at Hardwick prison in Georgia, while the temperature outside rose to 108 degrees. Three days earlier another prisoner had told a nurse that Gaultney was throwing up blood. But he received no treatment. By the time medical personnel entered his cell, Gaultney was dead.

This was no isolated incident. Medical care in Georgia prisons is so poor that many prisoners die from ill-treatment or lack of treatment. In the entire state, only three jails out of 294 meet the basic standards of the American Medical Association.

Some jails have a doctor in only once a month. Prison doctors see so many patients they have no time to really examine anybody. Sick call is an assembly line where doctors dispense aspirins and tranquilizers to keep the prisoners quiet. Women prisoners are especially subject to drugging for so-called behavioral problems. One 27-year-old woman, Linda Rogers, died in a Georgia prison earlier this year from overdosing with several different drugs, including Prolixin.

In many Georgia prisons sick call has to be requested ahead of time. This July 5, Henry Grady was denied medical care although he complained of chest pains, simply because he hadn't signed up for sick call the night before. Grady died of a heart attack during the night.

If prisoners have any illness when they enter prison, the odds are it will remain undetected as well as untreated. Georgia prisoners aren't even checked for contagious diseases. Recently a prisoner at Reidsville died of tuberculosis. According to the Clearinghouse on Georgia Prisons and Jails, when the keepers ordered tests, another 600 prisoners were found with traces of TB.

## Gary Tyler wins release

On July 24, a federal court ruled that the 1975 conviction of Gary Tyler, a young Black man accused of shooting a white student, was unconstitutional because the judge's instruction to the jury deprived Tyler of a fair trial. The charges grew out of an attack on a Black school bus in Destrehan, Louisiana, by a gang of armed racists. Tyler was found guilty on the testimony of a single witness and sentenced to death. In 1976 the U.S. Supreme Court threw out Louisiana's death penalty, and Tyler was sentenced to life, with a 20-year minimum before parole. There have been a number of appeals, supported by an international campaign to free Gary Tyler. Meanwhile, all the so-called evidence against Tyler has gone up in smoke. First, the prosecution witness recanted at a 1976 hearing, stating that the cops had threatened to charge her with murder unless she testified against Tyler. And since then the alleged murder gun has been "lost" by the cops. If the state tries Tyler again, there is a good chance he will be acquitted.

—AL

# Indiana Prison Takeover Discussed

WE ARE nine captives of the State of Indiana who witnessed the April protest against intolerable living conditions and sadistic physical and mental abuse suffered by men confined at the Maximum Security Prison in Michigan City. Recently, there has been a great deal of attention, particularly in the printed media, focusing on the prison conditions, and those prisoner grievances which precipitated the April protest. In this writing, we would like to share with you some of our views on the April protest, as well as advise you on more recent events following that incident.

On the afternoon of April 27, 1980, as you are undoubtedly aware, over 300 prisoners participated in a collective protest of insufferable prison conditions attributable to the policies and actions of the Department of Correction's (DOC) administrators and prison officials. The takeover of NSB lock-up unit, a detention chamber located in an old factory building which is euphemistically referred to as the "New Service Building," and the takeover of "C" cell-house were both in direct response to the prison's refusal to provide acceptable and meaningful procedures for prisoners to seek impartial resolution of their complaints and grievances.

DESPERATE men, victims of long and bitter experiences, were forced by Warden Duckworth and DOC officials to resort to desperate means of redressing their legitimate grievances. Our actions consistently demonstrated our singular purpose: an appeal to the public to secure the basic human rights which are a fundamental part of the American Creed. We point out that none of the guards detained by the prisoners were injured. One guard was released, after complaining of chest pains, due to our humanitarian concerns. The only property damage was that caused by destructive guards assigned to resecuring the cell-house and lock-up unit after the prisoners ended the protest.

The 11 prisoners chosen by their fellow captives to negotiate our concerns were all acting in good faith, and naturally assumed that the DOC officials with whom they were pleading our cause were also acting on similar principles of fairness and good faith. Events would soon prove, however, that these officials were acting on the basis of expediency rather than principle (which provides a lesson that future protest-

ers must certainly take notice of). These officials promised that no kidnapping charges would be filed, and efforts would be undertaken to resolve prisoners' grievances, if the officers were released. Accordingly, the officers were released; we were allowed to voice our complaints, promises of improvements were made. The institution returned to business as usual.

On July 25, 1980, nine Black prisoners were selected to be charged with eight counts of kidnapping, and one count of attempted kidnapping and battery. The promises of so-called "honest" men would not balance two dead files on a scale of eternity. So much for pretty lies.

THIS SOCIETY has a long and sorrowful history of exer-

The selection of nine Blacks out of a group of over 300 multi-racial participants is not only testimony of the rampant racism involved in the selection process, but is also congruent with the prison administration's support of the Ku Klux Klan's clandestine program of racial polarization taking place in this prison. This state's Department of Correction, with the cooperation of the prison's warden, hopes to use racial violence as a justification for demanding that the legislature appropriate more funds for prison security. Prison officials would like to see Black prisoners direct their bitterness over this instant episode of racial discrimination against white prisoners. Fortunately, this will not happen, for we are united in our struggle



SWAT units arrive at Indiana State Prison in Michigan City during April uprising.

cising its hatred and fear of Blacks through its distorted application of the criminal and legal processes. America has used Blacks as slaves, scapegoats, and excuses for the failures of its capitalistic system. This country has removed lynchings from the alleys and backyards only to continue them with impunity in austere courtrooms under a facade of "due process." The prosecution of the Michigan City Nine is nothing more than a continuation of America's disgusting tradition of lynchings. In using the Michigan City Nine as an example to the rest of the prison captives, state officials, in making their initial selections, were very cognizant of the fact that juries, being less sensitive to the humanness of Black defendants, are more likely to convict them of alleged crimes, where solid evidence is lacking, than they would be to convict white defendants under similar circumstances.

against human oppression.

OUR CAUSE is far more than just a charge of racial discrimination. The Michigan City Nine represent a struggle for the basic human rights which all human beings are entitled to. We appeal for your help because we realize that the conditions which characterize modern American prisons will not change because captives protest them. The conditions of American prisons will change only when Americans are no longer willing to tolerate them as they currently exist. Human oppression will continue so long as Americans are willing to yield their valued principles to the demands of political expediency. We appeal for your help out of the same sense of desperation which created the protest of April 27, 1980.

Yours in Struggle,  
Larry E. Massey, John Cole,  
Miles Goodner, Frederick  
Greene, Tony Williams, Eddie  
Lee Hill, Lincoln Love, Boyd  
McChristian, Clarence Taylor

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# POWs Get 8 Years; March Held

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, August 26, eight of the 11 Puerto Rican nationalists arrested last April in Evanston, Illinois, were sentenced to eight years each in prison. They were convicted last July 30 on charges of possession of a sawed-off shotgun and conspiracy to commit armed robbery.

In handing down the maximum sentence allowed by the state statutes, Judge Francis Mahon lamented in court that he could not give them longer sentences.

All 11 of the arrested nationalists have been accused by government officials of being members of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation). The FALN has claimed credit over the last few years for several bombings carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence. The 11 have neither confirmed nor denied connections with the FALN. Their defense is that they are not responsible to U.S. courts because they are freedom fighters of a foreign nation—prisoners of war—and should therefore be tried by an international court. They presented no defense case at the U.S. court proceedings.

As announced in the last issue of the Torch/La Antorcha, supporters of the 11 POWs sponsored a march on August 25 followed by an all-night vigil at the county courthouse and jail. The five-mile march wound its way through Puerto Rican, Black and Mexican/Chicano communities, arriving at the county jail around midnight. The march of around 100 people swelled in size as some 50 young Blacks joined it as it passed by the housing projects on Chicago's West Side.

The Chicago branch of the RSL took part in this demonstration. The letter below is about events on the march.

## 'Only if we unite can we overthrow this system'

Dear Torch,

On August 25, I had the opportunity to attend a spirited demonstration of about 100 militant people. This demonstration was called by the National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. It was called in support of the 11 POWs who were recently convicted in Chicago [see article above—Ed.].

AS A BLACK woman who has been oppressed by this racist system since birth, I certainly feel in solidarity with these freedom fighters. I will always support people who fight against U.S. imperialism, which I see as the cause of most oppression. I also see the need for all working class and Third World people to unite. I understand that only if we unite as one do we gain the strength needed to free the 11 POWs, Puerto Rico, and to overthrow this oppressive system in which we live.

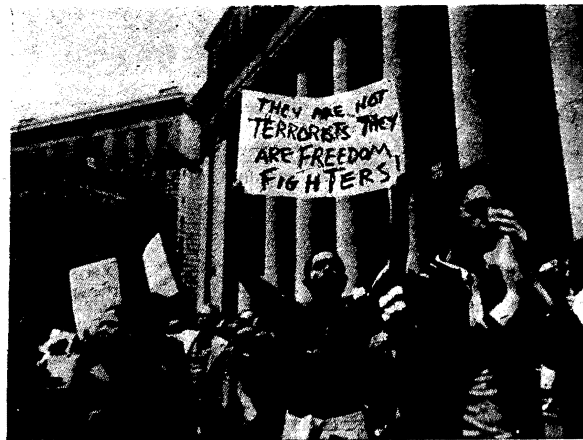
In the beginning there were about 100 people in the demonstration, which marched about five miles from a predominantly Puerto Rican neighborhood, through a Black neighborhood, a Mexican neighborhood, and ended in front of the Cook County Jail. The 11 POWs are being held at the jail.

As we went through the Mexican community we chanted in solidarity with undocumented workers, and with Mexican and Chicano people, which was great.

The high point of the demonstration came as we went

through a poor Black neighborhood. The one thing I know most about people of this area is their familiarity with police and FBI harassment. Pigs constantly come through and throw people up against the walls to search them for no reason at all. Youths are always getting their heads busted by some cop who is new in the area and trying to build up a reputation for being "tough." It was in this very neighborhood that Black Panther Party members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered by the FBI and the Chicago pigs. These people have not forgotten about these things and so they came out to support the march.

BLACK people came out of the projects to show solidarity with the demonstration. About 50 young Black people joined the demonstration. Others came out to ask about our banners (which were in Spanish) and to find out what we were chanting. At this point the chants were "The FALN is alive and well, the FBI can go to hell," and "The human rights problem in the world today is right here in the USA." The people thought this was great and around us were clenched fists and cheers of solidarity. Some of the people were picking up some of the easier Spanish chants. It was quite clear that they were going out of their way to let us know that they were supporting the struggle. But instead of letting these people know that they were



New York demonstration in support of Puerto Rican POWs, July 2, 1980.

wanted as a part of the demonstration, the leaders of the march seemed to do the opposite. Unlike what happened in the Mexican community, the march leaders did not start chants in support of Black people's struggles. There was no effort made to draw Black people into the march. And no effort was made by the march leaders to explain to the 50 Black people who joined the march what the march was all about. As a result, even the people who joined didn't stay long.

It was while going through

the Black neighborhood that a member of the Revolutionary Socialist League asked the march leadership if we could chant "Asian, Latin, Black and white; same enemy, same fight." The march leader refused.

IN MY opinion, this was an important political mistake. I see the struggle of all working class and oppressed people as the same. It is important to show people that we do have the same enemy and the same fight on our hands. The same people who imprisoned the 11 POWs are the oppressors of

Blacks, whites and the entire working class. I think that the chant "Asian, Latin, Black and white; same enemy, same fight" would begin to help people see that their struggles are the same. And it is important that revolutionaries show that their struggles are the same.

The march could have gotten Black people interested in organizing their friends in the community to support Puerto Rican independence. But this did not happen.

I FEEL that the entire working class must unite because it in numbers that we are strong. The only way for the working class to become "one" is by struggling together. Which to me means that all oppressed people must come together against our common enemy, the ruling class.

I also see the need for working class and oppressed people to build a multi-racial party which trains its members how to think politically as well as how to fight. I believe as long as we separate our struggles we will always be oppressed. The capitalist class understands this, because it is the capitalist class that plays the game of divide and rule with our lives.

Sincerely,  
Gail Thorne

## Prisoner - Against - Prisoner Fight at Monroe Benefits Keepers

A FIGHT between Native American and Black prisoners at the state reformatory in Monroe, Washington, September 3, grew into a riot involving some 350 prisoners, about one-third of the prison population, at the peak of the fighting. Parts of the prison were set afire. State authorities reported one prisoner killed and at least 24 hospitalized with serious injuries, allegedly inflicted by other prisoners. One prisoner, Angel Morehead, 18, was shot in the leg by a guard.

Morehead, a Native American, told reporters the fight started over some clothes taken from the laundry by a Black prisoner. He says Indians run the prison laundry. Morehead claims that at dinner a Native prisoner demanded the return of the clothes; that the Black prisoner punched him; and this led to a confrontation in the recreation yard, with both men bringing supporters. According to the authorities, the prisoners fought with sticks, rocks, pieces of metal and "whatever else they could

find." This went on for six hours. By the early morning hours sections of the prison had been torched; flames shot up with the smoke rising 200 feet. At that point, the guards and state troopers got everybody back into their cells.

The fighting at Monroe was senseless and self-destructive; it benefited no one but the prison authorities. The prisons are packed with thousands of people whose crime is being poor and Black, or Latin, or Native American, or simply being at the wrong place at the wrong time. Inside, prisoners are treated like animals or worse by the guards and the administration—the whole setup is dehumanizing. Overcrowded, providing no skills or education that can be used in the outside world, prisons breed rebellion.

ALL OVER the country, prison administrations protect themselves against rebellion, not merely by brute force, but by dividing the prisoners and encouraging them to turn on

each other. They use and cultivate the racial divisions and prejudices that are a reflection of the racism of the society at large. Every prison warden in the U.S. relies upon whites hating Blacks, Blacks hating Latins, Latins hating Native Americans, etc., etc. People are constantly pitted against each other to fight for the few available crumbs. One group is allowed to carve out a little space for itself—like jobs in the laundry—and they have to keep defending that space.

The prisoners at Monroe fell victim to these divisions, making life easier for the prison authorities. The guards at Monroe knew it too—they watched prisoners cut each other up for six hours and only moved in when the prison itself began to be damaged.

The unity of all prisoners against their real enemies—the warden and the state itself—is not going to be easy to build. But it is the only way to improve conditions and tear the prisons down. Prisoners need to organize for all to have the things they all need. □

# S.F. Hotel Strike Ends; Workers Angry With Pact

By a HOTEL WORKER CORRESPONDENT

**SAN FRANCISCO**—On August 12, after three and a half weeks on the picket line, 6,000 hotel workers, members of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, ended their militant strike against 36 of this convention and tourist city's most prestigious hotels. The strike ended at a chaotic meeting that approved Local 2 President Charles Lamb's proposed settlement by a vote of 1,823 to 523, despite a recommendation to reject it from the official negotiating committee. The vote totals, however, do not express the massive dissatisfaction with the new contract. Most of the strikers consider the new contract a defeat, and the mood at Kezar Pavilion, where the ratification vote was held, was one of anger and disgust. Much of the anger was directed against Lamb and International President Edward Hanley.

It was Lamb and Hanley who worked out the settlement that was eventually approved. To do so, they secretly left San Francisco and met with the hotel bosses in

private in Los Angeles. They came back with a proposed contract that was a sellout in almost every section:

- **Wages:** The contract calls for an average annual increase of 9.9 percent over three years. This is less than two percent more than the hotels were offering when the workers went out on strike.

- **Sick pay:** Hotels are still demanding that the union provide all sick pay.

- **Affirmative Action:** A key demand in an industry where the best jobs are held almost exclusively by white men. The new contract does mention discrimination for the first time, but requires little more than what the law has already been forcing on the hotels.

- **Seniority:** Still no hotel-wide seniority.

- **Union representation:** The union's business agents will now be allowed on the floors of the hotels but only under severely curtailed circumstances.

When Lamb returned to San Francisco and presented this proposal to the negotiating committee it was voted down 16 to 8. The following morn-

ing several hundred angry union members rallied in front of the union hall to demonstrate their displeasure. Lamb hid in his office and refused to meet with the membership.

All of the rank and file committees in the local, and a majority of the elected members of the negotiating committee, urged a "no" vote on the contract. But instead of seriously organizing among the membership, several negotiating committee members and the Workers for a Strong Union, the largest opposition group, went to court to seek an injunction to prevent the membership from voting on the proposal.

These legal efforts to stop the vote were a failure. The ratification meeting on August 12 was designed to create a favorable vote. Union members were forced to listen to the union leadership praise the contract before voting, but opposition comments (including those from negotiating committee members) and questions were delayed until after voting had begun. Confusion dominated the meeting. Union leaders were pelted with eggs and several hundred members fled through emer-



Over 2,000 people joined Bay Area unions' strike support rally during third week of hotel worker walkout.

gency exits thinking exploding firecrackers were gunfire. They were then refused readmittance and prevented from voting. The manipulation of the meeting, plus the prevailing view among the strikers that it was impossible to continue the strike after the leadership had sold out, along with the increasing economic hardships the strikers were facing, combined to produce a positive vote on a contract that few were satisfied with. Many workers who saw acceptance as inevitable protested by simply not voting. Only 2,346 ballots were cast on the new contract out of a membership of 6,000 at a meeting attended by approximately 3,000 workers. This compares with the 3,037 cast during the strike vote.

Smelling blood, the hotel bosses have begun an all-out campaign against the union. The hotels were slow to call

workers back and many union militants found their jobs no longer existed or their hours had been changed or shortened—this despite an amnesty agreement signed by the hotels and the union. In some places entire departments have been laid off. Harassment and suspensions are up from before the strike. But hotel workers have not lost their desire to fight for improved conditions. In one hotel, maids have already begun a campaign to leave one room a day uncleaned in response to the increased harassment.

Union activists, although disappointed with this settlement, vow to use the lessons learned this time to prevent a recurrence. The union's contract with the city's restaurants expires next summer. Observers feel that those negotiations may lead to another bitter strike. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Philly teachers on strike

Negotiations to settle the Philadelphia teachers' strike resumed September 8 under a news blackout imposed by state mediator Edward Feehan. Over 20,000 teachers and other school employees have been on strike against the Philadelphia Board of Education since September 1. The strikers, who are represented by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, are demanding the rehiring of 2,300 workers laid off earlier this year. They also want wage increases equal to the current rate of inflation. The board is trying to impose a wage freeze in the first year of a proposed two-year contract. Negotiators reached tentative agreement on a new contract on September 4. But Philadelphia mayor William Green vetoed the settlement, refusing to sanction any pay increases, and insisting that the union give up the no-layoff clause it had won in previous contracts.

### Jobs rally held in Chicago

**CHICAGO**—On August 30, about 150 workers demonstrated for jobs at the Civic Center here. The rally was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee for Labor Day Action for Jobs, which is dominated by the Communist Party (CP). Workers carried signs demanding a shorter workweek, and that Wisconsin Steel, which was shut down last March, be reopened. One sign demanded support for Polish workers in their fight for workers' democracy. The Revolutionary

Socialist League participated in the demonstration with signs that said, in English and Spanish, "Jobs for All—Make the Bosses Pay" and "Build a Nationwide Movement—Jobs for All."

For several months the CP has been organizing jobs demonstrations around the country in the

**After a bitter six-month struggle, the Glydons garment workers' strike in Los Angeles has ended in defeat. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union won a union representation election at Glydons last December. In February, the Glydons workers struck over unfair labor practices by the company. However, in late August the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the strike concerned only economic issues, rather than unfair labor practices against the union. Consequently, the board said, Glydons management is under no obligation to rehire those workers who remained out on strike. A full analysis of the Glydons strike will appear in the next issue of the Torch/La Antorcha.**

hope of pressuring national union officials into calling a mass march for jobs in Washington, D.C., sometime next year. Several speakers at the rally, including Rudolpho Ludzano, an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Abe Feinglass, vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, urged workers to mobilize for such a march. In addition Frank Lumpkin, leader of the Save Our Jobs Committee at Wisconsin Steel, summarized the latest developments in the mill workers'

struggle to reopen the plant without giving up pension rights and other benefits. Altogether, officials from over 20 area unions endorsed the jobs rally. However, they did very little to mobilize rank and file workers to attend.

### Workers press winery bosses

In September members of the Winery, Distillery and Allied Workers Union struck against the Winery Employers Association, a group of 23 wine companies, for the first time in 35 years of collective bargaining. On September 5, 1,500 workers set up picket lines at the E. & J. Gallo Company and United Vintners Inc., the two largest wineries in the country. Workers began strikes against four other wine producers on September 10.

The workers are demanding a three-year contract that includes successive annual wage increases of 13, nine and eight percent. They are also fighting the companies' effort to increase their probationary period from 30 to 40 days. This is a crucial issue for the workers. Once the grape harvest season begins, it is critical for the wineries to process the grapes while they retain their optimum sugar content. Consequently at the peak of the harvest season the companies employ three shifts to keep the distilleries operating 24 hours a day. The workers fear that if the companies succeed in extending the probation period, they will be able to hire workers at the peak of the season and then fire them before they have won union protection. Negotiations between the union and the wineries broke off September 3 and have not yet resumed as we go to press.

—PB



## Racism Also Involved

# Navy Conducts Anti-Gay Witch-Hunt

By MICHELLE KATZ

This past May, in its latest attempt to preserve its white male image as the defender of the "American way of life," the U.S. Navy accused 24 of the 61 women stationed on the U.S.S. Norton Sound, a missile test ship, of committing homosexual acts aboard ship.

AFTER subjecting the women to personal interrogation and psychological testing, the Navy dropped charges against 16, leaving eight to endure public misconduct trials aimed at forcing their dismissal from the Navy. On August 22, after four of the women had been tried, with two found guilty and recommended for discharge, the ship's captain decided to drop the charges against the remaining four. No clear reason was given for this change in plan.

The two women found guilty are planning to appeal their dismissal.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney for the women, Susan McGreiv, called the inquiry "a disgusting witch hunt" (New York Times, August 8, 1980), and told the Torch/La Antorcha that "the hearings have heavy racist overtones" as well. The original investigation included all eight of the Black women on the ship. Three of the eight women eventually charged are Black, as are the two women found guilty. Meanwhile, the four women against whom charges were finally dropped



Wendi Williams and Alicia Harris.

are white, raising further questions about the racial motives of the Navy in conducting this investigation.

The Los Angeles women's and gay communities have provided emotional and financial support for the accused sailors, with one well-known gay activist summing up the investigation as a misogynist attempt to rid the Navy of women using the old tactic of "queer-hunting." Many Navy officials have made known their displeasure with allowing women to serve on ships and "had made it clear they would do everything they

could to make sure women stay on the land 'where they belong.'" (Gay Community News, September 6, 1980.)

THE ACCUSED women all denied the charges of lesbianism, and indeed the evidence presented was so flimsy that even the official Administrative Discharge Board had to find two of them not guilty. In the opinion of Carol Sobel, associate director of the ACLU in Los Angeles, the Navy dropped its charges against the final four women because it knew it would lose the cases due to blatant lack of evidence. At the hearing of

Wendi Williams, one of the sailors found guilty and recommended for discharge, the prosecution admitted that she was a good sailor and a hard worker, but insisted that her homosexual behavior made her unfit to serve in the Navy. (New York Times, August 21, 1980.) Williams stated that had she acted in the manner charged, "to commit these acts in a room with 60 people where everyone could see," she should be discharged "for stupidity, not misconduct." (Daily Challenge, August 21, 1980.) That sexual behavior on board ship is not in itself considered a threat by the Navy is made clear by the absence of any investigation of heterosexual activity, although this too is technically forbidden. There are 300 male sailors on the ship and it is generally accepted that much heterosexual activity occurs.

In pursuing this witch hunt, the Navy is continuing a long-standing anti-gay tradition of the U.S. armed forces which reached a peak during the 1950s, when sweeping purges of homosexuals were conducted in every branch of "service" in order to preserve rigid standards of conformity. In a March 1975 challenge to the anti-gay regulations, Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich deliberately revealed his homosexuality, and was discharged despite his 12 years of service and two decorations. In July of that year, Naval Ensign Vernon E. Berg III was charged with homo-

sexual conduct, and received an "other than honorable" discharge in June 1976, after a prolonged trial. Both men sued in federal court, and the gay movement celebrated a "triumph" in December 1978, when the courts ruled that the "services" must reconsider their decisions, thus implying that homosexuals could no longer be arbitrarily dismissed solely because of their sexual orientation, and ordering that clear standards be established to facilitate judgment of "misconduct." (Gaysweek, January 1, 1979.) There has in fact



Leonard Matlovich.

been no triumph for the rights of gays or anyone else, as persecution and discharge continue routinely. In the 1978-79 fiscal year, the Navy discharged 76 women and 778 men on charges of engaging in homosexual activity. (New York Times, June 21, 1980.)

THE U.S. armed forces provide an opportunity for employment and training often unavailable elsewhere for poor and minority people. Therefore, even if any of the accused women did have a preference for lovers of her own sex, she would be forced to deny this aspect of herself in order to keep her job. Furthermore, we should recognize that the crucial issue in this current struggle is not the actual sexual orientation of any of these individuals, but rather its irrelevance to their performance of their tasks, and the right of all individuals—gay and straight, male and female, Black and white—to participate fully in every aspect of society. A victory for the women sailors of the U.S.S. Norton Sound would therefore be a triumph over the ruling forces who claim to stand for freedom and democracy but whose hypocrisy is evident in their discrimination and persecution of their own personnel. □

## Great Lakes Sailors Sink 'Star Spangled Banner'

"Punks Win"—Anthem Silenced"; that was the headline on the August 20 Chicago Sun-Times.

The front-page story reported that Rear Admiral Charles Gurney III had suspended the playing of the national anthem at the Ross Theater at Great Lakes Naval Training Station, north of Chicago, because the sailors in the theater kept booing and cat-calling when it was played before movies.

TWO DAYS later the paper proclaimed: "Anthem Plays to Proud House at Great Lakes." But the article was trumpeting a patriotic "victory" that amounted to empty bluster.

Admiral Gurney originally suspended the playing of the anthem in June, after four nights of watching the raucous reception it got from

audiences at the base. But when some of the patriotic elements at the base protested this, he brought it back two weeks later—with an appeal to all good sailors to turn in the names of those bold enough to disrespect the song that stands worldwide for imperialism and oppression. To the admiral's dismay, booing continued and nobody turned in any names. So he threw in the towel and dropped the anthem again.

With the help of front-page headlines in the two major Chicago papers, the patriots stirred up about 300 phone calls of protest again. So the gutsy admiral caved in again, and brought the anthem back. This time he took no chances. The anthem was played with the lights partly on and 10

volunteer petty officers scanning the small crowd of 200, ready to pounce on any disrespect, while TV cameras filmed the whole thing. To no one's surprise, none of the crowd made trouble.

The auditorium reportedly holds 1,500-2,000 people, and there are 27,000 people on the base. So what did the admiral prove? That if you have front-page stories in the papers and get 10 volunteer pigs and a lot of TV cameras, you can find 200 people on a naval base of 27,000 to sit in a mostly empty auditorium and stand at attention for the national anthem.

And while the admiral is still calling for help in fingering "those very few individuals who have caused the problem," the government continues to stall any an-

nouncement of how many 18- and 19-year-olds registered for the draft. Most estimates are that 20-25 percent of those required to register did not—close to a million young men.

THE GREAT LAKES sailors rioted last year against bad housing and other rotten conditions on the base. Having to stand for this vile song is one more piece of their oppression. In resisting it, they are up against harsh military discipline, from piggy petty officers to admirals. And behind the military stands the capitalist class and their media, like the Chicago papers and TV stations, and like CBS, with its new hero-worshipping series "The CIA." We support the sailors and all those who are resisting this patriotic campaign. □

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# Workers Force Concessions From 'Red Bourgeoisie'

(Continued from page 1)

the strikes than simply the price of meat. In fact, the Polish workers' revolt of 1980 is only the latest in a long history of struggle against Poland's state-capitalist regime.

Originally established under the auspices of Soviet troops toward the end of World War II, the PUWP government never won the loyalty of the vast majority of the Polish people. This was for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the regime's continual harassment and attempted suppression of the Roman Catholic Church, which is adhered to by some 90 percent of the population. But perhaps most important was that after over 200 years of foreign domination, particularly by the Russians, most Poles have had nothing but contempt for a government that was controlled by Moscow and permitted the stationing of Russian troops on Polish soil.

Faced with stiff resistance, the PUWP never fully succeeded in creating

austerity program at the expense of the workers set off the latest revolt.

## Gdansk workers transform strikes

When meat prices were raised in cities throughout northern Poland on July 1, workers in Ursus, Warsaw, Gdansk and Gdynia immediately walked off their jobs or occupied the factories where they worked, demanding pay increases to cover the higher prices. By promising the workers substantial wage bonuses, plant managers were temporarily able to defuse the situation and get the workers to return to work.

A second wave of strikes began on July 9, however, when the price in-

Gdansk.

On the 16th, the management of the shipyard gave in to the workers' demands to rehire Walentynowicz and raise wages. However, the workers rejected the strike committee's recommendation that they return to work. Instead, they set up the Inter-Factory Strike Committee to coordinate the struggle against the government. And they drew up the list of 16 (later increased to the 21 by now well-known) demands. In response, the government cut off all telephone communications to and from the city.

Within a week hundreds of thousands of workers throughout northern Poland struck in solidarity with the Gdansk workers and adopted their demands.

The workers set up a network of democratically-elected committees to organize and unify their struggle. Elected strike committees from each factory sent representatives to the Inter-Factory Committee, which met daily in the Lenin shipyards. The committee decided which factories and shops in Gdansk to keep open in order to meet the needs of the workers occupying the shipyards. It set up a system of couriers to spread news of the strike to other cities. Newspaper workers took over their workplace and began publishing a strike newspaper. To ensure that the leaders could be held responsible to the workers, the meetings of the strike committee were broadcast over loudspeakers all over the shipyard.

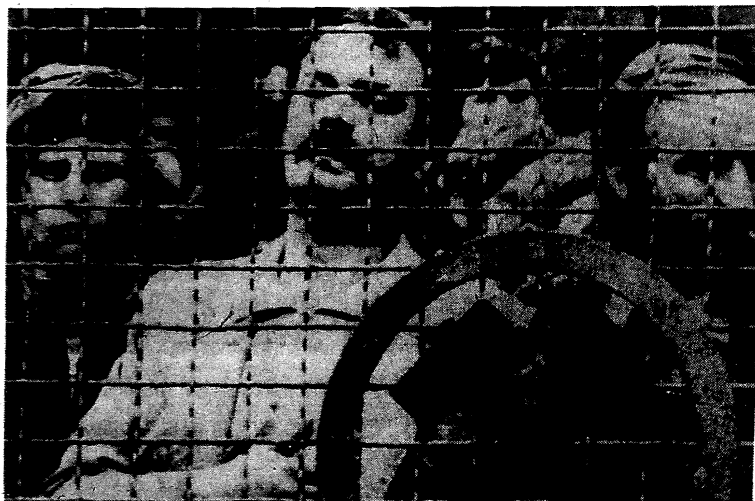
While the workers built a network to extend the strike, the government engaged in a campaign of promises and threats aimed at ending the revolt. On August 18 Gierek gave a nationally televised speech in which he admitted government economic errors, offered some token reforms, but rejected the political reforms raised by the workers.

The next day, in a fit of phony bravado, Interpress director Miroslaw Wojciechowski declared: "The integrated strike committee will not be dealt with. We're not going to talk to them at all." Instead, the government tried to split the workers by offering to negotiate with individual factory committees. But this too failed.

## PUWP regime threatened

By August 23 the strike wave had become a major crisis for the PUWP government—both nationally and internationally. Several hundred thousand workers—estimates differ—were on strike, shutting down key sectors of the economy. Moreover, far from losing steam in the face of apparent government intransigence, the strikes were escalating and growing stronger.

Meanwhile, the Russian rulers, watching events from Poland's eastern border, were growing increasingly nervous. The Polish workers were paralyzing the country while the Russian underlings in Warsaw were incapable of



Striking coal miners at Lipcowy mine in Silesia.

a stable state-capitalist society. After a massive student and worker rebellion in 1956, which toppled the PUWP leadership and brought in Wladislaw Gomułka as party chief, the new government adopted a policy of trying to buy the loyalty of Polish workers and peasants through economic concessions. It tried to win over the peasants by decollectivizing 90 percent of the previously collectivized land and paying them high prices for meat and crops. At the same time it attempted to pacify the workers by keeping food prices down through government subsidies. This strategy placed an enormous strain on the economy, which Polish leaders have periodically tried to alleviate by raising food prices.

When Gomułka's regime tried to raise prices in 1970, the workers again rebelled and drove him out of power. His successor, Edward Gierek, was forced to withdraw similar increases after another strike wave in 1976. However, in February of this year, Gierek announced that the government could no longer afford to maintain the subsidies. His efforts to enforce an

creases were extended to the rest of the country. In Lublin, 80,000 workers organized a general strike which ended only after they won substantial wage increases on July 20. Strikes also took place in Elblag, Lezajsk, Poznan and other cities.

It was the workers at the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk who transformed the rebellion against the price hikes into a strike for wide-ranging political and economic reforms. On August 14, 17,000 workers occupied the shipyard to protest the firing of longtime militant Anna Walentynowicz. Walentynowicz had participated in the 1970 strikes, and was a leader of the 1976 revolt. Since 1978 she had been campaigning for an independent union to replace the official, government-controlled union.

One of the first things the workers did was to elect a strike committee. A key figure on this committee was Lech Walesa, an electrician at the shipyards who was fired after the 1976 strike, but who returned there after the recent strike began. Meanwhile, the shipyard occupation sparked strikes by other factory workers and transit workers in

stopping them.

In this situation, the PUWP government had only two alternatives—and only one of those was really viable. The first would be to forcibly end the strikes through military means. However, this approach risked a full-fledged battle with an organized, militant working class, a battle in which the workers had the chance of unifying the entire population of Poland behind them. Additionally, it was hardly clear that the Polish military, particularly its ranks, would be willing to crush a popular revolt. Finally, a repressive strategy opened the door for the direct intervention of Russian troops. This undoubtedly would have roused the Polish people in an armed struggle against Russian imperialism and state-capitalist rule and threatened to spread the struggle throughout Eastern Europe. This was something neither the Soviets nor the PUWP was willing to risk.

So by August 23, the PUWP was in fact down to one alternative: to try to defuse the strikes by negotiations and, if necessary, promises of concessions, and hope to recoup its losses later. As a result, on August 23, the government reversed its stance of four days before and agreed to negotiate with the Inter-Factory Strike Committee.

At the same time party leaders began a purge within the PUWP itself. On the 24th, after a nine-hour Central Committee meeting, Prime Minister Edward Babiuch and three other members of the ruling Politburo were removed from their posts. Jan Szydluk, head of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and three Cabinet Ministers were also dismissed. These leaders represented the hardline faction within the government that opposed any political concessions to the workers.

The government evidently hoped that the purge and the recognition of the Inter-Factory Committee would be enough to end the strikes without having to make any real concessions. However, the workers quickly demonstrated that they were not impressed by this maneuver. Walesa declared: "It's a patching up of holes. We want something new." Bogdan Lis, another member of the strike committee, said: "The new team may be more democratic but it changes nothing." The workers held firm.

Beginning on August 27, massive strikes broke out in Cracow, Lodz, Torun, Poznan, Bielsko-Biala, Olsztyn and other cities. In Silesia, in southern Poland, 30,000 copper miners struck on August 29; they were joined by 150,000

coal miners, who are the leading source of the regime's high as those of their support. The revolt, a choice but to cost. As the job in the sou- tiators capitul- the workers' (

## KOR, hold b

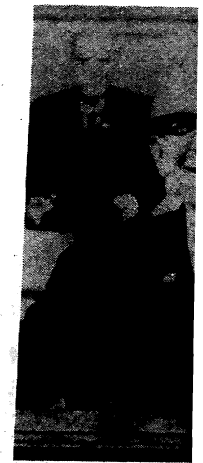
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Left to right: Polish

coal miners the next day. The coal miners, who produce the country's leading source of foreign exchange, had been Gierek's base until then; the regime had paid them wages twice as high as those of other workers to keep their support. Once the miners joined the revolt, the government had no choice but to end the rebellion at any cost. As the coal miners walked off the job in the south, the government negotiators capitulated, promising to accept the workers' demands in the north.

## KOR, Church try to hold back workers

From the beginning the striking workers had the support of the major opposition group in Poland, the Committee for Social Defense (KSS—also known by its original name, the Workers Defense Committee—KOR). KOR was formed in 1976 by dissident intellectuals to organize support for workers jailed after the 1976 strikes. It publishes an underground newspaper, *Robotnik* (Worker), which has a circulation of 30,000. Some of the strike leaders, including Walentynowicz and Walesa, are apparently associated with the organization.

However, all indications suggest that the KOR tried to steer the revolt into a peaceful protest to reform the regime, rather than a revolutionary struggle to overthrow it. In 1964 KOR's best-known leader, Jacek Kuron, wrote an "Open Letter" condemning the Polish ruling class and called for a socialist revolution. However, Kuron now calls only for "a parliamentary democracy with a limited independence in the field of foreign policy." ("Thoughts on an Action Program") In an article written during the revolt and published in a British newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, on August 31, he stated:

**"I do not believe that the leadership is capable of defining an acceptable reform program. On the other hand I am convinced that the Polish people themselves can resolve the crisis and can find, and develop, the way to democratization."**

**"The opposition must be the initiator of such a movement. It is our task to help the workers organize themselves into institutionalized independent groups, workers' commissions or trade unions."**

There are several indications that

Walesa and other members of the strike committee were consciously implementing the reformist strategy outlined by Kuron and other KOR leaders. They decided to accept a settlement at the precise moment when workers all over the country were beginning to walk out in support of their demands. Walesa himself had prepared a speech on the 28th advising these workers not to strike, but was forced to give up the idea when workers at the shipyards opposed it. The negotiations for the final settlement were conducted in secret "informal" sessions, in stark contrast to earlier negotiations which were broadcast to the workers.

Finally, in the actual settlement the strike leaders carefully refrained from challenging the PUWP's political authority. They agreed to recognize the "leading role" of the PUWP in Polish society, promised not to form an opposition political party, and supported the Polish ruling class's alliances with Russia. It appears that Walesa played a key role in persuading the workers to accept these points, despite some opposition from other members of the strike committee and among the workers themselves.

The leaders of the Polish Catholic Church also worked to bring a quick end to the rebellion, playing on the workers' devotion to the church and their view of it as a symbol of Polish independence. At first the church—which claims to stand with the Polish people against the regime—remained absolutely silent about the Gdansk workers' demands. On August 22, it finally issued a public statement indicating its "understanding" of the workers' grievances, but warning that "prolonged stoppages" were "against the good of society." On the 26th, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, leader of the Polish church, warned the workers that their demands "cannot be satisfied right away" and urged them to return to work. However, the workers ignored the church's pleas to end their strike.

Throughout the revolt, the U.S. ruling class, also claiming to support the Polish workers, demonstrated that its real interest is also in maintaining the present regime in Poland. It is trying to woo the Eastern European ruling classes by providing them with loans and investment credits to shore up their stagnating economies. By doing so, the U.S. hopes to gain a grip over them while avoiding a direct confrontation with the Russian government.

Consistent with this strategy, the U.S. ruling class hoped for a peaceful resolution of the Polish rebellion in

order to head off a Russian invasion. If the Russian government intervened in Poland, it would have had no choice but to attempt to tighten its hold over all the nations of Eastern Europe. This would have wrecked U.S. efforts to increase its influence over these regimes.

In addition, U.S. banks have a heavy financial stake in the Polish regime. Over the past 10 years U.S. and Western European (particularly Western German) bankers have granted Poland some \$20 billion in loans and credits. Their influence over the Polish economy is now so strong that in January 1979 the Polish government was forced to agree to consult with U.S. banks every two months over economic policy.

Both the U.S. and Russian ruling classes are doing all they can to prop up the Polish government now that a settlement has been reached. On September 4, President Carter asked U.S. and Western European financial institutions to provide additional economic aid to the Polish regime. At the same time the Polish government announced that Russia had also promised to increase its own aid to Poland.

## Polish economy in crisis

Nevertheless, it is all but certain that the settlement is only a prelude to a long and bitter class struggle in Poland. The revolt was the workers' response to a deep-seated crisis in the Polish economy. After the 1970 strikes, Gierek was forced to grant substantial economic gains to Polish workers and peasants. He planned to cover the cost of these concessions by selling coal, meat and, eventually, industrial goods in Western markets. To produce these goods, his regime began an ambitious industrialization program financed by mammoth international loans. However, the industrialization program failed to produce any real gains for the economy. Hopes for increased exports to the West evaporated because Polish industry could not compete with Western competitors, and because the growing recession in Western Europe cut off potential markets. As a result, the economy suffered a recession—a minus two percent growth rate—in 1979.

In the first six months of 1980 industrial production as a whole barely surpassed the 1979 levels, while pro-

duction of consumer goods did not go up at all. Meanwhile, the regime's efforts to increase exports in order to meet debt commitments led to shortages throughout the country and a 16 percent annual rate of inflation.

Despite promises of international support, it will be impossible for the ruling class to carry out its promises of wage increases and other social reforms for the working class and still stabilize the economy. According to Henryk Kisiel, who is in charge of economic planning for the regime, a 10 percent wage increase for Poland's 12 million workers would cost 90 billion zlotys, or about 30 billion U.S. dollars. The government cannot grant such increases without driving prices sky-high and ultimately provoking new series of rebellions.

Thus the ruling class is already moving to strengthen its position. The Politburo's first action after the settlement was to reaffirm its loyalty to the Russian ruling class in a statement on September 4. Its second action, on September 5, was to dismiss Gierek, who had supposedly suffered a heart attack. He was replaced by Stanislaw Kania, a security specialist who has supervised the army, police and security forces since 1971. The next day, while declaring that his regime would implement the terms of the settlement, Kania vowed: "We will have to fight against 'anti-socialist' elements because our opponent tries to use this crisis for his own purposes."

However, the Polish workers have cohered their own forces and gained enormous self-confidence from the partial success of the August rebellion. As a result, the recent settlement represents at most a temporary truce in the Polish class struggle. The Polish ruling class's inevitable effort to reverse the gains of the workers' revolt is likely to provoke a new wave of struggle against the very foundations of state-capitalist rule in Poland. □

### RSL FORUM New York City

## POLISH WORKERS' REBELLION

7 p.m., Friday, September 26  
Friends Meeting Hall  
15 Rutherford Place, NYC  
Donation at the door.  
Childcare will be provided.



Left to right: Polish party bosses Wladislaw Gomulka, Edward Gierek, Stanislaw Kania; Lenin shipyard workers' leader Lech Walesa addressing rally.



# Poland: Mass Strikes Show Power



(Continued from page 1)

falsely claims to be socialist gives these events even greater meaning. Learning the lessons of the Polish workers' revolt is crucial to the international struggle for socialist revolution.

## Workers can run society

Polish workers demonstrated to workers everywhere the enormous power of the working class. Lacking many of the most basic and elementary rights, and facing a government with elaborate means of repression at its disposal, Polish workers brought the economy to a near standstill.

It is the workers of every country who make the factories run, mine the coal, transport the raw materials and provide the essential services that keep society running. Organized and conscious, workers have the ability to bring production, and with it all of society, to a halt. While Poland's workers did not make a revolution, they demonstrated that the power to do so lies in their hands and in the hands of workers around the world.

The striking Polish workers provided a second equally important lesson. Through their struggle, they showed the ability of workers to democratically run and control their own lives. The workers occupying the Gdansk shipyards set up committees to handle food distribution and other basic necessities. They established communications networks that reached out to fellow workers in other factories and regions in order to discuss their demands and coordinate their struggle. The Gdansk workers published a daily strike bulletin carrying news of the negotiations, reports on actions by strikers in other regions, news of government decisions and announcements, etc.

The shipyard workers also organized a system whereby the talks between the government and the workers' elected negotiating committee were broadcast directly to the rest of the workers

occupying the shipyard. In these and many other ways, the Polish workers demonstrated that bosses, bureaucrats, cops and foremen are not necessary for working people to organize and manage their own affairs.

This is a powerful message. The ability of the working class to seize and control the means of production, combined with its capacity to organize and run the economic, political and social life of society in a democratic fashion, point in the direction of real socialism. In a limited but meaningful way, the Polish workers reaffirmed the fundamental tenet of Marxism: It is the workers of the world who can overthrow capitalism and lead humanity forward to a society based on full human freedom and liberation.

## Rebellion exposed state capitalism

The mass rebellion of the Polish working class brings to the fore the question of the nature of regimes and systems in Poland, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is difficult not to see in the Polish workers' strikes a refutation of the claims that Poland is a "workers' state" or some form of "socialist society."

The claims of its rulers notwithstanding, Poland is neither socialist nor a workers' state. It is a totalitarian, state-capitalist society. In Poland, the major means of production (factories, mines, etc.) are owned by the state. As in the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe, state ownership of the means of production is equated by the Polish ruling class and its apologists with socialized property. From this flows the claim that Poland is a socialist society.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Marxists do not look at legal forms to determine the class character of any society. Marxists begin by examining the actual relationships of production in a society, and derive its class nature from these relationships. Simply to say that the state owns the means of

production leaves unanswered the more fundamental questions: Who controls the state? What is its class character?

In Poland, the working class does not control the state. Political power in Poland, as in other state-capitalist countries, rests with a single party; in the case of Poland, the Polish United Workers Party. This party exercises total and exclusive control over the state. Through this control, the PUWP also exercises complete control of the major means of production of the society. (The significant exception here is agriculture, 70 percent of which is not collectivized due to the staunch resistance of the Polish farmers.)

All decisions affecting government policy and the management of the economy are made by the PUWP. Ordinary Polish citizens are forbidden to organize any rival parties. Attempts to do so result in loss of job and imprisonment. In other words, no organizations are permitted to exist outside the strict control of the PUWP. Furthermore, the entire repressive apparatus of the state—the police, courts, army, etc.—exists to enforce these restrictions.

What, then, of the Polish United Workers Party itself? Is this an avenue through which the Polish working class can express its interests? The answer is no—not in the slightest. The PUWP is a monolithic organization which serves the interests of Poland's ruling class. Workers can, of course, join the PUWP. In fact, workers who do not join face discrimination in areas like job promotion, housing, etc. Despite this fact, less than 10 percent of the Polish people belong to the PUWP. Only one of every six workers is a member. In contrast, nearly one out of every two foremen belongs to the PUWP. It is common among Polish workers to view those of their fellow workers who join the party as "opportunists."

Ability to join the PUWP is one thing, affecting its decisions is quite another. Rank and file members of the party are prohibited from organizing any form of opposition to the PUWP leadership. Serious worker opposition within the party to the leadership results in expulsion.

The monolithic nature of the PUWP is not based on the leadership's prestige or influence. Quite the contrary, the leadership's control of the party is fully institutionalized. Opposition platforms, caucuses or factions, even the publication and distribution of dissenting views, are forbidden. Any of the means by which workers could conceivably struggle for alternatives to the policies of the leadership are ruled out in advance. In essence, a total monopoly of political power exists at the top. Total discipline and obedience are demanded of those at the bottom.

What does all this mean? In Poland and the other state-capitalist countries, the state owns the means of production, and a tiny elite—the Communist Party—exercises total control of the state. Meanwhile, the working class neither owns nor controls the means of production. The workers own only their labor power, which they sell for wages to the capitalist. The latter—be it a private capitalist or collective capitalists ruling through the state—controls what is produced and how it is produced, and appropriates the surplus produced by the workers. In other words, the

workers are exploited. This type of exploitation of the workers as alienated wage slaves by bosses who own and control the means of production is the essence of capitalism. The so-called socialist countries, despite their differences in form from private, shareholding capitalism, are capitalist societies.

## Limitations of settlement

The victory won by the Polish workers, powerful and inspiring as it is, is not without its limitations. It is important to remember that Polish workers have made similar gains in the past. In the mass "bread and justice" riots which took place in the Poznan region in 1956, Polish workers toppled the government and secured promises of independent unions, workers' councils and an increased share in the decision-making process of the government.

Despite the sweeping character of the concessions the workers won in 1956, by 1958, just two short years later, these gains had been wiped away. The unions and councils which had been formed following the 1956 rebellion were either disbanded entirely or brought under the rigid discipline and control of the PUWP. Once again the Polish workers were left without political rights or power.

Unfortunately, the agreement recently signed by the workers' negotiating committees and the PUWP leadership leaves the door open for a repeat of the 1956 experience. The workers' leaders, while holding out for "independent trade unions," agreed to significant limitations on this demand. The agreement specifies that the new unions are prohibited from playing the role of a political party. They are forbidden to challenge the Polish constitution, the Warsaw Pact alliance and the Soviet Union's imperialist domination of Poland. Further, the agreement specifies

## For a discussion of the attitudes of the U.S. left toward the Polish workers' revolt, see page 16.

that these new unions must recognize "the leading role of the Communist Party." The bureaucratic PUWP-led unions will also continue to exist—and these of course will continue to have the power of the government behind them.

This is not to say that the 1956 experiences will be repeated. Polish workers have learned important lessons from their struggle in 1956, as well as from their revolts in both 1970 and 1976. They have often watched the fruits of victory be snatched away by the govern-

ment. They appear to significantly higher level of consciousness than the earlier uprisings. The greater ability and determination to defend the gains already won.

However, to do so will require organization and even battles. The deepening crisis in the Polish economy leaves the class little room to transmute its promises into genuine gains, even if it wanted to. Polish rulers are well aware of their counterparts in the U.S. (Europe) that massive attacks on people will be necessary to bail out their crisis-ridden economy. The stage for a new struggle in the coming years is "class peace" according to the flowering of economic growth reforms suggested by the agreement signed by the PUWP.

## Reformist leadership revolutionary

The central leaders of the strike wave, such as the leader of the Gdansk Strike Committee—as well as the dissident group, the Workers' Committee (KOR), and its leader—have a limited outlook. Despite some militant rhetoric, they have a basic loyalty to the capitalist system. They seek "voice" for the workers—what they mean they seek themselves as "worker leaders" in the decision-making process. These leaders are not ready to overthrow Polish state capitalism and replace it with genuine socialism. During the recent rebellion spelled this out:

"The regime must understand that we should hurry to allow them to organize, present their grievances, because otherwise they will explode and nobody will be able to cope with their disorganized opposition does not want any more than the rulers of the Catholic Church." (New York Times, July 27, 1980.) In other words, he saw his role as heading off a revolution.

In the concrete circumstances of the strike, it seems likely that the struggle will be held back and the gains were possible. This means that the workers' weakening in their resolve is not at all clear, for the limitations agreed to by the leaders were necessary. From the available information it appears that a deliberate agreement made by the strike leaders struck, cutting off the pressing for even greater gains.

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# How Power of Working Class

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to say that the 1956 will be repeated. Polish learned important lessons uggle in 1956, as well as lts in both 1970 and 1976. en watched the fruits of ched away by the govern-

ment. They appear to have achieved significantly higher levels of organization and consciousness than existed in the earlier uprisings. This suggests a greater ability and determination to defend the gains already made.

However, to do so will require firm organization and even sharper class battles. The deepening crisis of the Polish economy leaves the Polish ruling class little room to translate its paper promises into genuine gains for the workers even if it wanted to. In fact, the Polish rulers are well aware (as are their counterparts in the U.S. and Western Europe) that massive attacks on working people will be necessary in order to bail out their crisis-ridden system. This sets the stage for heightened class struggle in the coming period, rather than "class peace" accompanied by a flowering of economic gains and political reforms suggested by the agreement signed by the PUWP leadership.

## Reformist leaders — revolutionary tasks

The central leaders of the recent strike wave, such as Lech Walesa, leader of the Gdansk Inter-Factory Strike Committee—as well as the main dissident group, the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), and its leader, Jacek Kuron—have a limited, reformist outlook. Despite some militant words, they have a basic loyalty to Poland's state-capitalist system. They seek a "greater voice" for the workers—which ultimately means they seek influence for themselves as "worker leaders" in the decision-making process of the government. These leaders are not fighting to overthrow Polish state capitalism and replace it with genuine workers' rule. During the recent rebellion Kuron spelled this out:

"The regime must understand that it should hurry to allow the workers to organize, present their grievances and bargain, because otherwise they will explode and nobody would be able to cope with their disorganized fury. The opposition does not want insurrection any more than the rulers or the Roman Catholic Church." (New York Times, July 27, 1980.) In other words, Kuron saw his role as heading off a workers' revolution.

In the concrete circumstances of the strike, it seems likely that these leaders held back the struggle and that greater gains were possible. There were few signs that the workers themselves were weakening in their resolve or militancy. It is not at all clear, for example, that the limitations agreed to by the strike leaders were necessary concessions. From the available information, it appears that a deliberate decision was made by the strike leaders to conclude an agreement before the Silesian miners struck, cutting off the possibility for pressing for even greater gains.

Like the government, the KOR and the workers' leaders constantly raised the specter of an invasion of Russian troops to crush the strike. While such intervention was not ruled out, one gets the impression that this

threat was used by the workers' leaders to limit the scope and militancy of the struggle. It is difficult to believe that the Soviet leaders could have launched an invasion without provoking full-scale civil war in Poland, risking working class uprisings in other Eastern European countries, threatening to destroy what is left of detente and shoving the world to the brink of World War III. In this light, a Russian invasion of Poland was a far less likely possibility than the workers' leaders, the Catholic Church and the Western press continually suggested.

If they are to free themselves, the Polish workers must go beyond the struggle for reforms. It is not enough to reform the state. As long as it exists, the "Red Bourgeoisie" still has the guns, or, as Lenin described the essence of the state in *The State and Revolution*, "the special bodies of armed men having prisons, etc., at their disposal" to repress the workers. The entire state machinery must be smashed and replaced with the genuine rule of the working class and its allies among all oppressed people, through factory committees, workers' councils, soviets and similar organs of direct workers' rule. Only by overthrowing Polish capitalism can genuine freedom be won.

To accomplish this task, Polish workers (along with workers in Eastern and Western Europe) need to build a revolutionary working class leadership—an international revolutionary party which unwaveringly fights for the interests of working and oppressed people. Such a party, modeled after the underground Bolshevik Party of Lenin in Russia, would have as its aim and goal the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a genuine socialist society.

## U.S. backed Polish ruling class

The attitude of the U.S. ruling class toward the Polish events was revealing. The U.S. bourgeoisie claims to lead the "democratic nations of the world." Day



Anti-government rally in Poznan during 1956 rebellion.

in and day out, the U.S. ruling class preaches that there are two rival systems in the world: "capitalist democracy" and "totalitarian communism." The U.S. rulers claim to stand for "human rights," "freedom" and "democracy." Their professed sworn enemies are the leaders of international "communism."

Their actual stance toward the strikes in Poland shows something different. It was strikingly obvious that the U.S. ruling class wished for the quickest possible end to the Polish workers' uprising. While there were the obligatory phrases about the "courageous Polish freedom fighters," Wall Street and the U.S. ruling class as a whole were scurrying to assure the Gierek regime of its support. Western banks have already lent Poland's rulers massive amounts of money (currently, Poland has a \$20 billion debt to Western banks).

Despite all the rhetoric and propaganda of U.S. imperialism, the U.S. ruling class has far more in common with Poland's state-capitalist bureaucrats than with Poland's workers. They are all part of one international capitalist class. This international bourgeoisie has its internal rivalries, to be sure. But as the strikes in Poland made clear, these quickly take a back seat when there is a threat from their common enemy: a militant and fighting working class.

## Socialism means freedom

The mass strikes in Poland were equally revealing about the attitudes and outlook of the left. One would think it would be ABC for any professed Marxist to stand foursquare behind the Polish workers. Yet, strange as it may seem, many governments and political tendencies calling themselves Marxist, Leninist, socialist, communist or Trotskyist either failed to support the Polish workers at all or extended support which was at best highly qualified and limited. (See article on page 16.)

It is little wonder that workers the

world over, as they are ground down by a crisis-racked capitalism, increasingly question the alternative of socialism. From Eastern Europe and Russia, to the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America, regimes pronouncing themselves "Marxist," "communist" or "socialist" rule over working people, exploiting and oppressing them every bit as brutally as those who rule in the name of "capitalist democracy."

The history of the world socialist movement—ever since the defeat of the Russian Revolution at the hands of



KOR leader Jacek Kuron.

Stalin and his henchmen—has brought about a monstrous perversion of aims and ideals of revolutionary socialism. Slavishly following the "Cuban model" or "Mao Tse-tung Thought" or Soviet-style "communism," much of the Marxist left has adopted a statist and totalitarian view of socialism.

Marx's view that "the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself" has given way to all sorts of notions of small elites—be they military juntas, small guerrilla armies or parties of the middle class, all without roots in the working class—taking power and ruling "in the interests of the working class." Under these regimes, working people are brutally exploited and oppressed in the name of "planning," "efficiency" or "economic development."

At one time, Marxism projected a vision of liberation and freedom. A future where working people—the immense majority of the world's population—would take society into their own hands and unleash the enormous potential for human creativity. Increasingly, however, the left movements that call themselves Marxist have turned this vision into its opposite, proclaiming as socialist various societies based on regimentation, repression and the denial of human freedom.

At root, all these societies—along with the tens of thousands of supposed "Marxists" who rally to their defense—represent the rule of one or another element of the middle class over the working class. In the eyes of these people, workers are "too dumb," "too backward," "too unconscious" or "too unorganizable" to take the fate of humanity into their own hands and govern society in a truly collective, democratic and liberating way.

But these people have spoken too soon. When the workers of the world build the organization and leadership necessary once and for all to put an end to capitalism in all its forms, freedom and liberation—genuine socialism—will become a reality. The Polish workers have reaffirmed this revolutionary vision. □

# Mugabe Walks a Tightrope . . .

(Continued from page 3)

wages. The government responded by making it illegal to fire someone simply to avoid paying the new wage, and the Minister of Labor threatened to prosecute law-breaking employers. However, there have been no reports of actual arrests on this charge.

## Land reform moving slowly

A similar dynamic potentially exists in the countryside. The low wages in agriculture have been one of the main reasons why the white farmers have become so prosperous. The (white) Minister of Agriculture in Zimbabwe has estimated that only one-third of all the white farms are really viable. The rest have been kept profitable by government subsidies and low wages enforced at gunpoint. The latest wage increases probably are too small to push many farms into bankruptcy, but they are also too small to satisfy the workers for long. In the near future Mugabe will have to choose between letting the white farmers go under or having his government take over the job of enforcing below-survival-level wages.

The status of land reform parallels that of the farm workers' wages. Land reform was perhaps the key promise that won supporters for ZANU, and its Patriotic Front partner ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union, led by Joshua Nkomo), during the war for national liberation. Because of the white stranglehold over the country's best land, there are currently hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans crowded onto mostly unproductive land. There are also now a quarter of a million Black refugees who left the country during the war and are now returning. All these people desperately need land to farm or decent jobs in the cities. So far, however, the government has limited its land reform to the purchase of unused land for redistribution—a drop in the bucket considering what's needed.

## Gov't apparatus still white

Mugabe's attempts to balance the white rulers' powers against the people's expectations can also be seen in the government apparatus. The government is now supposed to serve the people. But at the same time, Mugabe wants to avoid the rapid "white flight" of civil servants and technocrats that occurred in the early



Edgar Tekere.

days of Black rule in other former colonies. He seems to be planning to "Africanize" the government only as fast as the educated Black middle class enlarges to take the whites' places. The white professionals and bureaucrats in Zimbabwe maintain a constant threat to leave if conditions are "too unfavorable" and Mugabe has been quick to react to these threats with reassurances.

Overall decisions are made by the ZANU Central Committee, but they are carried out by the same government apparatus that was built by the white supremacist leader, Ian Smith. White civil servants are still employed in the same ministries, in the same offices, going to work every day as usual. The Black ministers nearly all have white executive secretaries inherited from the old regime. The plans for the economy, the military, the land, etc., are worked out and issued from the various white-staffed departments and bureaus.

It was the white-staffed finance ministry that drew up the budget that Mugabe's government proposed to the new parliament. The budget has won wide praise from the international finance community for the low tax rate on high incomes it proposes, and for its incentives to private industry. The head of the finance ministry is considered to be one of the "fire-brands" of ZANU and, with a sly wink, the British magazine *Economist* praised Mugabe for "the prime minister's political shrewdness in choosing a radical finance minister to present a conservative budget."

One of Mugabe's most important concessions to the whites has been to preserve intact the previous white regime's police force. It has not had much change in person-

nel and is still fully armed. The criminal laws are still the same, and most of the old judges are still working. The Emergency Powers Act, which was the legal excuse for the arbitrary imprisonment and execution of thousands of Blacks suspected of aiding the Patriotic Front, is in force. It ran out but was reintroduced by the government.

On May 28, over 100 ZANU women protested continued police brutality and called for replacement of the force with a "people's police." Their demonstration, held outside the Parliament building, was dispersed by riot police.

The degree to which the old petty authorities still walk with the assurance and arrogance of the old days seems to be the thing that triggered the most dramatic incident since independence—the August 6 arrest of ZANU leader Edgar Tekere for murder.

Tekere is Minister of Manpower Planning and holds the number three post in ZANU, that of Secretary General. While several years ago he blocked with Mugabe against ZANU leaders who at that time were considered the left-wingers, in the past few years Tekere himself has been the center of the more radical nationalist grouping on the ZANU Central Committee. Throughout June and July, Tekere became increasingly critical of Mugabe's conciliatory strategy and began to say so in public and private. Several of his public statements were officially disavowed by Mugabe.

Apparently on Sunday, August 3, Tekere and some of his war-time comrades went to visit Black farmworkers on a white-owned farm near Salis-

bury. While drinking and partying they got into a dispute with the Guard Force, a Black paramilitary unit that was stationed on the farm by the old white government to which it was loyal, but which stayed on the plantation even after ZANU took over the government. Tekere and others, armed with AK-47 rifles, returned to the farm on August 4 to settle the argument from the previous day. The white farm owner was killed as he attempted to radio police on the alert system that was part of the anti-Patriotic Front defense.

Tekere was arrested the following Wednesday. His act was clearly not a well-thought-out political move. Tekere himself, while a radical nationalist, is far from a man of the people—he was quickly identified as present during the shooting by the blue Jaguar he drives. But after the fact, the Tekere case is becoming a highly political one. Tekere was arrested by the same old police, under the old laws, and was taken before a white judge from the old regime. His crime was something that had been an accepted part of the struggle for liberation.

Tekere had been accusing the white civil servants of working against the regime and had been criticizing Mugabe, both within the Central Committee and publicly. Reportedly his criticisms were gaining support in the ZANU youth movement. It seems likely, however, that the clumsiness and personal character of his actions will prevent him from building support for himself against the white apparatus and Mugabe. Never-

theless, 150 ZANU students did demonstrate for his release the day after his arrest. As a result, Mugabe went with Tekere before the judge and helped get him released pending trial on his own recognition. At the same time, however, the government is trying to pacify the whites by promising a firm prosecution of Tekere.

## Walls asked to leave country

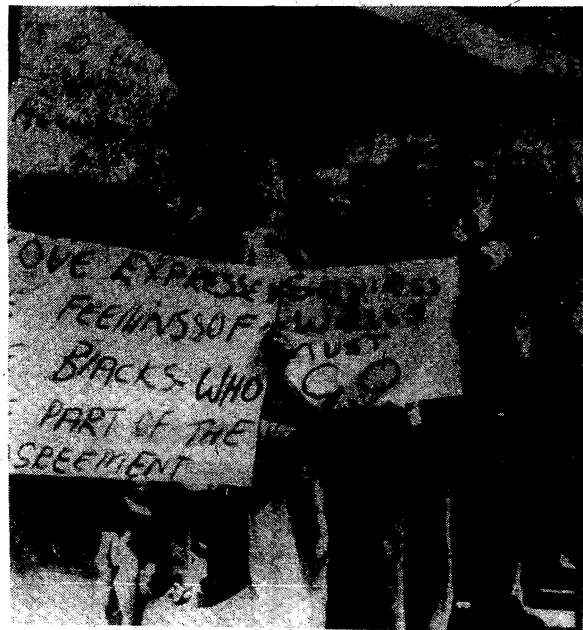
More recently, to balance off his increasingly pro-West stance, Mugabe has attacked white former army leader Peter Walls. Mugabe had asked Walls, the commander of the Rhodesian army, to stay on to oversee and command the new Zimbabwe defense force that would include ZANU and ZAPU soldiers. Walls agreed, but resigned last July unexpectedly early. While vacationing in South Africa in August, Walls revealed in an interview with the BBC that he had asked the British to cancel the result of the election after Mugabe had won. In addition, Walls gave the BBC ambiguous answers to questions about plans for a white coup last spring.

None of Walls' statements went beyond what well-informed media at the time were saying the white community and "highly placed" white officials were thinking. Little of it could have been unknown to the presumably even better informed Mugabe at the time he asked Walls to stay on as head of the army. But by saying it in public, Walls made concessions to the whites difficult to justify and so threatened Mugabe's balancing act.

Walls' statements made Blacks feel that "they have cause to distrust all Europeans in high places," Information Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said, as if Black Zimbabweans didn't already have 100 bloody years of good reasons not to trust the white settlers. As a result, Walls was labeled a traitor and in late August the government announced that it thought he ought to leave the country.

Mugabe's standing as leader of the force that led the national liberation struggle, and the deference that Zimbabwe workers and small farmers give him because of that, will probably make it possible for him to continue to play his conciliating role for the immediate future. But the conflict between the Black masses and the white bosses will not go away, nor will it decrease. Small changes in the status quo will not be enough to quench the people's thirst for freedom.

And no one, not even Mugabe with all his prestige, will be able to convince the Zimbabwean people to settle for mere reforms. □



Demonstrators demanding dismissal of army chief Peter Walls back in April 1978, during period of white rule. After coming to power, Mugabe asked the hated Walls to stay as commander of Zimbabwe defense force.

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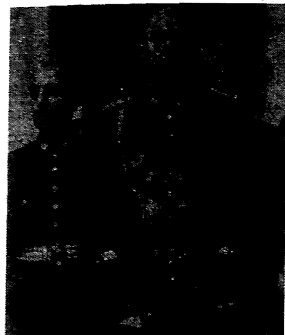
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## No Choice for Chileans in Junta Referendum

AS WE GO to press on Sep- tember 11, the right-wing mili- tary junta that rules Chile is holding a referendum to ap- prove replacing the system of



Augusto Pinochet (seated) with other junta members.

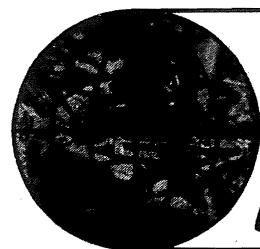
military decree that has been Chile's government since 1973 with a constitution that looks more respectable. Not coinci- dentally, the voting is being held on the seventh anniver- sary of the coup that over- threw the popular front gov- ernment of Salvador Allende and put the junta of Augusto Pinochet in power.

The proposed constitution bans "Marxist" and "terrorist" parties, limits legal appeals of arrests and convictions and gives the president wide-rang- ing powers.

AS REPRESSIVE as this constitution is, it represents the thinking of the liberal wing of the Chilean military and rul- ing class. These people are known as "aperturistas," or open ones. Now that the army

has had seven years of free rein to imprison and kill its opponents, smash the once powerful trade unions and drive down the wages and living standards of the work- ers, the aperturistas want some modifications. They look at the recent revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua and worry that by following the same strategy as the shah and Somoza—reserving all power to itself and relying on naked repression to maintain its rule—the junta will wind up in the same place—overthrown by popular revolutions. In addi- tion, the aperturistas would like a constitution and a return to civilian rule in order to improve the country's interna- tional reputation and to pro-

(Continued on page 17)



## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

### El Salvador: opposition changes tactics

Contrary to expectations, the general strike called in El Salvador for August 13-15 ended in a setback for the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR—Democratic Revolutionary Front), which leads the popular struggle against the ruling military junta. According to the **Latin America Weekly Report** (August 22, 1980), only 60 percent of the factory workers in San Salvador joined the strike, while most shops and offices around the country remained open. Although FDR leaders are claiming that the strike was 80 percent successful, one spokesperson stated on September 6: "I admit we are beset with problems we did not face two months ago. We need to regroup."

The junta did everything it could to break the strike. On the night of August 12, police agents threatened bus drivers and owners in San Salvador, the capital, with violence if they did not keep the busses running. During the strike itself the government blanketed the city with police and national guard contingents. Units of the Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada (DRU—United Revolutionary Directorate), the guerrilla arm of the opposition movement, fought with government forces in San Salvador's northern barrios and northwestern suburbs. At least 200 people were killed in three days of fighting.

The various leaders of the FDR appear to be temporarily giving up hopes that mass rebellions can overthrow the regime in the wake of the strike's failure. Only a few months ago the FDR declared that the time was nearing for an insurrection to overthrow the government. However, it is now saying that the period of mass mobilizations is over, and that the "military vanguard" in the DRU must play the main role in the opposition movement by fighting a prolonged war of attrition in the countryside.

But in fact the FDR has not suffered a critical defeat. It includes tens of thousands of militants organized in leftist organizations, trade unions, peasant federations, and student groups. In particular, Salvadorean workers have already shown that they are still ready to take militant action against the regime. When the government jailed 35 trade union leaders after the strike, 1,500 workers at the Rio Lempa hydroelectric company occupied plants and power stations on August 21, causing a nationwide blackout. After 20 hours the government was forced to send troops to take over the plants.

This action by a small fraction of the working class shows the tremendous power that lies in the workers' hands. To use their power effectively against the regime, the workers themselves must fight to gain the leadership of the FDR and bring the DRU under their control. They would then be able to prepare the ground for a socialist revolution in El Salvador by coordinating strikes and other mass protests with military action against the government.

### French fisherman close ports

A strike by over 22,000 fishermen nearly paralyzed French ports after the strikers began using their trawlers to blockade harbors on August 15. For the next two weeks the trawler crews, who are demanding government subsidies for expensive diesel fuel, higher prices for their catch, and guarantees against layoffs, succeeded in bringing French maritime commerce to a virtual standstill. In particular, they closed down the ports at Fos and Antifer, which together receive most of France's imported oil, to enforce their demand for fuel subsidies.

On August 21 Prime Minister Raymond Barre ordered French navy tugboats to break the blockade at Fos. After a three-day battle in which the navy used water cannon and tear gas against the strikers, the port was cleared. But on the 25th, the fishermen resumed the blockade. Over the next five days, trawler crews took on navy vessels at Fos, Antifer and other ports. Although the trawler crews were finally forced to give up their blockade on August 30, the strike went on. On September 2, 700 workers stormed police barricades outside the Transport Ministry in Paris. That night, strike leaders accepted a compromise settlement with the fishing companies and the government. However, the Confederation General de Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) rejected the pact, and it's uncertain whether or not the strike will go on.

—PB

### El Grito de Dolores:

## Spark for Mexican Independence Struggle

By ADELE LOHMAN

On September 16, 1810, in the town of Dolores, the Mexican people launched their struggle to win freedom from Spanish colonial rule. At mid- night the parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, rang the church bell and issued a call to arms known as **El Grito de Dolores** (the cry or proclama- tion of Dolores). The next morning a column of 1,000 men, led by Father Hidalgo and Captain Ignacio Allende, set out to conquer the neigh- boring towns and fight their way to the capital. Within six weeks the revolutionary army grew to 100,000. The majority were Indians; the leaders were Creoles—Spanish settlers born in the New World.

Up until that time, Spanish rule over its colonies was absolute. All high government officials and bishops had to be natives of Spain. All Creoles, let alone Native Ameri- cans, were barred from high office and were not allowed to own mines or large estates. Mexico was the richest colony in the Spanish empire. Every year it sent millions of tons of silver to Spain, as well as the best produce of the land. Yet the Native peoples, who per- formed slave labor in the mines and on the larges estates, were starving. Resis- tance was punished by death. As a young man Hidalgo had seen 500 Indian prisoners

massacred by the Spaniards for daring to revolt. Hidalgo himself had been tried before the Inquisition for talking about the injustices of the government. As punishment, he was banished to Dolores, a town of 15,000. There he directed his Native parish-



ioners in building local indus- tries, which were forbidden by Spanish law. Meanwhile, in "The Literary and Social Club of Queretaro" he met with other Creoles, including Cap- tain Allende, to plot a revolt against Spanish rule.

Hidalgo and Allende planned a national uprising to be coordinated with other groups. It was to start Decem- ber 1, at the opening of the fair of San Juan de Lagos,

which would be attended by some 30,000 people, the ma- jority Indian. But the conspir- ators were betrayed. When Hidalgo got word that Spanish soldiers were on the way to arrest them on September 15, they launched the rising pre- maturely.

Initially, the rebel army won many victories. Hidalgo de- clared an end to slavery and the payment of tribute and, as a result, volunteers joined the revolutionaries in every town they entered. Eventually they outnumbered the Spaniards 10 to one.

But the revolutionary sol- diers had no military training. Very few knew how to fire a musket or a cannon, while the majority were armed with wooden lances or bows and arrows. Some only had sling- shots. Yet, as they approached the capital, they faced well- trained Spanish regulars. Within less than a year the rising was defeated and the leaders captured. Allende was shot June 26, Hidalgo, July 30, 1811. Their bodies were decapitated and their heads displayed as a warning to the people.

Two years later, however, the revolution broke out again. After eight years of fighting, the Mexican people won their independence from Spain. To- day, September 16, the anniver- sary of **El Grito de Dolores**, is celebrated as Mexican Inde- pendence Day. □

# Poland and the U.S. Left

What has been the attitude of various left groups to the recent mass workers' strikes in Poland? The following is a brief summary of the views of some of the organizations on the U.S. left.

## Communist Party

Not surprisingly, the Communist Party (CP) gave its full support to the Gierek government throughout the strikes. The CP has long been one of the most slavish followers of the policies of the Soviet Union. In the view of the CP, the Soviet Union, Poland and the other Eastern European state-capitalist countries are healthy socialist societies.

In an article appearing in the August 30 issue of the CP newspaper, the *Daily World*, written at the height of the strikes, the CP said:

"Reports from Poland now indicate that the public rejects the idea of so-called 'free' trade unions—meaning unions which are antagonistic to the government—and believes the government has made all the concessions it can."

The *Daily World* continued: "Opponents of socialism have long advocated it [independent trade unions]. Unable to obtain political power by other means, anti-socialist elements resort to this method of sharpening conflicts and setting up an organization hostile to socialism and in an adversary relationship to the socialist government."

But once the Polish government acceded to the workers' demands the CP, after denouncing these demands for weeks, gave its full support to the government's decision.

## Workers World Party

Like the CP, the Workers World Party (WWP) believes that Poland is a socialist country. The WWP, however, is not uncritical of the government. In an article appearing in the August 22 issue of the WWP newspaper, *Workers World*, the party's chairman, Sam Marcy, writes:

"...The People's Republic of Poland is legally and constitutionally structured as a socialist state. It can, however, be regarded as socialist only in a very narrow, restricted, and purely sociological sense."

This, however, does not mean that the WWP supports the Polish strikers. As Marcy explains in a follow-up article in the August 29 *Workers World*:

"By steadily giving in to demands without strong, direct intervention in this struggle and in the negotiations by Gierek himself, the Gierek leadership and its advisers have approached the situation in the most self-defeating of all ways... The concessions given only emboldened the bourgeois opposition and frustrated the majority of the workers..."

Continuing with his advice to Poland's bosses on how they could have brought the workers' struggle to a swifter end, Marcy writes:

"...by again officially admitting grave and serious errors and making wholesale dismissals from the Politbureau (even though these dismissals may have been justified) Gierek weakened his own hand, strengthened the bourgeois opposition to the regime and gave the upper hand in the strike committee to that element among the workers who are now being manipulated by bourgeois dissidents."

It is worth noting that Marcy and other present leaders of the WWP supported the Soviet invasion of Hungary which crushed the Hungarian workers' revolution in 1956. (At the time they were members of the Socialist Workers Party.)

## Spartacist League

The Spartacist League (SL) considers Poland to be a "bureaucratically deformed workers' state." The formal program of the SL scorns the Stalinist bureaucracy and calls for "proletarian political revolution" in Poland and the other Soviet-bloc countries.

This might suggest that the SL would be enthusiastic supporters of a mass workers' rebellion in Poland. Yet, such is not the case. According to the lead article in the September 5 issue of the SL paper, *Workers Vanguard*:

"The Baltic coast general strike was the most powerful mobilization of the power of the working class since France May 1968. But was it a mobilization for working-class power? That is the decisive question."

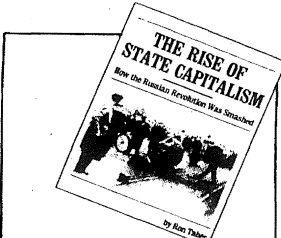
The SL appears to be incapable of answering the question. *Workers Vanguard* asks: "What is the political character of the strike and the consciousness of the workers? Certainly the workers are reacting against bureaucratic mismanagement, privilege and abuse... But if we know what the Baltic workers are against in an immediate sense, what are their positive allegiances and general political outlook?"

The demands of the Polish workers for unions free of government and management control, the right to strike, an end to censorship, the release of political prisoners, etc., seem insufficient to gain SL support. *Workers Vanguard* writes:

"In a country facing international bankruptcy, heavily subsidized by the Soviet Union, the strikers are demanding the biggest free lunch the world has ever seen."

On the demand for independent unions, the paper comments:

"The particular slogan of



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'free trade unions,' pushed for years by the CIA-backed Radio Free Europe and the Catholic Church, has acquired a definite anti-Communist and pro-Western connotation."

The SL's final conclusion? "Insofar as the settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome... [But] if the settlement strengthens the working class organizationally, it also strengthens the forces of reaction."

## In These Times

In These Times (ITT), an influential left-social democratic newspaper, supports the Polish workers. Says ITT in its

September 3-9 issue:

"The Polish strikers have been able to walk a dangerous tightrope skillfully... As a result, they have won some major concessions..."

ITT believes that one outcome of the strike has been to reveal the true nature of the Polish regime:

"The regime had always asserted that Poland was a workers' state, and that there would never be confrontations between the workers and their government. They were wrong."

In addition, ITT is anxious to suggest that the events in Poland have proven something else:

"Others have claimed that change in Poland would take place only in the course of a violent, bloody revolution. They were wrong as well."

## Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), like the SL, believes that Poland is a "bureaucratically deformed workers' state." According to the group's newspaper, the *Militant*, on August 29:

"The Polish workers made a revolution that got rid of capitalism after World War II... But the occupation of Poland by Soviet troops resulted in the Polish workers' state being saddled with a parasitic, corrupt bureaucracy that was devoted to preserving its own privileges."

The SWP, however, unlike the SL, firmly supports the Polish workers' strikes. A statement issued on August 21 by SWP presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley, said in part:

"The Socialist Workers Party hails the struggle of tens of thousands of our working-class brothers and sisters in Poland. Their actions are providing a powerful example for

workers around the world. All working people have a stake in their victory."

The September 12 *Militant* adds: "The Polish workers have won an historic victory: the right to organize independent, democratic unions, free from the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy."

Yet, nowhere does the SWP comment on the limits of the Polish workers' gains nor their future tasks. No criticisms are made of the current workers' leaders, nor is there any mention of the need for revolution or for the building of a revolutionary workers' party.

The failure to address the limits of reformism does not flow directly from the SWP's view that Poland is a "workers' state." The formal political program of the SWP includes a call for "political revolution" in the Stalinist countries, stemming from Leon Trotsky's view after 1933 that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union could only be eliminated through a violent revolution. The SWP's failure to mention the need for revolution in Poland, however, is consistent with its practice in the U.S. Apparently the SWP believes that workers, in the U.S. and in Poland, are not "ready" to hear about revolution.

As a final note, it would be interesting to know what the attitude of Cuban leader Fidel Castro is toward the Polish events. (Castro is considered by the SWP to be the foremost revolutionary leader in the world today.) *Granma*, the newspaper that reflects the official views of Castro and the Cuban Communist Party, carried no news of the strikes. It did reprint statements from the Soviet news agency TASS denouncing the strikers as "anti-socialist," as well as appeals by the Gierek government for the workers to end the strike and return to work. To date, the SWP has made no mention of the Cuban government's views. □

# Chil

(Continued from page 16) protect the ruling class from arbitrary whims of the state.

THE OPPONENTS of the ruling class forces and the ruling class. They fear that



Copper miners at the

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# Chile . . .

(Continued from page 15)  
 protect the ruling class from the arbitrary whims of the military.

**THE OPPONENTS** of the aperturistas within the armed forces and the ruling class are known as the "duros," or hard ones. They fear that any lifting

of the repression will give workers room to organize, allow them to force up their wages and living standards and upset the economic recovery that has been based on the brutal exploitation of the working class.

In support of their view the

duros point to the fact that every reform and mini-reform has been used by the workers to reassert their opposition to the regime. Last January, for example, copper miners used the limited freedom granted by a new labor law to organize an illegal and effective strike. This summer, government candidates were defeated in some university and trade union elections. Most recently, a demonstration led by supporters of Eduardo Frei got out of control of the police. Frei, a liberal capitalist Christian Democratic ex-president, is in a covert alliance with the aperturistas.

**BECAUSE of the wide influence** and power of the duros, the council of state that wrote

the constitution added 29 clauses that postpone any substantive changes to the present system until 1989. Meanwhile, repression has been stepped up. The excuse for this has been the July 15 assassination of Colonel Roger Vergara, director of the army intelligence school. Vergara was especially hated for his direction of the National Stadium concentration camp in the early days of the regime. But no left group has claimed responsibility for the assassination, and some observers believe it was carried out by the duros themselves to force out some prominent aperturistas in the security forces and provide an excuse to crack down harder.

According to a September 8

report from Amnesty International, 1,000-2,000 people have been picked up by secret police since July 15. The report documents a pattern of systematic torture, including near drownings, electric shocks, cigarette burns and severe burnings. One wave of arrests came just after Vergara's death; a second and larger wave came after the referendum announcement.

**MOST LEFT groups in Chile** are in exile and are calling for a boycott of the election, although it is against the law for anyone over 18 not to vote. MAPU Obrero-Campesino and some dissident Socialist Party members are calling for a "no" vote, while Frei's Christian Democrats have issued no official position. □



Copper miners at the Chuquicamata mine in northern Chile.

## Boston Whitewash . . .

(Continued from page 5)

stabbed to death near the Faneuil Housing projects in Brighton. Two teenagers from the projects have been charged with Sherman's murder. Police are insisting "it is not a racial incident."

Earlier this summer, the Faneuil Housing projects—once held up as "model" racially integrated city housing—became a battleground between Black and white residents. In June, a fight between white and Black youths resulted in the shooting and partial blinding of a white youth. Although he admitted to instigating the fight, the young man called for "retaliation." White racists responded with repeated assaults on Black residents, scrawling "KKK" around the projects, and firebombing the home of a Black woman and her young children. An increased police presence in the area—while appeasing the demand of some white residents—obviously was not considered a deterrent by the murderers of Sherman and Lai.

**• IN JULY, several Iranian** students and their families were forced to move from their homes in Cambridge after racist gangs repeatedly vandalized their cars and apartments. Although the Iranians were able to identify several of their attackers, the cops refused to make any arrests.

In the same period, a Black sailor on leave was brutally beaten by white youth in the Charlestown section of Boston. And in Chelsea, a Black factory worker was stabbed to death by several white men while walking to the train in mid-afternoon.

Black people in Boston, as well as other oppressed nationalities, have been subjected to wave upon wave of racist terror, which has escalated almost yearly since right-wing forces mobilized racist sentiment against school desegregation in 1974. With each new wave of attacks, rebellion by the besieged Black community becomes more inevitable. While a major reaction by the Black community has so far not broken out, the latest round of provocations has brought Bos-

ton closer to the brink of well-justified explosion.

**ANTI-RACIST' forces need** to take measures that address the needs of the immediate situation and prepare the groundwork for taking back the initiative from the right wing. Neighborhood meetings, already taking place in some areas, should be held in every locality and linked together into larger networks throughout the city. These meetings can be used to organize local multi-racial defense guards to patrol the neighborhoods and reclaim the streets from the racists, as well as the police. In addition, the meetings could debate the causes and solutions to the crisis, and map out strategies. These actions should in turn be a part of building an independent mass movement to fight for jobs, better schools and housing, and equal rights for all—which over the long run is the only way workers and the oppressed can cut the ground out from under the racists and the capitalist class which hides behind them. □

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