

OBREROS EN MARCHA

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EDITORIAL

ANOTHER "COMMUNIST PARTY" FOUNDED

In the epoch of the transition from monopoly capitalism to socialism, every revolutionary process which is to succeed must be led by a revolutionary vanguard, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard. This is verified by the laws of historical materialism and the laws of revolutionary struggle as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, etc.

A vanguard, however, cannot be established by founding congresses or sterile principles of unity. Instead it must be built in the process of the revolutionary struggle and must be armed with a clear and scientific analysis of current conditions. It is this analysis which provides the vanguard with the basis to develop a program and a strategy and tactics that can lead the masses to seize state power. Further, the vanguard must establish its credibility and prestige among the masses if it is to lead and to bear the title. Any formation unequipped with these elements and untested over a period of time in the class struggle does not merit the designation of a vanguard while any party lacking these factors is bound to fall into revisionism or ultra-leftism.

In this country, it cannot be said that in these historical moments of the class struggle the revolutionary movement or the working class lacks for "parties" or "vanguards." There are now four formations (the Communist Party U.S.A., the Communist Labor Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist) as well as scores of Trotskyist and neo-Trotskyist formations that claim to represent the vanguard or its embryo. Yet none are in any position to ideologically, politically or organizationally provide any real leadership to the immediate struggles of the working class and oppressed; consequently, neither are they in a position to lead the long term struggle of the oppressed to seize state power.

The CLP, RCP and CP(M-L) are organizations that are part of the "New Communist Movement" which developed in the late 1960's and early 1970's in reaction to the revisionism and bankrupt leadership of the C.P. U.S.A. Since their formation as national organizations, all have been involved in a headfirst rush to consolidate themselves as parties irrespective of the objective needs of the working class or of their own abilities to respond to the concrete theoretical and practical demands of the working class struggle. Each of these organizations has historically viewed itself as the center of the revolutionary movement and interpreted its transformation as synonymous with the creation of the Party.

THE BIRTH OF A "PARTY"

The most recently established of these "parties" is the Communist Party (M-L), formerly the October League. It held its founding congress in early June. With all the pomp and rhetoric that has come to be associated with these events, the pages of the CALL (the party's national paper) heralded the founding of the "party." According to the CALL, "everywhere that the news of the congress reached, workers enthusiastically greeted it." The CALL went on to say, "A party has finally been built which will lead the fight for the complete overthrow of this capitalist system with all its injustices and oppression, replacing it with a Socialist society run under the rule of the working class."

We disagree with both assertions. But, characteristically, it has

been with similar self-praise and hollow claims that the other groups that are now parties have hailed their new status. It is symptomatic of the nature of those organizations that have been thoroughly overcome by the cancer of bourgeois ideology and sectarianism to make such arrogant assertions. Therefore we are not taken aback by the CP (M-L)'s statements. But we do think it reflects a lack of understanding and application of Marxism-Leninism in this country.

THE CP (M-L) "UNFURLS ITS BANNERS"

Coincidentally with the founding of the CP (M-L) there was a spontaneous eruption in the Puerto Rican ghetto around Humboldt Park in Chicago which highlighted the opportunism of the new "party." In particular, the response and action of the CP (M-L) expressed the continuance of the bankrupt positions of the defunct October League in regards to minorities as well as its tendency to tail events and the masses.

In its front page, the Call covered what it characterized as "the spontaneous Puerto Rican rebellion against police brutality in Humboldt Park." This characterization, instead of analyzing the true character of the confrontation, credited both the incident and the actions of the masses with elements of organization and consciousness which did not exist. In the process, they completely idealized a confrontation between the police and the people in which the people were armed with bottles, sticks, and rocks, while the police were armed with .38's rifles and shotguns. Is this the kind of uneven confrontation and brutal attack by the police, that revolutionaries should portray and project as a "rebellion?" Does such a characterization lead the masses to understand the differences (and then consequences) between spontaneous action and revolutionary violence? Rather than idealizing such a situation we should educate the masses as to the role of the police and the need to form militant unity and organization which corresponds to the level and needs of the class struggle. This can only be done effectively if revolutionaries are integrated within the masses and their struggles. Definitely this cannot be accomplished if revolutionaries succumb to national chauvinism and paternalism towards the people. In this regard, the objective is not to pacify the masses but to channel their anger and to organize their response. At the same time, we should educate the masses as to the role of those who pose as "community leaders" (the poverty pimps and politicians) and those who "negotiated" the people's interest after the incident at Humboldt Park. Those elements are enemies of the people and should be exposed as self-serving leeches who benefit from the people's misery and struggles.

In our view, the CP (M-L)'s crass exploitation (for narrow organizational interests) and incorrect analysis of the people's struggle is reflective of the ideological conceptions on which this organization is founded. Corrupted by dogmatism, it substitutes rhetoric for a concrete analysis of the people's struggle, level of consciousness and extent of organization. The consequences of such an unscientific approach to class struggle can only impede the development of the people's class consciousness and level of organization. Shouldn't a vanguard or a party be more responsible, particularly when the "vanguard" will not be taking part in those rebellions? We think that it should and that it must.

SOUTH AFRICA

A Year Since Soweto Uprising

Editor's note: Armed Struggle Begins

Since June 16, 1976, the black youth of Soweto as well as the other South African ghettos have time and again demonstrated their militance, tenacity and courage. Wielding stones, they have faced policemen and troops armed with revolvers, rifles and automatic weapons. Now many of these very youth are responding to their oppressors in kind—with bullets and bombs. In limited and still scattered incidents, the revolutionary youth and militants of the African National Congress have consciously initiated armed actions that have signaled the advent of armed struggle in South Africa. For example, armed urban guerrillas have clashed with police, and guerrillas have sabotaged the railway from Soweto to Johannesburg with explosive devices. This marks a qualitative change in the class struggle in South Africa; and it heralds the beginning of the armed revolutionary stage in the struggle to defeat apartheid and imperialism in that bastion of racism and reaction.

June 16th 1977 marked the first anniversary of the uprising in Soweto, the South African urban ghetto located outside of Johannesburg. One year ago, over 12,000 junior high and high school students demonstrated in the streets of Soweto in support of a boycott against the secondary schools. The boycott was in protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans (the language of the Dutch-descended white rulers of South Africa) as the main language for black students.

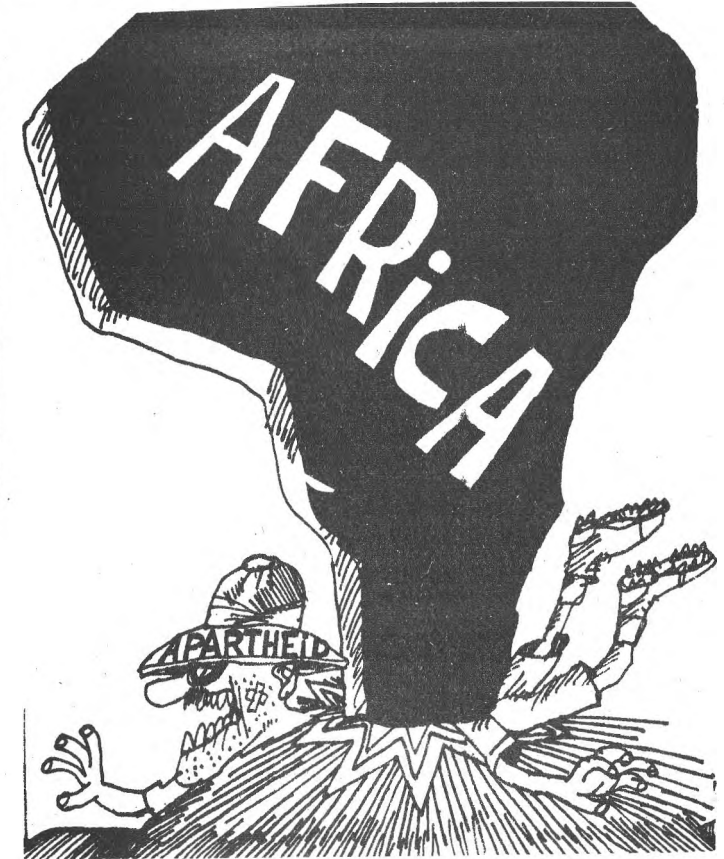
The South African police acted violently and hysterically against the demonstration, attacking the students with tear gas, machine guns and pistols. By the end of the day, more than 8 young students had been killed (several only 8 or 9 years old) and over 70 injured. In response, blacks began destroying and burning government cars, buildings, schools, trains and buses.

Within a week, the protest had escalated into a mass uprising that spread to at least 11 other townships (the government's name for the urban ghettos), particularly around the area of Johannesburg and Pretoria, the capitol. By the end of June, the number of people killed by the police as well as by white vigilante groups numbered more than 1,000. Thousands more were arrested. Yet the spontaneous uprising continued, with students working to spread the revolt to broader and broader sectors of the black population.

At the end of August, the Sowetan students called for a national strike, which won massive support from Sowetan workers. In Johannesburg, the center of South African industry, over 80% of the economy was boycotted for the designated three days.

In order to break the strike—whose potential effects on the economy were more threatening to the ruling forces than the demonstrations in the streets—the government utilized tribalism to divide black from black. Members of the Zulu tribe, living in Soweto with jobs in Johannesburg, were "encouraged" by the police to form vigilante groups and attack the demonstrators. The sight of blacks fighting blacks led to many articles in the bourgeois press here in the U.S. declaring that most blacks did not support the "rioting students" and that in reality it was a very small conspiratorial group doing all the agitating.

Despite the divisive maneuvers by the South African police, open resistance to the white racist regime



continued to grow. Soweto proved to be the beginning of a new level of struggle against white minority rule. While the uprising broke out initially because of the forced use of Afrikaans in the schools, it quickly developed into an overall condemnation of the entire South African apartheid system.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID

Almost thirty years ago, the reactionary Nationalist Party (composed mainly of Afrikaners, the descendants of the early Dutch settlers) won for the first time a majority of seats in the South African parliament. The party won based on a program of complete exploitation of the black population through their elimination from all skilled trade and job categories and by the imposition of a wage scale which left blacks earning 85% less than white workers. The program also initiated the removal of blacks as residents from all white-designated areas (87% of the land). Later, a system of "pass laws" was developed in which blacks could work in white areas only with the proper documents, the "pass book." Without a pass an employed worker could not remain in a white area for more than three days. Without a job, a black had to leave the area within 24 hours.

The Nationalist system of apartheid denies to blacks the right to own land or businesses; it has established the "bantustan," the so-called homeland of the different African tribes as the only areas where blacks have the "right" to live. These homelands were and are today nothing but wastelands, economically incapable of sustaining a population. Through rigidly-enforced racial

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SOWETO Cont.

segregation, apartheid systematically reduces 80% of the South African population—the non-white peoples, including Africans (blacks), “coloreds” (the Afrikaner term denoting those of mixed racial ancestry) and Indians—to a state of complete subjugation and superexploitation.

VORSTER REGIME UNDER PRESSURE

In the year since the Soweto rebellion, the Nationalist regime, under the leadership of Prime Minister John Vorster has faced mounting pressure, both internally and externally. Internally, the growing organization of students, the developing Black Consciousness Movement, the general upsurge in resistance by the Black population overall, and increased criticism by white liberal forces have all formed a challenge to the so-called invincibility of white minority rule in South Africa. The worsening economic situation, characterized by increasing unemployment (more than 20% among blacks), inflation and decreased production has furthered the pressure on the Vorster regime. Internationally, the white racist government is confronted by growing diplomatic isolation as well as the threatening existence of two newly developing socialist countries, Mozambique and Angola.

The reaction of Vorster's government has been to dig its heels in and take all possible steps to defend its white supremacist rule. The government has set forth plans to increase military spending by 21%, to \$1.9 billion. This represents nearly 20% of the total South African budget. Parliament passed a law expanding the emergency powers of the military, giving them the power to requisition civilian buildings and transportation and the power to censor press reports. In a strong effort to increase overall control of South African mass media, a bill was passed establishing new restrictive guidelines for a press already severely regulated by the government. At the last minute however, the bill was dropped, but only under the condition that the press impose its own censorship. There is continuing repression against those suspected of having any association with the uprising. The government is still detaining many hundreds of blacks jailed over the past year. The fine for breaking the “pass laws” has been increased from \$60 to \$115, more than the average black worker gets paid in a month's time.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE RULING CLASS

Despite the government's determination never to give in to any form of black majority rule, there are sectors among the ruling class interested in some kind of change. Concerned with the growing instability of the South African economy and the increasing possibility of a revolutionary situation, many businessmen are pushing for reforms in the apartheid system. They have proposed changes such as improved housing and educational facilities, greater say for local governments in townships like Soweto, greater job opportunities and an easing of some of the Pass Law restrictions.

Some of the largest and most powerful industrialists in South Africa form part of this group, in particular, Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the multi-billion dollar Anglo-American Corp., one of the key conglomerates in the South African economy. It is worth more than \$6 billion. The corporation dominates the world diamond market; it mines about 1/3 of the world's gold; it owns the single largest share of the world's uranium reserves; and it holds vast property interests in South Africa as well as in other countries, such as the U.S. Oppenheimer himself owns 10% of the corporation and he and others similarly powerful are concerned about maintaining the billions of

dollars in profits made annually in South Africa. If the country continues in a state of unrest, the economy will suffer and profits will decrease.

At the same time, Oppenheimer and other industrialists understand the fundamental role that black labor plays in the functioning of the South African economy. The super-exploited labor of blacks makes South Africa an arena for superprofitable capital investment. At the same time, black labor, thru its position in the production process, has the objective capability of paralyzing the economy. Such a paralysis is what Oppenheimer wants to avoid. Thus, South African corporate interests are calling for the reforms they see as necessary to undercut the growing discontent and revolutionary ferment. Even though these reforms are minor and would not fundamentally change the power structure in the country, this strategy puts the industrialists in direct conflict with the Nationalist Party, which rigidly resists any change, however small, in the apartheid system. This growing contradiction within the ruling forces could greatly affect the developing struggle for majority rule and could be the basis for bringing into power a comprador black ruling class.

THE ROLE OF THE U.S.

It is not only South African capitalists who are concerned that if change comes to South Africa, it must come slowly and peacefully, protecting profits above all. More than 360 U.S.-based multi-national corporations have a stake in South Africa. U.S. business interests have over \$2 billion invested in the country. In 1973, corporations received a return of 18.6% on their investments and in 1974 a return of 17.9%. Between 1973 and 1976 General Motors alone increased its investments by 66%.

South Africa is a crucial source of profits for U.S. imperialism. U.S. corporations are determined to insure that South Africa remains a “good” (i.e. profitable) place to do business. If certain cosmetic changes must be made in the apartheid system—to placate international opinion condemning apartheid, to undercut the growing resistance of South African blacks, and to stabilize the economy—then this is what must be done. In fact, several months ago, a number of the major multinational businesses (Mobil, General Motors, IBM, Citicorp, etc.) presented to the South African ambassador in Washington a package of six proposals on what they considered “acceptable labor practices.” The package included provisions such as equal pay for comparable work, desegregating eating and work places, increasing the number of blacks in management positions. Aside from the fact that most of these provisions are equally applicable to the situation of oppressed minorities and women in the U.S. as well, it is clear that the proposals do not attack the fundamental underpinning of the vast profits that can be made in South Africa: the existence of a huge supply of “cheap” (low-paid) labor, the availability of super-exploited black labor.

The primary concern of the U.S. in South Africa is profit. Thus, despite all the verbal stands the U.S. government has taken against apartheid, it has not and will not do anything to interfere with business interests.

At the U.N. the U.S. has consistently voted against any measures calling for economic boycotts against the South African regime. President Carter's strong condemnation of the apartheid system is nothing more than a symbolic, meaningless gesture because it is not backed up by concrete measures. Last month, U.S. ambassador Andrew Young visited South Africa ostensibly to talk with black leaders and assure them of U.S. support. Yet it was Harry Oppenheimer who showed Young around the country and, in fact, Young's main purpose in visiting South Africa was to talk with the “liberals” (and also the controlling forces) in the South African business world. They have the same goals as U.S. business; to maintain profits.

Puerto Rico Informa

CHICAGO - The Aftermath of Humboldt Park

For this issue the column “Puerto Rico Informa” originates from Chicago, Illinois. It addresses the so-called Puerto Rican riot in that city which was so widely covered by the commercial press last month. The article examines the events that led to the eruption and the lessons to be learned from that experience.

Early last month, there were banner headlines in the local and national commercial press about a Puerto Rican “riot” in Chicago. Although this event is now “old news” in the commercial press—one more riot in a decadent society—its relevance to the people of this country, particularly to the Puerto Rican communities throughout this land, cannot be so simply dismissed. Undoubtedly the events that took place in Chicago could be repeated—and probably will—with variations in numerous other cities such as New York, Boston, Newark, etc. Therefore, it is important to know what really happened at Humboldt Park in Chicago on June 4th, 1977. The incident not only has characteristics of previous experiences of similar nature but among other things it further reflects the conditions of Puerto Ricans in this country; the role of “community leaders” as beneficiaries of the misery and exploitative conditions of minority communities; the criminal and racist attitudes of the police; as well as pinpoints the opportunist, chauvinistic and corruptive attitude among some sectors of the “left” in this country.

Humboldt Park is located in the northwest side of Chicago. It is surrounded by a predominantly Puerto Rican and Latin ghetto. This area is burdened with high unemployment (up to 40% and higher among youth), poor housing, poor social services and substandard educational facilities. There has not been any new housing in the Humboldt Park area in 30 years. Significantly it is a young community where the median age is 19 years old. Yet, symptomatic of the community's problems, over two-thirds of the youth do not finish high school. This has contributed to the formation of gangs.

The latest uprising in Humboldt Park is the second such eruption in 11 years in the Northwest side. On both occasions, it has been incidents between the police and the community which have been the sparks. The conditions in

1966, when the last incident took place, were not much different from those that confront the community today. Despite these facts, nothing substantial has been done in the 11 year interval since the last eruption by the city government or other governmental levels to better the conditions in the community.

This year's eruption took place on June 4th—the day of the annual Puerto Rican Day parade.

THE PUERTO RICAN DAY PARADE AND THE “RIOT”

In Chicago, as in other major cities where there are large concentrations of Puerto Ricans, each year a day is set aside for Puerto Ricans to march down the center of the city in an annual Puerto Rican Day Parade. On this day, Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican politicians try to woo the Puerto Rican vote. Companies that exploit the Puerto Rican community, through high prices and low wages, pose as great friends and defenders of the Puerto Rican people. Despite these negative aspects, these events provide a forum for Puerto Ricans to reaffirm their cultural and national ties in a society that discriminates against them and looks down upon their cultural values.

In the Puerto Rican community of Chicago (that is estimated at about 200,000), the Puerto Rican Day Parade has been a tradition since 1968. As in previous years, the parade consisted of the customary floats and contingents from Law Enforcement Agencies, corporations, radio stations, elementary schools as well as community groups. Everything at the parade went without incident. However, the placid and orderly scene at the parade was far from what took place later in the day in Humboldt Park.

At Humboldt Park, many families that had been to the parade and others that had not were picnicking. Late in the afternoon, taking advantage of a rumored conflict between two gangs, the Chicago police charged through the park clubbing and shooting people indiscriminately.

According to the police, they entered the park to investigate a shooting incident between two youth gangs, the Spanish Cobras and the Latin Kings. Once in the park, the first victim of the police was Julio Osorio, 26. He was shot in the back. The second individual killed by police bullets was Rafael Cruz, 25, also shot in the back.

Continued on next page



CHICAGO CONT.

In their version of the events, the police maintained that Osorio had shot at them and missed, hitting Cruz, whereupon they shot Osorio. The Cruz family refuted the police story and asserted that Cruz had been shot at not by Osorio, but by the police. Moreover, a Chicago Sun Times reporter, Robert Buro, saw a police officer fire "four or five shots" into the crowd.

Immediately after the killings, the police continued their violent and reckless attack through the park, wantonly beating with their night sticks everyone in their path and burning any Puerto Rican flag which they saw. This enraged the people in the park, who responded by pelting the police with rocks and bottles.

The word soon spread in the community of the shootings and beatings. Hundreds of people were soon in the streets around the park, throwing rocks at the police and attacking their cars. In the course of the skirmish, some set fire to police vehicles and nearby stores were looted and burned down. The confrontation between the police and the community was to go on well into the late evening. In fact, it continued for two or three days after the Humboldt Park incident.

For the community, the uneven confrontations were very costly. In the aftermath of the Humboldt Park incident, there were two Puerto Rican youths dead, over 150 arrested and hundreds injured by police billy clubs and some by police bullets. Nevertheless, at the height of the confrontation, over 3,000 people fought the police with bottles and rocks.

The commercial press, both in Chicago and nationally, has distorted the events in Humboldt and blamed the incident on "hooligans" and "gang toughs." But the evidence all points to a police riot unleashed on a superficial pretext by racist Chicago policemen, who hurled the epithet "dirty spics" at those they beat and arrested.

In a meeting two days after the events at Humboldt Park, Mayor Michael Bilandic and Superintendent of Police, James Rochford, met with "community leaders" in order to discuss the incident and the problems that confront the Puerto Rican community. Some of the so-called community leaders were nothing more than the poverty pimps who make a living from the people's misery and who have been groomed by the ruling circles in Chicago to pacify the Puerto Rican community. (Such individuals do not only exist in Chicago. In the 60's they were developed by the policies of a sector of the ruling class in minority communities throughout the country.) Unfortunately, because the community lacks any conscious organization or leadership, it is these forces that benefit from the people's courage, sacrifices and suffering. As to be expected, the Mayor promised that the complaints of the community would be addressed and the actions of the police investi-

gated.

That investigation was done, and again as to be expected the police were exonerated from all culpability in the events that took place June 4th. According to the police superintendent's investigation, the total responsibility for the incident at Humboldt Park lay with the gangs. There was no police misconduct. We cannot expect anything less than that the criminals will find themselves innocent. A similar conclusion was reached by an investigative board in Newark in 1975 when in a similar incident to that in Chicago, the police of that city killed a Puerto Rican youth.

After the incident had occurred in Humboldt Park, the Puerto Rican community experienced a different form of "invasion," this time from "leftist" organizations whose actions are characterized by racism, chauvinism and opportunism. Organizations such as the October League (now the Communist Party M-L) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) who have historically ignored the Puerto Rican community, opportunistically came to Humboldt Park not to aid or learn from the people, but to project an image of involvement in the struggle of minorities. In addition, when called upon to support the national liberation struggles of the Puerto Rican people, these organizations have dogmatically placed that struggle within the narrow context of "superpower contention."

In a most irresponsible manner these organizations attempted to incite the community to "action" in unfavorable conditions, ignoring recent developments within the Puerto Rican community and the liberation movement, in particular alienating acts of terrorism and the recent constant repression and harassment of the Puerto Rican communities throughout the country. Moreover, they have failed to express any degree of support for the victims of this repressive wave. This irresponsible behavior they label as revolutionary practice.

Although the incident of Humboldt Park is now a historical footnote, the racism and inhuman conditions that ignited and fueled the situation still exist. The lessons of Humboldt Park should be understood and internalized. Such eruptions are schools in the class struggle. They clearly demonstrate in whose interest the police serve. They also demonstrate the level of organization and the extent that the repressive apparatus of the State will be used against any potential mass unrest or any threat to its control. On the other hand, Humboldt Park demonstrates the courage and militancy among the Puerto Rican people and in general among the oppressed; in addition, it points out that even in these uneven battles, the forces of repression are not invincible. In a prolonged and organized struggle with clear political objectives and under the direction of a revolutionary vanguard, in which the balance of forces are equalized or favorable to the people, the police, the state and the ruling forces can be defeated.

Bakke Decision - Attacks Affirmative Action



In October of this year the United States Supreme Court is scheduled to hear a case that will determine the constitutionality of the special admissions program at Davis Medical School of the University of California (U.C.). The special admissions program at Davis Medical School was created in order to remedy the injustices committed against minorities due to racial discrimination. It allocates 16 slots out of 100 each year for minority students. This program came under attack a few years ago when Allan Bakke, a white man who had been denied admission to Davis, filed a law suit against the school, charging it with reverse racial discrimination. If the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the decision of the lower courts, it will serve as the basis for the elimination of special admissions programs throughout the country. It will mean the possible elimination of affirmative action programs in areas besides education, such as employment, training and promotion of minorities, both in the private and public sectors.

The case of Bakke v. The Regents of the University of California represents another racist attack against minorities since it will mean the elimination of the small advances made in the past decade in the struggle for racial equality. In addition, it represents an attack on the entire working class because it will intensify class division by setting whites against non-whites and vice versa, fighting one another for crumbs while the giant corporations continue to appropriate billions of dollars in the form of profits each year.

Bakke v. Special Admissions Program

In 1973, Bakke, a 34 year-old aerospace engineer, applied for admission to Davis Medical School. He was denied admission to U.C., as well as to several other medical schools. A year later he was rejected at Davis again. At that point, he filed a law suit against the University. Peter Storandt, a U.C. Davis Medical School Assistant to the Dean for Student Affairs and Admissions, was instrumental in pushing Bakke to file the suit. He convinced Bakke that the reason he was rejected was because of the slots set aside for minority students. In the suit, Bakke argued that he was qualified to enter the Medical School but was not accepted because he was white. According to Bakke this was in violation of the 14th amendment of the

Constitution of the United States which protects citizens from racial discrimination. Bakke claimed that minority students less qualified than him were accepted to the school because they received "racially discriminatory treatment." In other words, he claims to be a victim of reverse racial discrimination. Bakke's law suit provided the University with a good opportunity to eliminate the special admissions program.

The University of California filed a counter suit demanding that the question should be the constitutionality of the program and not whether or not Bakke should be admitted to Davis Medical School. Without ever holding a trial, the Yolo County Superior Court decided the case on the basis of written evidence. The court ruled that the program did indeed discriminate against Bakke because of his color; therefore, it was unconstitutional. However, the court also decided that Bakke was not entitled to an order of admittance to Davis Medical School. Bakke, as well as the U.C., appealed this decision.

The case was then transferred to the State Supreme Court of California, by-passing the Court of Appeals because of the "importance of the issues involved." It seemed that the U.C. was interested in a quick settlement of the case. In September 1976, the court upheld the decision of the lower court, declaring once again the special admissions program at Davis as unconstitutional. Further, the court ordered that Bakke be admitted to the Medical School. The Supreme Court based its decision on the grounds that no evidence was presented of past discrimination against minorities at the University to warrant the implementation of programs that give preferential treatment to racial minorities. The University conveniently withheld such evidence. There are two probable reasons for this: Firstly, the University did not want to admit that it is a racist institution. Secondly, its goal is to destroy the program. The latter is evident from the two actions that the U.C. took: 1) a University official was instrumental in initiating the suit; and 2) the U.C. withheld information of past discrimination. Rather than expanding its services to meet the growing needs of the community, the U.C. wants to restrict its accessibility and is attempting to pit whites to fight against non-whites for limited resources. The University is trying to create the illusion among the people that it is defending the program, and so it appealed the State Supreme Court's latest decision. But its actions prove that the University wants to eliminate the program. If the U.S. Supreme Court declares that the program is unconstitutional, it will set a precedent for the elimination of such programs throughout the nation. It will mark a setback to the struggles of minorities to achieve racial equality.

Reverse Racism or a New Form of Racism

Allan Bakke charged, and the courts ruled in his favor, that programs of this type which were developed to meet the particular needs of oppressed nationalities are unconstitutional. These programs are now being defined as discriminatory against whites. "Reverse racial discrimination," they shout. Yet, these programs were supposed to remedy certain racial injustices committed against non-whites. The injustices are many. Minorities have practically no representation in government, receive substandard education, lack skilled training, live in the worse slums, etc. Furthermore, the institutions in which these



IN SOLIDARITY WITH ARGENTINA AND IN HONOR OF MARIO R. SANTUCHO



Mario Roberto Santucho
Secretary General of the PRT
Commander in Chief of the ERP
1937-1976

This July 19th marks the first anniversary of the death of Comandante Mario Roberto Santucho "Robi"—leader of the Argentinian ERP (Peoples Revolutionary Army) and Secretary General of its party (Revolutionary Workers Party). Killed in combat against the military regime (See OEM Vol. 1 No. 19) of Jorge Videla, Santucho like Che before him has become a historical figure in the long struggle of the peoples of Latin America.

Internationalist in his ideas and revolutionary practice, faithful student of Leninist thought, Santucho serves as inspiration to present and future generations of Latin American revolutionaries. Honoring his memories, OEM reproduces an interview with his brother Julio Cesar Santucho—a revolutionary in his own right—which was submitted to us by our Argentinian comrades from MASA.

The death of Mario Roberto Santucho was a hard blow to the political and military leadership of the PRT-ERP. How does the Party consider it?

"In order to understand its significance, the magnitude of the loss caused by the death of our comrade, we have to give a brief account of his political militancy, his trajectory in the construction of the Party and the ERP. But his death in combat occurred

when the Argentine people were in a full process of closing ranks with the Marxist-Leninist Party.

"The PRT has achieved a notable development in the urban and rural proletariat, among the students and in other revolutionary sectors. Despite the blows to our propaganda apparatus [the Central propaganda apparatus and several smaller ones have fallen several times] ours is the only

party or organization which punctually publishes its party paper [*El Combatiente*].

"The course of events is the absolute confirmation that we have entered into a decisive phase of the process of open and prolonged war; in Argentina imperialism and the military have lined up on one side, and the proletariat, the people and the revolutionary vanguard on the other."

When did the militancy of Mario Roberto Santucho begin and within which specific process?

"Santucho began his political militancy when he was very young. From 1961-65 he worked in Tucuman within the agricultural proletariat (sugar workers) together with the leaders of the sugar workers' vanguard: 'Negrito' Fernandez, Ramon Rosa Gimenez, Leandro Fote. Those were times of great crisis in the sugar industry. They participated in street mobilizations, in factory seizures—with and without the taking of hostages—in the recovery of the Union, as in the case of the Ingenio San Jose. This was the first action of the Party, with the seizure of a kiosk which the union bureaucrat of the factory managed in order to profit from the workers' wages.

"This action had strong repercussion, as it encouraged the development of the union struggle. The bureaucratic leadership was overturned and the union was in the hands of the comrades."

What were the PRT's first steps in the political process? It is interesting to point out the origin of the Party and its insertion within the legal processes of the country, although since its beginning the PRT has upheld a revolutionary concept and strategy of prolonged war.

"Well, what you say is correct, because the PRT carried on struggle at all levels: through mobilization, joint actions with the workers, overthrow of sell-out unionists, the union thugs and butchers, using the persuasive methods of "miguelitos" [twisted nails to puncture tires] and pipe bombs. But also through legal actions such as the participation of the PRT in the provincial elections for the Parliament during the government of Illia [1963-

66]. The slogan at that time was 'Workers' candidates to the Parliament.' These candidates were chosen by election from the factory assemblies.

"With these slogans and proletarian methods the comrades won the elections and sent provincial delegates to the parliament, many of them workers and comrades, sympathizers of the Party, like Leandro Fote. In these struggles the PRT was formed. Mario acquired proletarian methods, opinions and style. The workers that worked with him learned Marxism-Leninism, achieved a scientific understanding of the development of society and the application of Marxist laws to class struggle. This dialectical inter-relationship allowed our Party to participate actively in the class struggle and influence the development of the workers' movement."

The Ongania government produced fundamental landmarks in the workers' struggle, sharpening a repression that had appeared earlier. What position did the PRT take during that period?

"Beginning with the Ongania coup in 1966, the agricultural proletariat in the sugar industry reacted to the repressive policies of the dictatorship. When the Military Party decided on a coup, it did so to check the development of the revolutionary forces in Argentina. The main target of General Ongania was the Tucuman agricultural proletariat, which had been mobilizing since the early 1960s."

If I remember correctly this was the period when differences within the PRT emerged. Is that true?

"Effectively, there was a reduction of struggle and the vacillation of the petit bourgeoisie was felt within the Party. The majority sectors of the PRT began to put forward the necessity of revolutionary struggle. The others proposed to wait, alleging that the conditions did not exist. The position of the Tucuman Regional was opposed to this idea. There, the majority of the workers were involved in a combative struggle against the dictatorship; they had mobilized and confronted the tanks and bombs."

It was Mario Roberto who upheld the necessity of passing to a higher form of struggle?

"Yes, when he became the leader of the Tucuman Regional he had understood that revolutionaries must take their battle positions. Class struggle went on within the PRT from 1966-

70. During this time the proletarian and revolutionary position was gaining ground within the Party, precisely at the same rhythm as class struggle in the country: the sharpening of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

When and in what circumstances was the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) formed?

"It was founded in July 1970. The mass mobilizations of 1969, beginning with the Cordobazo [see June 1977 *Denuncia* English Supplement] indicated the beginning of a pre-revolutionary situation and the beginning of a people's offensive against the oppression of the capitalist system. With the upsurge in mobilization, our revolutionary vanguard sprang up, taking form in different guerrilla organizations: Montoneros, FAR, FAL and the ERP. The ERP expressed the decision of our Party to join the revolutionary war in a combative, mature and proletarian way."

How was the mass work carried out in Tucuman?

"From the beginning and due to their ties to the rank-and-file, when the unions were recovered and the Tucuman Federation of Sugar Workers (FOTIA) was formed, they had a combative line, the line of Aparicio and other leaders who came from Peronism. At the student level the FRIP pushed the formation of the Student Movement of Workers' Rela-

"In Argentina imperialism and the military have lined up on one side; and the people, the proletariat and the revolutionary vanguard on the other."

tions. In this way Robi, with "Negrito" Fernando and Ramon Rosa Gimenez, was proletarianized. In this political process they acquired experiences in the politics of alliances and in the broad mass movement. Robi participated in the struggle at Ingenio San Jose together with the 1700 comrades who wanted to recover the union and who had to confront the police. The workers asked Robi to speak, and commented, "They say Santucho is a communist . . . but what difference does it make that he is a communist if he is here fighting with us?" "Communist" for the people there is a bad word. The same thing happened with "Negrito" Fernandez. Everybody knew he was one of our militants, but he had come from

there. Thus the Party began to win political space, a Marxist party but not "Communist," as it did not have the characteristics of the Argentine Communist Party. The participation of the Party in the union and political struggle is important to understand."

In that period, December 1962, a group of revolutionaries under the leadership of the journalist Jorge Ricardo Masseti began armed struggle in the jungle zone of Salta Province. In a support operation another group was killed, led by the militant Angel Bengoechea, when their explosives accidentally were set off. What was Robi doing at that time?

"The experience of the men that made up the People's Guerrilla Army (EGP) led many Tucuman comrades, especially those who had known and worked with Angel Bengoechea, to propose armed struggle. Robi shared that idea, but with the requirement that the Revolutionary Party must be formed first, and above all we had to go to work to construct that.

"I think it was due to his mass practice that, at that time, and under great pressure, he did not fall into a deviation, into a precipitous taking up of armed struggle. Bengoechea did fall into that deviation. He put forward the possibility of taking all the militants into the jungle, and that is what Robi and "Negrito" Fernandez did not see. *They combated these pressures and brought a new element*

to the Latin American Revolutionary struggle. Because of the history of our Party in Argentina, armed struggle was linked from the beginning to the organization of a Revolutionary Party. The other Latin American vanguards put this forward later."

What did he do then?

"Well, the Indo-American Revolutionary Front (FRIP) had been founded in 1961. He gave some talks about Cuba and began to work in Santiago del Estero with the lumberjacks, the only proletarian sector there. He began to travel and study the Northern zone of the country. The local people later told my father that when Robi went somewhere he stayed and lived

U.S. LEFT: SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA ?



Recently, the Guardian newspaper published a series of articles on Cuba which distorted the socialist process in that nation. Due to the character of said series, and its implications in these historical moments, a number of organizations developed and signed a response to the editors of the Guardian. The document was submitted jointly by CASA, Center for Cuban Studies, Cuba Resource Center, EL COMITE-MINP, MASA and the PSP. Following we reprint the document and once again salute Revolutionary Cuba in the XXIV anniversary of the heroic attack on Moncada.

This is a time when the left and progressive forces need to sharpen our understanding of the Cuban revolution and begin our own counteroffensive against the imperialist campaign of lies and distortions. Today, Cuba is emerging from a long period of struggle to overcome underdevelopment and at the same time survive the economic, political and cultural blockade criminally imposed on the Cuban revolution by U.S. imperialism.

This struggle has been carried out on many fronts. Cuba has faced open battles and invisible warfare. It has confronted the cowardly complicity in the freeze of trade and diplomatic relations imposed on most of Cuba's sister Latin American nations. And it had to deal with trade restrictions as a result of the embargo in countries as far-flung as Western Europe and Japan.

During all this period, in spite of the difficulties confronted by the Cuban people, the revolution has maintained an unbroken record of proletarian internationalism—materially aiding struggles from Latin America to Indochina, from the Middle East to Africa.

Based on the revolutionary spirit, courage and combativity of the Cuban people, the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to their own conditions, and a unified and tested leadership, the Cuban revolution has evaluated its development over the years and moved into a period of institutionalization—the consolidating of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advancing of socialist construction.

The Cubans have systematized and deepened socialist democracy through the building of their new form of

government. Earlier, the trade union movement was fortified and revitalized, with new elections for leadership of locals reorganized along their corresponding economic sectors, the regularizing of monthly production assemblies and the placing of union secretaries on an equal basis in plant councils alongside the manager and the party representative.

The Federation of Cuban Women, the leading mass organization in the struggle for the full equality of women, set higher goals for the incorporation of women into production and their promotion as political cadre. The need to set the conditions for reaching these goals was further affirmed in the new Family Code, discussed throughout the country and approved by the Cuban people in 1975.

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The mass organization of small farmer ANAP, held its fifth congress this spring, advancing the development of socialism in the agrarian sector and deepening the worker-peasant alliance. In the fall, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution will hold their first congress, to summarize the work of the CDR and set goals to improve their community-based mass functioning.

All of these mass organizations, as specific organizational forms through which the people make their needs known and meet their needs, have aimed at a more profound relationship with the people and with their vanguard organizations, the Cuban Communist Party and the Young Communist League. In the party's last congress in 1975 and the league's congress this year, both organizations stressed their determination to further concentrate their growth among those workers directly linked to production and to services, and to work more closely and effectively with the mass organizations.

The essence of these achievements and objectives were expressed and codified in the new, socialist constitution, approved by the Cuban people in 1975.

All of these developments have taken place 90 miles from the United States, in an area of the world regarded by U.S. imperialism as its strategic stronghold.

Can we forget the meaning of this first socialist state, not only in the Western Hemisphere, but in Latin America as well? We can only compare the significance of the Cuban revolution for the peoples struggling against U.S. imperialism throughout Latin America with the meaning of the October revolution for oppressed and exploited peoples around the world.

By establishing trade relations, cultural exchanges and diplomatic relations with Cuba, peoples and governments around the world have challenged the will and power of U.S. imperialism. In our country, people have systematically defied the imperialists and broken the blockade by traveling to Cuba and working side-by-side with Cuban comrades in socialist construction on the island.

U.S. STRATEGY DEFEATED

The U.S. strategy to strangle the Cuban revolution has itself been defeated. Now, in relation to Cuba, it is the United States which stands isolated in the world. At this very moment, the U.S. government has been forced by the resistance to its criminal policy to exchange lower level diplomatic personnel with Cuba.

Yet the battle to definitively end the blockade is not over. Strong opposition remains—spurred on by a wide variety of reactionary forces, including the sugar interests, gusano community and the most backward sectors of the

imperialist bourgeoisie, who still refuse to recognize the defeat of the blockade.

While the struggle to end the blockade continues, the U.S. imperialists have already begun their ideological offensive of misinformation and diversionism against the Cuban revolution to replace their 17-year-long blockade of silence. From Howard K. Smith's hour-long editorial trying to describe Cuba as a "militarist society" to the New York Post and US magazine, Cuba is being portrayed in the usual anticommunist stereotypes, adding charges of racism, sexism and "Cuba-as-a-Soviet-puppet" to their arsenal of images.

It is ironic that just at this time the Guardian should publish a series which has the effect of misinforming, disorienting and disarming the U.S. progressive and revolutionary people. The series was written by a member of the League for Proletarian Socialism (May 18, 25 and June 1). It was published ostensibly in the interest of promoting a "fraternal" discussion on the nature of socialist Cuba and with the aim of building solidarity with Cuba.

SLANDEROUS ATTACK

The result, nevertheless, has not been to promote fraternal, constructive discussion, but rather a disgraceful and slanderous attack against a socialist country. We are not interested in responding point by point and thereby dignifying the baseless and confused positions of this group, which fails to address a subject demanding honest and serious investigation and study—particularly when it concerns the struggle of a whole people.

Still, it is necessary to briefly summarize the series' major assertions about Cuba. In essence, it states that Cuba is a dependent tool of the Soviet Union, though only "out of necessity"; in addition, that the Cuban Communist Party, because it has ignored class struggle within the revolution and because it has isolated itself from the Cuban masses, has provided the conditions for the emergence of a new bureaucratic class. These articles apply a narrow interpretation of Cuba's relationship with the Soviet Union. Using an unscientific approach, the series confuses socialist aid and capitalist dependency, drawing conclusions that are not based on a class analysis of Cuban society, but rather upon rumors, undefined terms and misrepresentations of historical fact.

We should look more closely at the concept of dependency. Under capitalist relations, dependency implies either direct or indirect control over the political and economic structure of a nation, subordinating the needs and interests of that dependent nation to the drive for



profits of the ruling class in the dominating nation.

In this sense, the dominating nation determines all fundamental political and economic policies of the dependent nation. The bourgeoisies in those dependent countries owe their survival as a ruling class to this relationship with the dominating nation.

On the other hand, every socialist revolution can and should rely on the proletarian internationalism of already existing socialist states in its transition from capitalism to socialism. Even Cuba, a small island with limited resources, has contributed immeasurably both to new socialist countries and to revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Socialist aid benefits all parties involved and is a direct cause of the strengthening of the socialist system worldwide. The support which the Soviet Union has given Cuba is instrumental in the survival and growth of that revolution. This relationship is based on the needs and interests of the Cuban people, which they themselves have defined. All of the agreements between Cuba and the Soviet Union have been between equals, never imposed. The Soviet Union neither controls nor owns anything in Cuba other than its own embassy. This is the difference between capitalist dependency and socialist aid.

Unlike this series' concept of solidarity, we believe that solidarity must be based on a concrete historical analysis, with the understanding that external factors can influence a process, but they cannot determine it. Upholding the universal principles and lessons of socialist revolution, every revolution has to develop its own road, based on the social, economic and historical reality of its people and the correlation of forces in the world at any given moment. Among the things we can learn from the Cuban revolution are precisely its view of international solidarity and its self-critical attitude toward errors. These strengths are reflected in the continuing ideological development of the Cuban vanguard as well as the Cuban people, and in their consistent refusal to dictate strategy or tactics to other revolutionary struggles or socialist states.

From the beginning, the Guardian insists on its "respect," "admiration," and "support" for the Cuban revolution. Nevertheless, it published a series of articles which can only be regarded as a form of ideological diversionism about the nature of the Latin American continent's revolutionary vanguard.

The history of U.S. imperialism's use of state-to-state relations to attempt to undermine socialist revolution is well known. Today, important sectors of the imperialist bourgeoisie recognize that the blockade is a failure and therefore are considering changing their policy toward Cuba. This is accompanied by sophisticated anticommunist campaigns geared toward distorting the perception of socialism in Cuba among the people in this country. Why does the Guardian choose this moment to publish a series which objectively contributes to the Carter administration's campaign of diversionism? Is there a real desire to clarify, to contribute constructively?

Clearly, the Guardian has a political line which is reflected in its content and selection of articles over time. Generally speaking, the Guardian's news coverage of Cuba has been superficial. And yet, in the first series of articles of any depth on Cuba, the Guardian is quick to let others speak in an unprincipled, arrogant and chauvinist manner about Cuba's alleged "fatal flaws."

This is consistent with the Guardian's view of the world, where Cuba and Latin American countries are seen not in relation to the United States, to each other, or in terms of their own historical trajectories, but rather, from what the Guardian perceives to be the meaning of these struggles within the framework of "superpower contention."

Continued on next page

CUBA cont.

The Guardian approves of certain Cuban positions (i.e., Angola) and criticizes others (relations with USSR). In the process, it abstractly separates out certain aspects of the Cuban revolution to either withhold or bestow its approval, according to whether or not these aspects coincide with the Guardian's political line. Noting its political perspec-

tive, we must also consider that the Guardian has never carried out consistent, constructive, and principled investigation, analysis and practice in relation to Cuba or to Latin America. This is an area of enormous strategic and tactical importance both to U.S. imperialism and to the U.S. revolutionary movement.

For these reasons, we must question the sincerity behind the words "respect," "support" and "admiration" which the Guardian waves about without substance.

SANTUCHO(cont.)

and worked with the people. He worked on the railroads laying ties.

"The work of the FRIP in the north was very interesting, because the local population there is very reserved, they have suffered centuries of exploitation and didn't trust the lumberjacks, especially those from the cities. But they were able to win acceptance and organized the recovery of the unions from the bureaucrats. At the same time they put out the FRIP's bulletin, which put forward a socialist line and produced bi-lingual newspapers in Spanish and Quechua, the local language."

But would you synthesize the current situation: What prospects does the PRT have at the moment?

"Currently the Party dedicates itself totally to the fulfillment of the lines voted on in the 'Mario Roberto Santucho' Executive Committee, which met

in August of 1976. It is a priority to develop and consolidate the Marxist-Leninist Party of combat in the proletariat, give the Party and union organizations a high level of organization and prepare it for qualitative advances. *'Go with strength to the masses, unite with them for the unity of the revolutionary organizations, for national and social liberation, determined to win or die for Argentina.'*

"In Argentina, imperialism and the military have lined up on one side, and the people and the revolutionary vanguard on the other. This polarization, clearly perceptible on the political level has its material base in the situation of dependent capitalism. Dependent capitalism is submerged in a structural crisis which has been continuing and increasing for more than half a century. It is now accelerating and has reached an antagonistic level of contradiction with the proletariat and the people.

"It is certain that this process is decisive. There is not a home in our

country that does not mourn a son, daughter, parents, brother or sister, dead, disappeared or imprisoned. At this moment there are no men and women of the people who are not confronting or preparing to confront the military, who in 1930 began a process of militarization which has never consolidated itself.

"The course of the war in our country presents two aspects: first, the impossibility of a military victory over the people and second, the possibility that in the future, with a new defeat of the military, imperialism will decide to intervene directly.

"Both aspects are internally related and constitute a cry of alert that our Party makes to all the progressive and democratic peoples of the world. 'Actively promote solidarity with the Argentine people and denounce the fascist dictatorship, totally isolating it.'

"Only strong international pressure can contribute to sparing the suffering of the people of my country and the rest of Central and South America. In this sense, there is much that the democratic peoples of the world can do."

BAKKE Cont.

special programs have been implemented are administered by whites. The decision-making power of such programs lies completely with white administrators. The courts that have reviewed the Bakke case have no representation of minorities. These racial injustices have not been eliminated. There is still a big gap between the percentage of minorities in the population and the percentage of minorities accepted in the program. In fact, in the four years that the program has been in existence, only 26 Blacks and 33 Latins were accepted to Davis Medical School while some 336 whites have been accepted. Where then is the reverse racial discrimination? Even with special programs, minorities are still suffering from the lack of equal opportunities.

Moreover, the Bakke case provides another example, of which there are many, of the reality that the existing social institutions in this country are not concerned with satisfying the needs of the people—particularly minorities. In this case both the University of California and the courts (as all other institutions in this system) have taken a position that goes against the interests of minorities and of the entire working class in general. In the past these institutions have made limited concessions such as the special admissions program at Davis only after many battles were

waged by oppressed and working people. They were forced to make concessions. As long as the people were organized and struggling, the dominant classes were forced to create programs to meet the demands of the people. But now we are faced with the threat of losing the limited concessions that were gained. This is a constant threat under the present society. Until we can destroy the existing social system, with all its supportive institutions, and create a new one based on the satisfaction of human needs, we are left with the only alternative—that of continuing the struggle.

Therefore, we must defend our rights and prevent the University of California and the courts from eliminating the special admissions program at Davis Medical School. What is at stake in the Bakke decision is the future of all programs that are aimed at meeting the particular needs of minorities. If the decision is upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, it could mean that thousands of people will be deprived from entering professional schools, from receiving decent jobs and social services, as well as from training and future promotions. All people directly or indirectly affected must unite and struggle to overturn the Bakke decision. The struggle concerns us all: workers, students, professionals, men, women, whites, non-whites, etc. We must exercise pressure on the Supreme Court to overturn the lower court decisions. End the racist attacks on minorities—Unite the multi-national working class!