Right-Wing Attacks Escalate:

- All-white jury acquits Nazi/Klan murderers in Greensboro, North Carolina — See page 5
- Ex-cop shoots up gay bars in New York’s Greenwich Village; two dead — See page 9
- Congress moves to roll back civil rights gains — See page 16

Ultra-Rightists Plan Coup in El Salvador

By FRANZ MARTIN

The right-wing offensive against the national liberation struggle in El Salvador has escalated dramatically in the past few weeks. On November 27, in a staggering blow to the organized liberation movement, a right-wing paramilitary squad, aided by the Salvadoran army, killed six leaders of the broad opposition coalition, the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR—Revolutionary Democratic Front), and are thought to have murdered 20 others in a well-planned raid on a leadership meeting in San Salvador, the nation’s capital.

As the top-level meeting of oppositionists began in a Jesuit high school, 250 armed men surrounded the building. According to witnesses, approximately 80 of them were armed in police and military uniforms. While helicopters hovered over the building a group of 20, in civilian clothes, entered the school and removed the leftists’ political leaders at gunpoint. Shortly, the bodies of six men, including five members of the FDR’s executive committee, were found. All had been tortured before being shot to death. The left arm of one victim had been chopped off. The remaining kidnap victims have not yet been found.

The extent of this blow to the liberation forces is indicated by the number of known dead: Enrique Alvarez Cordova, secretary general of the FDR; Juan Chacon, head of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR—Popular Revolutionary Bloc), largest of the opposition faction; Manuel Franco, head of the Union Democratica Nacional (UDN—National Democratic Union), affiliated with the Salvadoran Communist Party; Enrique Barrera, a leading social democrat; Humberto Mendoza, head of the Movimiento de Liberacion Popular (MLP—Popular Liberation Movement); and Doroteo Hernandez, a union leader.

Officials of the Salvadorean military/Christian Democratic junta, which has been ruling the country under a state of siege for nearly a year, (Continued on page 14)
We must take control of our destinies

Comrades,

I have been receiving your paper, Torch/La Antorcha, for the past six to eight months of my incarceration.

As a prisoner in America’s concentration camp in Vacaville, California, I must say your paper has been one of the most informative when dealing with the liberation of gay men/lesbians, the working class, and all oppressed peoples of color (it includes those whites progressive enough to realize their destiny is bound up with the destiny of all oppressed peoples).

Your coverage of the KKK, Nazis and other right-wing anti-humanists (this includes any religious group that gains and sustains power at the price of the human race) have made me see in no uncertain terms the necessity of a national united front against these backward elements.

We must bring ALL oppressed people together as one progressive unit in order to achieve total human liberation. Without this type of unity, we will never win.

If we look around us today, we will see that the human species is on the verge of destroying itself.

As an African and a gay man, I realize that, with respect to our mother earth and all living things on her body, we can come together and destroy the war machines of all ruling classes that threaten to destroy all living things (the grass, skies, rain, people, etc.).

We must take control of our destinies in accordance with our individual and collective nature.

The earth is begging us to free her from all the MADNESS... Can we afford to ignore her?

Sincerely,

Frank

vacaville, CA

Rastafarians harassed in New York prison

Dear Sir,

I wish to inform you that I am a Rastafarian, and that all Rastafarians throughout the New York state prison system have a class-action lawsuit, which has been pending at a federal court in Manhattan for the past two years. There has been a restraining order permitting all Rastafarians to grow and groom their hair in dreadlocks, which is part of our religious culture. However, the Rastafarian community here at Clinton Correctional Facility is faced with a series of continuous problems that are imposed by the administration of this facility directly to us as Rastafarians.

As a result, we are now forced to have our hair tied back in a rubberband, which has been denied the opportunity to wear our religious crowns, and also been deprived of a vegetarian diet. We see all this as harassment, and religious persecution.

I also want you to take note that this facility is the only facility that I am aware of that takes these kinds of actions towards us as Rastafarians. On December 21, 1979, I was transferred from Attica Correctional Facility and on my arrival here at Clinton I was placed on keeplock status after I refused to comb out my hair, which was in dreadlocks at the time and is impossible to be combed. I was placed in a Special Housing Unit, and given a Superintendent’s Proceedings, in which I received a disposition of 30 days’ confinement to Special Housing Unit, and 30 days’ loss of good time. Anyway, that Superintendent’s Proceedings was reversed by the departmental review board on August 1, 1980. I was also subjected to the same kind of harassment on August 4, 1980. When I was transferred back here from Great Meadow Correctional Facility and given a Superintendent’s Proceedings for my dreadlocks again, however, that Proceedings was dismissed at an August 14, 1980, hearing.

Moreover, I am still subjected to this kind of harassment, and am continuously being placed on keeplock status, which all pertains to my hair, as recent as October 1, 1980. I was given a report of misbehavior for not having my hair, which led back as I was out of my cell. I was again given a Superintendent’s Proceedings, in which I was given a disposition of 30 days’ confinement to my cell.

On behalf of the Rastafarian Committee and Community here at Clinton Correctional Facility, we are now asking your assistance and the assistance of anyone who may be concerned in having this instant matter resolved.

Respectfully,

AS

Materi ally support the TORCH

Dear RSL Comrades:

It is indeed a rare occasion for me to entreat that a letter of mine be printed. But my view of the concrete circumstances besetting a financially constrained Left publication, Torch/La Antorcha, compels me to make an exception.

I would desire to briefly address those denizens who make up the incarcerated populace of this nation’s prisons and jails. As a fellow slave of the state, though revolutionarily permeated, I am well aware that the greatest majority of us can make monetary contributions towards the continuing propaganda and educative efforts of Torch. Quite a few of you proclaim to be a part of, or sympathetic with, the U.S. Left, but when you are called upon to financially aid in furthering the work of the Left, your practice shifts to selfish individualism. It appears that it is considered as “too much” of a “sacrifice” to deny yourselves a pack of cigarettes, candy bars, or foodstuffs in order to materially contribute to Left publications, thereby guaranteeing that the causes of the proletariat and oppressed will be advanced!

Daily we are witnessing the rising rightists, that is, ultracapitalism, making deeper forays into the ranks of the un politicized proletarians. Of course the right is only sectionally organized, but it is on the offensive, and the Left is its primary target. We of the Left have got to understand that this is no tactical offensive, but one that is strategic in nature, whose consequences, if belatedly challenged from a position of weakness, will set the proletarian struggle back by many years.

Can we afford to sacrifice Torch? We are optimistic that you will heed these few words by materially supporting Torch with whatever contributions you are capable of surrendering. Your donations of today will guarantee all of our struggling tomorrows.

Comrade Awaill

Editor’s Note:

We appreciate Comrade Awaill’s efforts to appeal to prisoner readers of the Torch/La Antorcha to contribute to our fund drive. However, we are aware that many of our readers in prison do not in fact have money beyond that needed for bare subsistence. Even a pack of cigarettes or a candy bar can be a much needed “essential” in conditions which do not allow for any luxuries. We have always been very thankful for those monetary contributions we do receive from our prisoner readers. However, we wish to make clear that it is the ongoing political dialogue which matters to us above all else.
1,400 People Meet in Philadelphia; Form National Black Independent Party

By WILLIAM FALK

When Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976, his margin of victory was largely attributed to the Black vote. This put to test a theory long-held by many middle-class Black leaders: that Black people in the U.S. could win meaningful gains, through holding a "balance of power" in elections, if three conditions were met: 1) The white vote would have to be split between the Republican and Democratic party candidates; 2) Black people would have to vote in large numbers for one of the candidates, leading to that candidate's election; and 3) The crucial role of the Black vote would have to be publicly acknowledged.

This is exactly what happened in the 1976 presidential elections. But far from conditions getting better for Black people in the four years of Carter's presidency, they got worse. The economic position of Black people declined both absolutely and in comparison to whites. Racist attacks became more open and more frequent. And needed government programs were cut back or axed altogether.

The Carter presidency led to widespread disillusionment among Blacks with the Democratic Party, which has been considered the party of Black people since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. That feeling increased further after the failure of Ted Kennedy to win his party's nomination. In this context that on November 21-23, some 1,400 people attended a convention in Philadelphia called by the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA) to found an independent Black political party—a turnover twice as large as the organizers had expected. Delegates came from 26 states and the District of Columbia, with the largest delegations from Pennsylvania (488), New York (243), Washington, D.C. (159), Illinois (92) and Ohio (92). Most were a new generation of activists; half were attending their first Black political conference in at least three years and were all 30 years old or younger.

NBP leads moderate wing

The more moderate faction was led by the NBPA people, including a large number of established Black academic figures: NBPA head Ron Daniels, a professor of Afro-American studies at Kent State University; Barbara Sizemore, former superintendent of schools for Washington, D.C., and currently a professor at the University of Pittsburgh; and Manning Marable, platform. The NBPA-proposed charter states: "Black politics invokes the struggle to achieve just laws and policies which establish principles or distribute resources, the process of election or appointment to position of public or private leadership, the development of social resources through confrontation and cooperation at community levels, and the relations among Black peoples and Black institutions in the process of internal development."

To this end, the charter states that the Independent Black Party's role is to: "Impact upon those instruments of political power through which so much of the resources of this society are distributed, while more important and yet at the same time, we turn our attention to the fundamental task of self-development as the only route to self-determination."

The fact that Carter only remembered Black people existed when he needed votes increased support for Black independent party. Above, kissing babies in Milwaukee.

NY center of radical group

The grouping centered in the NY and Illinois delegations constituted the more radical wing of the convention. This grouping wanted the party to prominently identify the capitalist system as the enemy, to consider the Black struggle a struggle for national liberation (including a fight for land) and to see itself as a vehicle for more militant organizing.

For example, point one of the New York statement says: "African people in the United States, in effect, constitute an oppressed nation; therefore our struggle must be manifested through a national liberation struggle." Points two, three and four say the party must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. Point 11 says: "The party must acknowledge the fact that Pan Africanism and scientific socialism are not necessarily contradictory."

The difference between the two groups can be clearly seen on the issue of stopping racist terrorist attacks. NBPA charter supporter Barbara Arnwine, a lawyer and leader of (Continued on page 17)

Help Put Us Over the Top!

The RSL drive to raise $12,500 is now past the half-way point. With just one month left before our January 15 deadline, we have raised $10,512—over 84 percent of our fund drive goal. $3,784 has come in since our report in last month's Torch/La Antorcha.

While the drive is ahead of schedule at this point, we very much need contributions from those Torch/La Antorcha readers who have yet to respond to reach our $12,500 goal. Among other things, your contribution will help us to maintain the Torch/La Antorcha as a high-quality analytical newspaper which provides coverage of major international and national events along with regular news of the labor movement, anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles, the prisoner movement and more—from a revolutionary socialist point of view. With the rate of inflation remaining at double-digit levels, our printing, mailing and other costs have increased enormously. Reaching our fund drive goal is essential if we are to avoid cutbacks in the quality of the Torch/La Antorcha.

We appeal to all our readers and friends to make the greatest possible effort to help make our fund drive a success. Send your check or money order for $5, $10, or whatever you can afford: Torch/La Antorcha or Rod Miller, Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.
New Orleans

Cops Wage War on Black Community

NEW ORLEANS—On November 8, a police officer was found dead in the Algiers section of this city. In the days that followed, the police launched a virtual reign of terror on the Black community of Algiers. By November 13, four people from this community were dead; many others had been beaten or threatened by police.

The circumstances of Patrolman Gregory Neupert’s death remained a mystery. Police claim not to know what Neupert was doing when he was killed. His car was found parked near a levee, his body beside it. The police department did not know of his whereabouts at the time of his death. He had been travelling alone and had called in to report that he was losing anyone or that he was in trouble. Later, police reported that drugs were found nearby.

Following the discovery of Neupert’s body, police immediately descended on the nearby Fisher Housing Project and roughly rounded up some 20 young Black men for “questioning.”

One man describes what happened to him after being handcuffed and isolated from the others. “They jumped on me, they kicked me, beat me in my back. That’s when they put a bag over my head so I couldn’t see all of them.” Although he repeatedly stated he knew nothing about the killing, he relates, the police continued to beat him in the face and chest, slapped the back of his neck with a blackjack, hit his head with thick law books and stood on his head for five or 10 minutes.

Police murder four

On November 11, police investigating the Neupert murder stopped Raymond Ferdin­and and Sheila Pierce at the Fisher Housing Project. The cops claim that Ferdinand pulled a knife on them and they were forced to shoot and kill him. But Pierce states that while Ferdinand did have a small knife, the police had taken it and placed at least one handcuff on Ferdinand before they shot him.

Early on the morning of November 13, cops kicked in the doors at the homes of James Billy, Jr., and Reginald Miles. The police version of what happened sharply con­trasts with the accounts given by civilian witnesses. In the words of many in the Black community here, police then proceeded to execute Billy, Miles and Sherry Singleton, 20, and her four-year-old son who watched in horror as police shot and killed her mother.

Police alleged that Miles had been awakened when the cops had earlier entered another house thinking it was Billy’s. An autopsy showed that Miles was hit with seven bullets and two loads of buckshot. Police say he was alive and refused to say whether they had tested the gun they claimed was Billy’s. It was determined it could not have been fired.

Police then raided the home of Miles and Singleton, the executed by New Orleans police Nov. 13. James Billy Jr., Reginald Miles and Sherry Single­ton, executed by New Orleans police Nov. 13. James Billy Jr., Reginald Miles and Sherry Single­tton, executed by New Orleans police Nov. 13.

...and Billy were the killers of Neupert based on the ac­counts of two eyewitnesses. Police admitted that they paid the informants $3,000 for the information, but refused to produce or identify them. But that became un­necessary as the informants voluntarily contacted the law­enforcement officials for the victims and their families to recount that they had been forced to implicate Miles and Billy. Both told how they had been blindfolded and sepa­rately taken to a wooded area where police interrogated and beat them.

One informant states: “One of them had a shotgun. One had a little .22-handled De­rmas, and one of the others had a n—— gun. They let me know that someone was going to die.” He went on to say that he kept saying that he hadn’t seen that dude [Billy] that night, but they were beating me and I was crying.

The other informant also told of being beaten and threatened before he was taken to police headquarters and shown Billy’s mug shot.

“I looked through all of the pictures and said, ‘This isn’t any of them.’ Then they told me that was the n—— gun. They let me know that someone was going to die.”

In addition, attorneys have produced witnesses that place Miles at Neupert’s residence before Neupert was killed at the time of death.

Police claim that they knew of the murder and identified themselves before entering Billy’s house. Neighbors across the street, however, report that the cops jumped from their fronts, pulled Billy’s front porch, pulled open the screen door and immediately kicked in the main door without either knocking or identifying themselves. The neighbors had been awakened when the cops had earlier entered another house thinking it was Billy’s. An autopsy showed that Miles was hit with seven bullets and two loads of buckshot. Police say he was alive and refused to say whether they had tested the gun they claimed was Billy’s. It was determined it could not have been fired.

Marches demand change

In response to the killings and related events, a number of groups have mobilized to defend the Black community and demand changes in the New Orleans Police Depart­ment. Demands have included immediate dismissal and indictment of the police involved, dismissal of the chief of police, establishment of a private police review board and full disclosure of the facts involved in the case. A meeting of 75 members of the Concerned Citizens of Algiers also demanded that all police patrols be halted in the Algiers area.

But while residents have been quick to resist the police, other Blacks in the city’s establishment are feverishly trying to head off a mass mobilization. The head of the Housing Authority issued an open letter to the community praising the “self-control and objectivity” of the residents of the Fisher Housing Project.

Others have echoed his call for calm and “reason.” The NAACP launched its own in­vestigation into the killings to try and dislimate what it calls the “present climate of sus­picion and hysteria.” Despite the call by the city’s established Black leaders for the masses of Black people to stay out of the streets and leave things to them, there have been a number of suc­cessful demonstrations and protests of the killings.

On November 24, the police chief resigned in an effort to defuse the growing furor. The newspapers are predict­ing that Mayor Ernest Morial will appoint a Black to become the new police chief in an attempt to placate the Black community. As the city’s Liberation League and Community Action New­com­bination have noted, this struggle will not end with a new police chief. A new chief, whether Black or white, will not stop the killings of poor and working people, especially Blacks and Latinos, who have denounced the police as “pigs” and “fascists.”

The current chief was originally brought in as a “reformer” — but that did not help Raymond Ferdi­nand, Sherry Singleton, James Billy, Jr., or Reginald Miles. The demand for an end to police harassment and saving people’s lives.

Kenneth Ramirez, 19, unarmed—shot down without warning as he walked out the door of his Los Angeles home.

Raymond Nicholson, 20, unarmed—shot down without warning on the street of a Los Angeles suburb.

Larry Morris, 28, unarmed—beaten and strangled in his bathroom after being chased into his Watts home by two armed strangers.

Is senseless gang violence on the increase in Los Angeles? You bet it is! And the gang leader is never held accountable. Uniforms, in each of the cases cited above, the murders are known members of the Los Angeles Police or Sheriff’s Depart­ment. For each of these crimes, all the killers are still on the public payroll.

Of course there’s always a good excuse. Larry Morris is dead because two of his supposed friends threatened to kill him. Police claim that they thought they heard gunshots coming from his house. Later they admitted the “gunshots were heard from farther away.” Raymond Nicholson is dead because an officer’s shotgun “accidentally dis­charged.”

And Kenneth Ramirez died when an officer “drew his gun and the damned thing went off,” according to a police department spokesperson.

While City Council hearings are swamped by police officials crying for more personnel, more weapons, and more money to come to the people of Los Angeles. The rise in gang violence is a serious threat, and the police are doing little to stop it. In fact, the police are often the ones responsible for the violence.

Hector Quintana was a friend of Kenneth Ramirez and a witness to his death. His statement, as reported in the LA Times, catches better than anything else the cold and bloody reality of an oppressed community living under the gun.

“Me and Victor and Chris were talking outside in the street when this cop car comes by. They didn’t shine their spotlight or say anything. They just went up and the seat, made a U-turn and started coming back. Kenny started walking out of the house. When he got in front of the car, the police car stopped. The cops jumped out of the car. They didn’t say anything. They started shooting. Kenny didn’t make a sound. The man who shot him got out of the car and walked over to the body, flashed a light on him and looked down. He said, ‘Oh, shit.’”

GREEN OLIVE—De­troit, August 26, 1980—In the city of Detroit the “Klan­ders, a national fascist group, are attempting to regain a foothold. But an elderly couple living in the Algiers. By November 13, it was clear that the police were going after the Klan. 

On November 24, police said they arrested a man by the name of Single­ton, and had been beaten or threatened. Police alleged that Miles had been fired. with less...
Greensboro Verdict: Klan and Nazis Get Green Light for Racist Murder

By FRANK HOPKINS

On November 17, an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina, found six Ku Klux Klan and Nazi murderers "not guilty." The right-wing thugs who had gunned down five supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were acquitted on all charges. These people got off with less than if they had been caught speeding.

THE TRIAL was a result of the Klan/Nazi attack on a CWP rally on November 3, 1979. The CWP planned a "Death to the Klan" rally in a Black neighborhood in Greensboro. The right-wingers came and killed five people—Cesar Cauce, Sandra Smith, William Sampson, Michael Nathan and James Waller—seriously wounding several others. It was a cold-blooded premeditated attack.

At the trial, the right-wingers contended that they had acted only in self-defense. This lie can be seen through just by looking at the results of the attack that day. But that doesn't matter much where U.S. "justice" is concerned.

In the aftermath of the acquittal, the state announced that six Communist Workers Party members and five members of the Klan who were slated for trial would not be prosecuted. The state's "reason" for this decision was that none of these people, unlike the first batch of Klansmen who were tried, were ever found to have incited it to commit murder.

The right-wingers' attempt to have incited it to commit murder

In FACT, Covington didn't want to press further. Tobacco and Firearms, infiltrated the Klan group, helped to arrange the Klan/Nazi attack on the CWP.

But that wasn't all "the system" did for the right-wingers. After doing its damndest to provoke the shootouts, the state has also done its best to cover up what happened. The trial was a white-wash from start to finish. For one thing it was an all-white jury—this is a case where Latin, Black people had been gunned down by an all-white attack force. Throughout the trial Judge James M. Long kept trying to silence spectators, threatening to charge people with "contempt of court."

IS THIS GUY kidding? Worked people have contempt—for the verdict, the judge, the court, and the state. There are not two ways about it. What has gone on in Greensboro is a clear signal to the right wing. The state has said: "it's okay to attack Black people's lives and rights, it's okay to gun down Latin people and it's just great to kill communists."

The state has made it clear that it wouldn't mind if more of this kind of thing went on. And the state has made it clear that right-wing thugs are going to get some amount of protection from the state.

In fact, we expected something like this as the outcome of the trial. We didn't know how blatant it was going to be, but you could see it coming. The six Klan/Nazi murderers should be paying for their crimes. But you can't rely on the state to grant justice to Blacks, Latinos, women or leftists. The only way working class and oppressed people get any respect or justice in this society is to fight for it. The courts, the cops and the right wing will try to get away with as much as they can. Only a united and militant working class movement will be able to cut through the courtroom charade and shove some real change up these murderers' throats.

Anti-Klan Activists Meet

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—Despite harassment, and in the face of the acquittal of the six Klan/Nazi murderers, a successful educational and organizing conference against government repression and the rise of the Klan and Nazis met here on November 6 and 7. An ongoing anti-fascist coalition came out of the conference, which set as its first project a mass demonstration in Washington, D.C., on January 20—Inauguration Day. The coalition will work for a strong anti-fascist thrust to the action, while cooperating with other left actions planning a response to Reagan's inauguration.

Over 300 people from the South, East Coast and the Midwest came to the Greensboro conference, which was initiated by the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and anti-racist, anti-fascist political groups attending the conference, including the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC), Socialists Workers Party, Progressive Labor Party (PLP), Chittagong, Movement Against Racism, and the Klan (MARK), Those United to Fight Fascism (TUFF), CWP and the Twin Cities, and Black liberation groups were also present.

The coalition held a "shout-out" between "extremists," to make the CWP look like the one who provoked everything, and to make the state look "fair, impartial and just."

Harold Covington, head of the National Socialist Movement in America (the Nazi group involved in the attack on the CWP rally) claimed the verdict of "not guilty for White America." Covington went on to say "the verdicts are fantastic. It shows we can beat the system on their own ground."

On December 4, a federal court in Richmond, Virginia, overturned the convictions of the Wilmington 10, nine Black men and one white woman who were charged with burning down a white-owned grocery store in Wilmington, North Carolina, in February 1971 during a Klan-provoked confrontation. The 10 were originally convicted in North Carolina eight years ago and sentenced to a total of 282 years in prison on charges of arson and conspiracy.

The Wilmington 10 included civil rights organizer Reverend Ben Chavis, eight Black high school student leaders and a white female civil rights activist. The 10 had been fighting for school desegregation in Wilmington, which the Klan was active in trying to prevent.

The Wilmington 10 began in June 1972, but ended in a mistrial when prosecutor James T. Stroud suffered a "mysterious illness" the night before the swearing in of a jury by a Black. In the second trial, which began in September 1972 before a special judge requested by prosecutor Stroud, Stroud was allowed to eliminate most Black jurors, while seating whites who admitted being Klan members. This jury—10 whites and two elderly Blacks—convicted the 10 on the testimony of three "eyewitnesses."

In 1977, all three prosecution witnesses testified, first to a federal grand jury and then at a state hearing, that they had been promised release from prison and jobs in exchange for their testimony. They also admitted that the prosecution had carefully coached them for their court appearances. Meanwhile, a massive international campaign to free the Wilmington 10 had forced the State Department to call the case an "embarrassment."

The December 4 federal court ruling which overturned the convictions stated that the defendants had been deprived of their Sixth Amendment right to a fair trial because defense lawyers had been prevented from attacking the credibility of the key prosecution witnesses. Nine of the Wilmington 10 had been released on parole in 1975 and the tenth, Ben Chavis, in 1979. It is legally possible for the state of North Carolina to initiate a new trial—but it is doubtful that it will choose to do so, given the mass protests any new trial of the Wilmington 10 would produce.
Free Tommy Lee Hines!

On November 21, an Alabama jury—11 whites and one Black—found Tommy Lee Hines incompetent to stand trial. This was the second attempt to try Hines; his 1978 rape conviction was overturned last March by an appeals court on the grounds that Hines, who is mentally retarded, could not have understood the legal proceedings against him.

Hines has now been ordered sent to a mental hospital "until he is found competent to stand trial." This could mean indefinite confinement for Hines, the victim of a blatant racist frame-up. Hines was originally convicted under the unwritten code: "When a white woman is raped, pin it on a Black man."

At his trial, Hines was accused of kidnapping a woman and driving her car to the scene of the alleged rape. Even though his teachers at a center for the disabled swore that Hines' mental ability and poor physical coordination meant he couldn't drive, let alone plan and carry out an assault, the all-white jury at his first trial found him guilty.

The railroad of Tommy Lee Hines sparked numerous protests, as well as Ku Klux Klan attacks on Hines' supporters. In May 1979, a march in Decatur, Alabama, demanding freedom for Hines was attacked by armed Ku Klux Klan members. In the resulting shootout two Black marchers and two Klan members were wounded. Curtis Robinson, at one time the bass singer for the musical group, the Coasters, has been charged with the attempted murder of a Klanman.

Hines' supporters and family plan to continue their efforts to have Hines released and cleared of all charges.

Prisoners tear-gassed at Starke

Following the October 12 stabbing of a guard at Florida State Prison at Starke, the state's maximum security prison, prisoners have faced harassment and attacks. On October 13, the authorities issued an order that prisoners in confinement areas be handcuffed whenever they left their cells. When some prisoners protested this by flooding one cell of a wing of the prison, the administration responded by tear-gassing the entire wing. Two days later, after the stabbing of another guard, prison authorities sprayed several housing areas with a tear-gas fogger. Of the prison's 13 housing wings, eight are confinement areas. All but one of the areas gassed were confinement areas. A prisoner wrote the Torch/La Antorchla: "In reality, this means gassing prisoners who are confined in a locked cell and screaming." He described how prisoners were forced to break their cell windows in order to breathe.

On October 16, the entire prison was locked down. Authorities conducted a "shakedown," taking everything, from prisoners' legal papers to members of a family sharing a room. Prisoners' lawsuit has asked $100,000 damages for the gassings and physical abuse suffered in the shakedown. The suit also asks that the prison be put into federal receivership. An earlier suit, filed in June of this year, charged that violence at Starke violated prisoners' constitutional rights. This suit led to a court order in August to transfer several hundred prisoners. Last month, a congressional committee—a group of prisoners—after an eight month investigation of the horrible and brutality of Florida's prison system—recommended hiring more guards, increasing their pay and providing them with more training.

In brief...

Prisoner rights organizations have filed suit in court charging conditions at Louisiana's Angola Penitentiary's punishment camp constitute "torture and excessive cruel and unusual punishment." Included in the charges in the complaint are: guard-on-prisoner brutality—prisoners have been beaten or maced, often while they are handcuffed or shackled; lack of basic medical and psychiatric care; unsanitary conditions; lack of access to rehabilitative work; lack of educational or sufficient recreational programs; denial of books, toiletries, clothing, and communication through the mail; arbitrary and indefinite confinement in Camp J.

ATTENTION FEDERAL PRISONERS! If you subscribe to the Torch/La Antorchla but do not receive your copy every month, we need to hear from you.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is a party plaintiff in a suit challenging the Federal Bureau of Prisons' restrictions on prisoners' mail. In the 1979 Life magazine photo of August 1979, Life reported that Escamilla, pictured here in his cell at Walla Walla prison in Washington, got his black eye for having sex with a prisoner other than the one who "owned" him.

Having exhausted all possible recourse inside, and having met with nothing but prejudice and discrimination, these gay prisoners are seeking help from the outside. Members of the group have contacted organizations such as POSRIP (People Organized to Stop Rape of Imprisoned Persons), the National Prison Project of the ACLU, and the Gaycon Press for support. They are acting on the basis that letters written to the Bureau of Prisons protesting the discrimination against gays in El Reno. The address is: Office of the General Counsel, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C. 20048.

We urge support of these gay prisoners in their struggle against their oppression. Gays in prison are not only victims of the usual harassment and brutality of prison guards and officials, but are also frequently victimized by other prisoners. They're subject to rape, gang rapes, forced prostitution and other forms of sexual abuse including enslavement.

When gay prisoners start to organize themselves in self-defense, their organizations are often broken up by the authorities. The prison administration would rather see them raped and brutalized than to tolerate their organizing. Gay prisoners are, however, despite all obstacles, forming self-defense groups in various prisons. One organization that gives them assistance is POSRIP. Recently formed by a gay ex-prisoner, POSRIP is now forming chapters both inside and outside of prison. For more information, they can be contacted at: POSRIP, P.O. Box 4413, Chicago, IL 60680.
Prisoners Report on Struggles.

**Indiana State Prison**
**Michigan City, Indiana**

On April 27, 1980, prisoners at the Indiana State Prison in Michigan City, Indiana, rebelled after years of oppressive and racist conditions. A cell block and a lock-up unit were seized along with several guards as hostages.

Both Black and white prisoners participated and some of the grievances aired were:
- A lack of proper and adequate medical treatment;
- B. unsanitary and non-nutritious food;
- C. racist disciplinary procedures and beating of prisoners by prison guards;
- D. harassment and intimidation of prisoners and their visitors.

In the aftermath of the April 27 prison rebellion, the prison officials arrested nine Black men (referred to as the Michigan City Nine) out of the multi-racial participants. The MC 9 were charged with eight counts of kidnapping and one count of attempted kidnapping and battery.

Achebe Lateef was one of the prisoners, and transferred to the Pendleton Reformatory, against his will, and without charges being brought against him.

**United States Penitentiary**
**Marion, Illinois**

At Marion federal prison, there has been a struggle going on for the past 10 weeks for better conditions. What I would like to know is why hasn't this been brought to the attention of the public, and why have we been denied the same rights as all other federal prisoners. We have asked only for the same rights which other federal prisoners have been granted for years, but yet this administration considers these demands to be outrageous. Why has this administration put a halt to those lawyers which are raised within this jail to help the Black man in Marion federal prison to obtain their rights by stopping them from all interviews of inmates, but yet they are willing to give statements.

There will be no work here among inmates at Marion federal prison for the remainder of 1980. We have a question which we ask yourself concerning this administration, which is a known fact only to our lawyers and the men within these walls, why has the federal bureau of prisons put a nationwide blackout on this strike against the news media.

Very truly yours, WAH

**Wisconsin State Prison**
**Waupun, Wisconsin**

For years now there has been a continual struggle against the prison administration here at the Waupun State Prison. The actions were leveled at officials on all levels. The guards on the uniform units, making policies in Madison, Wisconsin. And for years they've turned a deaf ear to us, to our desperate plea.

Now the conditions have become unbearable. There is no such thing as due process here. There is no medical treatment. There is no equal protection of the law as guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, all of us in this dungeon, living in "hell!" Men are dying, hanging themselves and perishing from diseases that could have been detected and treated, or had been checked had the administration been concerned. Beatings and macings take place daily, and I mean this literally.

Right now we're trying one last effort: to win some of the suits that will bring some semblance of humanity back to the way this place is run and the way we're treated. Visitors are badgered and harassed, they're turned down for no apparent reason; a man's legal papers are flagrantly torn and deliberately misplaced. More than frequently we're denied the right to have food here in segregation! The despair and depression here is pervasive and spreading like a raging wildfire out of control. It is only with the help of various media publications like yourself that we're going to be able to win our battles in court. You know how important exposure like this is to winning cases in court. People need to know what is really happening!

All of the above violations of our rights are being contested in actions already in court. In addition to this we have writs in, asking the court to release all of the men from segregation because we are being illegally held. Where we're supposed to see what's called the Program Review (which is by law supposed to be held regularly and to consider releases from segregation, recommend transfers to medium and minimum security camps, etc.) every 30 days we don't anymore! This is done, the denial, arbitrarily! We're going to win! The people who are oppressed in this and other countries are going to win! We have to stick together. Divided we fall! United we stand!

Peace and Power,
RAG

**Getting Out Soon?**

Are you being released soon? If so, you can still receive the Torch/La Antorcha FREE for six months. Just let us know where we should send it.

We are providing these FREE six-month subscriptions because we know that you will get out, you don't necessarily have the money for a paid subscription. And we don't want to lose touch with you just because you're out now. In fact, we want and need to tighten our relationship with you—and convince you to join us in building a revolutionary socialist party.

When you're back on the streets, why not pass your copy of the Torch/La Antorcha around? One of the best ways you can help build the Revolutionary Socialist League is by introducing people to our newspaper. And let us know what you're doing when you get home. The struggle doesn't end when you walk out of the cage—it only begins on a different level. Continue to struggle! Contact us in any of our branch cities (see listing on page 16), or write to our National Office and maybe we could arrange to meet you somewhere. There are always lots of activities going on in which your participation and experience could be of benefit. Or there are classes on revolutionary politics you could join.

Finally, we know that a lot of you don't have your own subscription to the Torch/La Antorcha—that you read someone else's copy. If you are being released, you can still get a FREE six-month subscription to the newspaper. Just drop us a line with your new address and the name of the prison you were in.
Detroit Community Fights Destruction by GM

Detroit—More than 40 people held a spirited picket line in front of this city's Community and Economic Development Department (CEDD) office downtown on November 25 to protest the proposed building of a General Motors plant on Detroit's east side.

The GM PROJECT, as it is known, represents an attack on working class and oppressed people in Detroit. It involves driving more than 3,500 people from their homes, closing two GM plants to be replaced by new plants (a net loss of nearly 9,000 jobs), spending over $200 million of taxpayers' money to clear the land, and giving GM an additional $10 million tax abatement annually for 12 years.

The November 25 demonstration was called by the Poletown Neighborhood Council. Two workers from GM's Fleetwood plant, which is slated for closing under the project, also attended. A delegation of demonstrators tried to go inside the building to talk to CEDD head Emmett Moten, Jr. However, police denied them entrance to the public building; a demonstrator who argued with an officer was arrested for disorderly conduct. The arrest only increased the anger and spirit of the demonstration.

The demonstration was planned by a committee chaired by a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League and consisted mostly of Poletown residents. All demonstrators were women members of the community, and the demonstration was made democratically by the committee. Committee members worked hard—writing leaflets, distributing it door-to-door, arranging transportation and so on. One of the main accomplishments of the demonstration is that a nucleus of organizers in the community was built.

**FOR THE POLETOWN NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL**

**DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE GM PROJECT**

** SATURDAY DECEMBER 20 Meet at the Immaculate Conception Parish Hall 12:00 NOON A march through the community will be held, followed by a rally back at the parish hall.**

Detroit Community—Detroit's Poletown Neighborhood Council placed an appeal to the community on November 25. A delegation of demonstrators tried to go inside the building to talk to CEDD head Emmett Moten, Jr. However, police denied them entrance to the public building; a demonstrator who argued with an officer was arrested for disorderly conduct. The arrest only increased the anger and spirit of the demonstration.

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**LABOR IN STRUGGLE**

**IBT dumps Amityville nurses**

On December 2, nurses on strike against the Brunswick General Hospital in Amityville, New York, demonstrated outside the National Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Joint Council headquarters in Manhattan. They were protesting the union bureaucracy's sellout of their struggle. In April 1980, registered nurses at the hospital affiliated with IBT Local 803. On July 11, 83 nurses walked out in a strike for union recognition. When they received little help from Local 803 leaders, they requested assistance from members of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), an opposition group within the IBT.

Local 803 leaders wanted nothing to do with the nurses after they sought help from TDU. On November 17, Local 803 President William Hammer, Jr., sent them a letter saying that the local was dropping all support of the strike because the nurses "had taken actions without our knowledge or consent." In talking with reporters, Local 803's secretary-treasurer, Willard Wagner, linked the local action to the nurses' ties with TDU. He claimed that "all our nurses are voting against the TDU agreement and are jeopardizing the reputation of the local and the IBT." With this threat behind him, Wagner explained, "One TDU member was ar rested on the picket line. They were spray-painting with the word 'IBT' on it. We all are not professionals." (Newsday, November 18, 1980.) Shop steward Jane Agolia denied that the nurses or TDU members were responsible for the alleged "vandalism." She also said that in Amityville, rare occurrences during a strike.

The nurses have formed an independent union, the Brunswick Nurses Association, to carry on their struggle. They are trying to reach out to other nurses in the area by forming a Long Island Coalition of Nurses. In commenting on the IBT's sellout, Agolia declared: "We backed them and they didn't back us. We are still on strike." **Speedup issue in GM strike**

Autoworkers at the General Motors Norwood, Ohio, assembly plant returned to work on November 24 after a strike lasting nearly two weeks. The workers shut the plant on November 12 to protest high production quotas and line speed. The quotas and line speed were set before the plant employed over 5,000 workers. The plant had employed over 5,000 workers in the past year. 3,900 workers were laid off. But management demanded that the 2,000 remaining workers maintain the same work pace and quotas. It also suspended workers without pay if they failed to keep up. In addition to production issues, the workers were fighting management's policy of sending workers to non-union mines and closing new mines. After UMWW leaders denounced the demand, the TVA said in November that it would not close the AMAX and Peabody contracts. Nevertheless, it is continuing to buy coal from non-union mines and is refusing to commit itself to buying the AMAX and Peabody contracts when they expire in 1982.

**TVA use of scab coal hit**

Over 500 coal miners mobilized on December 2 to prevent trucks carrying scab coal from entering the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Paradise steam plant in Drakesboro, Kentucky. Thirty-four miners were jailed after state police charged them with picketing. In July, TVA officials announced plans to cancel their contracts with AMAX and Peabody and buy coal from non-union mines. After UMWW leaders denounced the decision, the TVA said in November that it would not cancel the AMAX and Peabody contracts. Nevertheless, it is continuing to buy scab coal and is refusing to commit itself to renewing the AMAX and Peabody contracts when they expire in 1982.

**TVA officials claim they are trying to strengthen "small, independent coal producers." In fact, their proposed policy is an union-busting operation which would cause the layoffs of hundreds of UMWW members. It would also cost workers whose tax money supports the TVA millions of dollars. Although Peabody's Smokey mine is just a half-mile from the Paradise plant, the TVA is bringing in scab coal from mines 30 to 50 miles away. A study released earlier this year concluded that the TVA's proposal would increase its costs by $3 million to $8 million a year.**

**PHOTO**

Jig Wenz outside St. Joseph Mercy Hospital.
TWO GAY MEN were killed in a fusillade of semiautomatic gunfire as they stood outside two West Street bars in New York's Greenwich Village, November 19.

Their murderer, Ronald Crumpley, age 38, was arrested shortly after driving to the corner of Greenwich Avenue and 10th Street and attempting to kill a group of men standing there. Just minutes before, Crumpley had opened fire and wounded two men at another corner, 10th and Washington.

"I want to kill them all," he told police, "I'll kill them all, the gays. They're no good. They ruin everything, they're gay." The two dead men were Jogi Wenz, doorman at one of the bars, the Ramrod, and Vernon Kroenig, organist at Saint Joseph's church. In addition to the two men wounded on 10th Street, four others were injured at the same time Wenz and Kroenig were killed.

Crumpley, who is Black, is a former New York City Transit Authority cop and the son of a prominent preacher of a Harlem church. There have been reports and some indications that Crumpley is gay.

These random, brazen murders were a chilling reminder that even in the heart of the nation's second-largest gay community, gay people are not safe from the violence spawned by society's homophobia.

The day after the shootings, just over 1,000 people gathered for two marches to protest the killings and honor the dead. Their tone was somber. Many people carried white candles. Flowers were placed at the door of the Ramrod. Someone from Dignity (a gay Catholic organization) led a prayer.

HOVER, SOME anger felt by the marchers came out and there was chanting: "Gay life's not cheap! Gay life's not cheap!" "Where's Koch?" (expressing the feeling that New York Mayor Koch should have attended the march) and "Organize for self-defense!" a chant started by the RSL contingent. But the basic feeling of the demonstration never changed—the crowd was there to mourn the deaths.

Several RSLers got a sharp reaction from people when they spoke, both publicly and in private conversations, about the connection between the Ramrod murders and the racist killings in Buffalo and Atlanta, the acquittal of the KKK in Greensboro and the growth of the right wing. "It was just an isolated nut—just an isolated incident," we were told. But the intensity of which this was said made you wonder. It was the intensity of people trying to convince themselves of what they were saying.

THE FACT IS there is a trend of fear running through the gay community in New York. The election of Ronald Reagan and the encouragement that gave to groups like Moral Majority is part of what's causing it. The increase in attacks on the streets of Greenwich Village (several of which have been reported on in past issues of the Torch/La Antorcha) is another cause.

And the killings on November 19 brought the tears to the surface.

More than one gay man or lesbian has reported finding themselves looking around on the street or in a theater and thinking: "Is that one over there going to pull out a gun and fire—or is this one over here?" Discussions of gun into the closet are becoming as common as discussions of coming out.

There has been a corresponding political retreat. The most radical sections of the gay movement are inactive, and in New York, the moderate wing has even dropped its long-time program of working for a gay rights bill as unreal- lyst and therefore a mistake to organize for.

IT IS easy, in the absence of a movement to defend our rights, to overestimate the people. But the success of the right-wing rhetoric is not pre-ordained. It can be stopped if all the groups under attack—gays, Blacks, women, Latins, undocumented and other workers—begin to unite and organize in our own defense. In the context of such a response, things that seem impossible today, like armed self-defense by gays, women, Blacks and other victims of sexist and racist attacks, become realistic possibilities.

A movement to defend our rights cannot, of course, guarantee any specific individual safety from the actions of a Crumpley. As long as this rotten society we live in exists there can be no guarantees of that. But it can prevent isolation, demoralization and political retreat from taking over in the gay community, and it can end the atmosphere in which right-wingers and maniacs feel that gays are easy targets on the streets.
Nat’l Conference Forms ‘Progressive’ Student Alliances

BY JIAN DANIELS & JOE GALANTI

Over the weekend of November 14-16, nearly 400 people gathered at Kent State University in Ohio to organize a “Progressive Student National Work” (PSN). The Kent State conference was endorsed by over 35 student and radical groups, including many Midwest and East Coast “Progressive Student Alliances,” the National Third World Students Coalition, the March 28th Movement (Madison, Wisconsin), the New Wave Party (Iowa City, Iowa) and others.

Several left organizations also attended. The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), which is in the process of merging with the pro-China Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), was largely responsible for organizing the conference. While there were perhaps as many as 50 RSL/CPML supporters present, neither group had an open presence, intervening instead as members of various Radical Student Unions and activist Student Alliances. Supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League also participated in the conference.

The conference was significant because of the large number of newly radicalized students who attended. In the context of the sharp shift to the right by the U.S. ruling class and the general deepening of the worldwide capitalist crisis, these people came looking for new answers and avenues to organize a militant movement.

The conference maps out plans

The first day of the conference was devoted to speeches, workshops and caucuses. The workshops focused on energy, education, the economy, inter-racial politics and war, electoral politics and minority survival. In addition, caucuses were held for Blacks and minorities, women, and lesbians and gays. (One of the more disappointing aspects of the conference was the limited attendance by Blacks, Latins and other oppressed nationalities, who made up no more than five percent of the conference as a whole.)

The main plenary session was held on the second day of the conference. At the plenary, the conference discussed and voted on a “Main Draft Statement,” resolutions from the workshops and caucuses, and a preliminary organizational structure. The conference also voted to help build a national protest in Washington, supplemented by regional demonstrations, against the incoming Reagan administration on January 20, Inauguration Day.

Key issues debated

Many of the most important discussions at the conference took place in workshops and caucuses. In particular, at the workshops scheduled on the issues of oppressed groups—Blacks, women, lesbians and gays—many amendments were introduced to the conference organizers’ “Main Draft Statement,” aimed at providing a broader and more substantive statement of support for struggles of oppressed people.

The caucus work did not affect the final text of the conference. For example, at the Seoul People’s Assembly, for the first time, there was a formal statement of support for women’s struggles against sexual oppression. “The caucus adopted a more substantive statement of support for women’s struggles against sexual oppression.” The caucus adopted an amendment to the “Main Draft Statement,” aimed at providing a broader and more substantive statement of support for struggles of oppressed people.

Lesbian and gay liberation

During the workshop on “The Lesbian and Gay Movement” and later during the plenary and caucuses, there was a lot of anger and dissatisfaction over the way in which women and lesbians were treated over the conference and the organization.

The conference next adopted, by a vote of 17 to 6, the resolution as a whole. The resolution that was adopted unites the workshop, to be presented to the conference plenary the following day.

Oppose U.S. imperialism

Another key issue which was debated in the workshops was the role of the PSN toward international events. The draft statement submitted by the conference organizers contained a weak formulation that the PSN should explicitly state that the main role of the PSN should be to oppose imperialism. After a good discussion, the RSL amendment was adopted unanimously, to be presented to the conference plenary the following day.

Plenary meets

The first major issue to come up at the Sunday plenary session was the report from the lesbian and gay caucus. In motivating why the conference should pass the resolution adopted by the caucus the previous evening, speakers noted that the failure of the left to support lesbian and gay liberation has hurt both the lesbian and gay movement and other social movements. They explained that the lesbian and gay movement is a weaker force because straight activists and radicals have often not been involved in the lesbian and gay struggle, while at the same time, other progressive movements and the left in general are weaker because lesbians and gays do not feel welcomed.

The conference adopted the caucus motion by an overwhelming vote and followed the resolution with a statement, saying: “The conference adopts the resolution, the resolution from the women’s caucus which strengthened the PSN’s commitment to fight against women’s oppression and for women’s liberation. The adopted statement also took specific note of the special oppression of lesbians and Third World women and emphasized the linking of the struggles of all oppressed people.

Students and the working class

A major issue of debate at the plenary occurred around a section of the “Main Draft Statement” which stated:

“As students, we are in a unique position to facilitate social change. Because our role in society has not yet been solidified, we have more time and freedom to study and act upon the problems confronting us. As the only one who will inherit America’s future, we have high stakes in the decisions that we have made today. The time to begin effecting the necessary progressive social change is now and we should be the first to do it.”

In response, the resolution was adopted, stating that the PSN should: “Oppose all forms of imperialism and foreign domination, in particular U.S. imperialism, in order to support world peace and the independence of all nations.”
Student Network

The Kent State Conference and the Progressive Student Network formed out of it to provide a forum for the beginning of the radical student movement in the U.S. Plans have been made to hold future regional conferences that can draw wider numbers of students and influence local political activities. As the volume of waste grew, so did the dumpers and the amount of pollution. People will use the age-old, go-around arguments that "people aren't ready to hear the truth" or that "a big campaign can't be too left-wing.

The RSL has a different view, which is that the resolution we will put forward is for a mass student movement that will take on the capitalist system. As we fight against the adoption of a truly radical, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist program that can make students an ally of more students and political people. These movements will use the old and go-around arguments that "people aren't ready to hear the truth" or that "a big campaign can't be too left-wing.

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1970 student anti-war demonstration.

An assessment

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By LEE RAMIE
and SUSAN EDMUNDS

In October of 1976, just one month after the death of Mao Zedong, the "Great Helmsman" of the Chinese Revolution and chairman of the Communist Party of China (CPC), four of Mao's closest associates were arrested in Beijing. Labelled the "Gang of Four," the group included Jiang Qing (Mao's wife), Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenying, and Wang Hongwen. All were members of the CPC Politburo or Central Committee, who had reached the peak of their power during the Cultural Revolution (1965-70), when they led the "Cultural Revolution Group" under Mao's direction.

The arrests marked a turning point in the factional struggles that had dominated the life of the CPC virtually since its seizure of power in 1949. In particular, the arrests marked the virtual demise of the "Maoist" faction. Waiting in the wings was Deng Xiaoping, who had been purged from his posts in the CPC and the government during the Cultural Revolution for being a "capitalist-roader," reinstated as vice-premier in 1973, and purged again in April 1976 at the instigation of the "Gang of Four." Shortly after the arrests, Deng re-emerged to begin what was to be a meteoric rise to power, including the consolidation of his faction's control of the huge party/state apparatus that rules China.

Last month, on November 20, in an act of triumph for Deng's faction, the so-called Gang of Four went on trial along with Chen Boda, former member of the CPC Politburo and Mao's secretary and speech writer, and five former generals of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Together, the 10 are accused of committing a wide range of major crimes during the Cultural Revolution and afterwards. These include persecuting 729,511 people and causing the deaths of 34,800; plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai in 1976; and attempting to assassinate Mao himself in 1971.

Under China's legal system, the 10 had already been found guilty before their trial by a Special Procuratorate, which drew upon Deng's and Mao's presented evidence to the court. The purpose of the trials is simply to get the defendants to confess their alleged crimes, to expose those "crimes" publicly, and to decide on punishment. It is believed that the punishment will depend on the degree of cooperation the defendants show in the trials.

To date, the five former generals and Chen Boda have obligingly confessed to all the charges. The "Gang of Four," however, have been somewhat less forthcoming, however. Zhang Chunqiao has so far refused to say anything. Wang Hongwen has confessed having slandered Deng and Zhou Enlai (premier of China until his death in 1975) as plotting to overthrow Mao, but said he was only acting on orders.

In the dock, it is the cult of Mao and the "Gang of Four" that is on trial. One of the more notable aspects of the trials has been the lack of criticism from the rest of the CPC, particularly the "Gang of Four." The trials have themselves been relatively uneventful. One of their more notable aspects has been the lack of political defense on the part of Jiang Qing and the rest of the "Gang of Four." Far more important has been the absence of any show of support for them from any section of Chinese society. In this context, the trials represent the ultimate disgrace of the defendants, particularly the "Gang of Four," who have claimed to be the best defenders of the "masses" against the "capitalist-roader" Deng.

"DeMaoification" campaign

But for Deng, the purpose of the trials went far beyond any desire for mere personal revenge against his adversaries. In fact, the trials are the culmination of a "DeMaoification" campaign waged by Deng and his allies in the past several years. More than the individuals in the dock, it is the cult of Mao and the Cultural Revolution he led that were put on trial and condemned, a point not lost on the Chinese people, even though this has not been explicitly proclaimed by Deng. "Everyone knows it was Mao who gave the orders in the Cultural Revolution, and it is he who should be on trial," one party member told a New York Times reporter (December 6, 1980).

"DeMaoification" has been a crucial element in Deng's drive to consolidate his faction's power in the CPC/state apparatus. When Mao was alive, the official line was—millions of people believed—that he was virtually above reproach, that all problems could be solved by studying and applying "Mao Zedong Thought." Given that, it was Mao who first labeled Deng a "capitalist-roader" and, more importantly as we shall see, opposed Deng's approach to economic development. Deng had long clamored to improve Mao, cut him down to human proportions, and to legitimize the consolidation of Deng's power by using "Maoism" as a political weapon. Thus by 1973, Deng had worked to destroy the cult of Mao—almost all public statues and portraits of the "Great Helmsman" have been removed, for example—and has floated various criticisms of his policies.

In waging this campaign, however, Deng has avoided appearing to throw Mao on the "scrap heap of history" altogether. Since Mao is still seen as the "father of Chinese socialism," Deng is afraid that if he totally discredits Mao, this will cast doubt on the legitimacy of the entire system and hence Deng's own rule.

Thus in an interview with Oriana Fallaci, an Italian journalist, Deng carefully distinguished between Mao's revolutionary contributions and what he called Mao's "feudal mistakes" ("the patriarchal way of running things, the life-long tenure for the official"). As well, what Deng called Mao's "ultra-leftist ideas" in his later years which led to the "Cultural Revolution mistake." He also distinguished between "wrong ideas and mistakes," which he attributes to Mao and actual "crimes," which he charges to the "Gang of Four." (Manchester Guardian, September 21 and 28, 1980.)

What the current trials of the 10 show, above all, is the success with which Deng has carried out this difficult "DeMaoification" campaign without throwing the country into turmoil. In this sense, the trials are the final, almost symbolic act in the consolidation of power by Deng's faction over the Chinese party/state apparatus. The magnitude of this victory, and what it means for China, can best be understood by looking at some of the history and political underpinnings of the factional warfare that raged in the CPC for nearly 30 years.

Roots of the faction fight

When the Communist Party of China drove out Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1949, the problems it faced were as great as the triumph it had scored.

The economy the CPC inherited was extremely backward. With a population of more than the world's population, China had only a tiny industrial base, concentrated along the southern and eastern coasts and in Manchuria in the north. The transportation system held back the development of industry. There were only about 12,000 miles of railroad, for example, and there was a shortage of steel between already existing industrial centers. Meanwhile, about four-fifths of the population—hundreds of millions of people—lived in the countryside, tilling the soil with primitive implements, barely able to eke out a subsistence living.

Moreover, China had suffered under decades of imperialist domination during which China had been carved up and bled dry; what the imperialists didn't take the warlords—provincial army leaders who ruled "their" territory—kept for themselves.

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The fights within the CPC in this period were therefore different from those seen within a single, state-controlled class. The entire party...
Italism by the work-"ent the revolution-"cialism" (Mao) and their territories like China suffered under imperialists. Shek and the Kuo-Victory, the beginnings of a new movement among the CPC with the peasants,primitive economy. The KMT grabbed theKuo faction and won important victories. The return of Deng Xiaoping to power, Deng has also introduced wage differentials for more or less skilled labor processes, and as production bonuses (up to one and a half months' salary for the workers and piecework). It should be noted that workers in both state-owned enterprises now face cuts if their work is not up to "standard" either in quality or quantity.

In order to make this "industry for profit" program viable, Deng is working to build and control a technological, scientific and managerial elite to run the country, paid substantially more than industrial workers. Developing such a layer is important, especially since one of the "legacies" of the Cultural Revolution was the virtual elimination of this layer.

In the agricultural sector, the purchase price of grain has been raised 20 percent and quotas lowered, which has allowed the peasants to sell more of their produce on the free market for their own profit. This resulted in a three percent increase in grain production in 1979 and a greater overall flow of produce to the cities. Finally, Deng is piloting China into an increasingly close alliance with the United States, Africa and Western imperialism. China has already signed trade agreements totaling $80 billion with Japan. Negotiations are proceeding with U.S. oil companies for rights to China's offshore oil.

So far, Deng appears to have scored a remarkable success in implementing his program. Yet Deng's strategy is as potentially dangerous to him and his successors as it was to Mao's. The return of a more traditional capitalist approach to development will bring with it all the problems of traditional capitalism. Higher wages in the absence of a strong light industry/consumer goods sector is leading to inflation, as increasingly money chases not enough goods. The profit motive in enterprises is leading to worsening working conditions and unemployment, as each enterprise seeks to get the most work out of few workers as possible. Similarly, hundreds of thousands of Chinese are leaving the cities to assume the duties in the rural areas, finding better-paying jobs. Many are finding no jobs and are forced to turn to prostitution and crime. And, most of all, the gap between the different strata and classes is more visibly widening, potentially leading to increased struggle among them. Eventually, the Deng strategy will come up against the central antagonism of capitalism in all its forms: the class struggle between capitalist and worker.
Ultra-Rightists Plan Coup in El Salvador

(Continued from page 1)

quickly denied any connection to the killings. Almost no one believes them, however. Credit for the attacks was claimed by a right-wing death squad called the Maximiliano Hernandez Brigade. The group is taken from a Salvadorean general who crushed a peasant rebellion in the 1930s by terrorizing the countryside. Although such rightist paramilitary groups maintain an organizational identity from the junta and receive their pay from large Salvadorean landowners and capitalists, there is a high degree of cooperation, between the armed forces and them.

To further terrorize the left and the Salvadorean workers and peasants, the same Maximiliano Hernandez death squad bombed the San Salvadorean cathedral where the bodies of the dead FDR leaders were on public display. Three people were injured in the blast and some of the corpses were further mutilated. The next day, five youths were killed in Soyapango, their bodies covered with a poster signed “Anti-Communist Brigade—National Resistance.”

Public funeral held

In an immediate response to the FDR massacre, the Popular Revolutionary Army (FMLN) announced on November 27 that it would not allow the sale of weapons through the capital. At a press conference, new leaders of the FDR announced a call was issued for a massive funeral march on December 3. Plans for the march were abandoned, however, when it became clear that relatively few Salvadoreans were willing to risk their lives in the confrontation. Instead, a public funeral was held, attended by 1,500 people.

One day earlier, right-wing vigilantes, probably aided by government security forces, kidnapped and killed three non-Salvadorean workers, including Armando Mendez. In response, the U.S. government suspended normal trade relations with El Salvador. The FMLN sent a statement to the United States, accusing the U.S. government of being complicit in the massacre.

As a result of these atrocities, the Salvadorean liberation forces have been forced to the defensive, while the right continues to grow bolder. Although the junta’s military campaign in Morazan province has stabilized, the left forces themselves have not been able to advance. In addition to their top political leadership,哦, went on strike for the first time in 20 years.

U.S. liberals want ‘Zimbabwe solution’

Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism continues to debate their options. The weakened liberal allies continue to appeal for a constitutional settlement. This appears to have no chance of success. A growing right-wing, closely associated with President-elect Reagan, favors a direct military solution, including more U.S. combat equipment for the junta and the dispatch of more U.S. counter-insurgency specialists to train the Salvadorean armed forces inside the country.

Rumors of an ultra-right coup everywhere. Two


World in Revolution

Baby Doc cracks down on opposition

President Jean-Claude Duvalier’s repressive regime in Haiti began turning up hundreds of political dissidents on November 28. Among those arrested were the entire staffs of two radio stations, reporters on the weekly newspaper, Le Petit Samedi Soir, and Gregoire Eugene, head of the oppositional Christian Democratic Party, who was jailed in early October. The most sweeping crackdown in Haiti since Duvalier (Baby Doc) took power in 1971, Duvalier is reacting to the increasing popular opposition he has faced in recent months. In August, a three-day revolt against the local Tombs Marche (government thugs organized in the so-called Volunteers for National Security) broke out in Gonaives. A few days later, hundreds of protesters went into the streets of Les Cayes to demonstrate against the government’s decision to end its support for the town’s writ (a plant used to make screens and frames) industry. Earlier, in June, thousands of people demonstrated against the brutality of a police chief in Cap-Haitien, while in July public workers in the national capital, Port-au-Prince, went on strike for the first time in 20 years.

The government especially wants to silence domestic critics of its economic policies. It is hardly a coincidence that the recent crackdown took place only a week before Haitian officials were scheduled to meet with representatives of the International Monetary Fund and the Joint Commission of International Donors, a committee of international bankers who provide loans to the government. These agencies have poured millions into Haiti in an effort to stabilize capitalist rule in the country. But they are increasingly critical of the wholesale government corruption and mismanagement which have reduced foreign exchange reserves from $2 million to $4 million in the past year.

Uruguay: Referendum vote stings junta

On November 30, the people of Uruguay dealt a stunning defeat to the country’s right-wing military regime. By a 58-42 percent margin, they voted to reject a constitution that would have dissolved Congress and set up a Council of State composed mainly of top-ranking officers to run the country. The council was ousted Bordaberry himself in 1976 and replaced him with a puppet president, Aparicio Mendez. But in 1976 the council promised to allow elections for a new Congress in 1981. The proposed constitution was designed to deny the people of Uruguay dealt a stunning defeat to the country’s right-wing military regime. By a 58-42 percent margin, they voted to reject a constitution that would have dissolved Congress and set up a Council of State composed mainly of top-ranking officers to run the country.

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Poland and the Crisis of the Left

DECEMBER 12—As we go to press, several hundred thousand Russian troops, and those of other Warsaw Pact Pact countries, are reported massed near Poland’s border, threatening that country with an invasion to suppress the Polish left. These efforts to repudiate Solidarnosc (Solidarity) are conducted in a manner that threatens the survival of Poland as an independent state. It is rumored that the Russians have assumed control of the high command of the Polish army in Warsaw.

In recent weeks, the Russian state capitalists, along with their counterparts in Eastern Europe, have stepped up their denunciations of Solidarnosc. As if to justifyarmed intervention, they are increasingly pointing to alleged counter-revolutionaries who are supposedly trying to exploit the situation in order to destabilize “Polish socialism.”

Although it is difficult to predict, it appears likely that the Russians will invade Poland within the next few weeks in order to prevent the popular struggles in that country from spreading to other countries of Eastern Europe and thus threatening the existence of state-capitalist rule and Russian control over the area.

A Russian invasion might be forestalled if the Polish workers repudiated Solidarnosc and gave up their struggles for trade union rights, political rights and a better life entirely—but this is hardly likely.

It is also possible that the Polish army and police might succeed in “restoring order” in Poland, thereby relieving the Russians of having to do this. While the Russians would prefer such a “Polish” solution to their problems, it is unlikely that the Polish soldiers (and even some officers) can be counted on to act in the best interest of their comrades and the Polish people. It is especially likely that the troops will be as ruthless as the hated Russian government. As a result, it is highly likely that Russian troops will be marching into Poland in the relatively near future.

Deepening international tensions

A Russian invasion of Poland would result in the global repercussions, have a particularly strong impact on the left, which is already undergoing a significant crisis.

Many, if not most, left organizations in the United States today consider Russia, the countries of Eastern Europe, China, and the Soviet Union to be workers’ states or socialist societies and defend them as progressive v-a-v socialist capitalisms. They take this position despite the fact that these are state-capitalist societies, in which the majority of the people—workers and peasants—are brutally oppressed and exploited by ruling classes and are denied virtually all political rights.

At the same time, however, these organizations also claim to be fighting against injustice, all forms of racial and sexual oppression, and economic exploitation, and for the creation of a society that will bring about human freedom.

As a result, these left groups are standing on political quicksand. Every time one of the state-capitalist regimes perpetrates some obviously brutal and reactionary act, an act that suggests the true nature of these societies, the contradiction in the politics of these organizations is revealed, and one or more of them undergo some sort of crisis.

This crisis tends to have two aspects. On the one hand, these organizations have become increasingly isolated from broad sectors of U.S. society, most who are not members or supporters of left groups do not believe that the state-capitalist societies are as progressive as the radicals claim, and most who believe these societies are as progressive as the radicals claim do not believe that the state-capitalist societies are as progressive as the radicals claim.

Most members of the left who consider the state-capitalist societies to be progressive do so because they believe that these countries are fighting for a better future, for a future free of the brutality that exists in these societies, for a future in which the majority of the people are free from oppression and exploitation.

The result would be a significant heightening of international tensions and a new arms race along with increased domestic repression.

Impact on the left

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Left contributes to its own crisis

Thus while the left’s crisis is to a degree the result of objective factors (such as the ebbing of the mass social movements of the 60s and early 70s), it is also the result of the left’s own making. When working people (or others) in this country turn away from the left in the wake of some atrocity committed by the Russian (or Chinese, or whatever) state-capitalist society, it is hardly a reflection of these people’s ignorance, stupidity or gullibility— as many leftists think.

When people react with disgust against the brutality of these regimes—and turn against Marxism and socialism in the process—this isn’t the result of people being fooled by “imperialist propaganda.” This propaganda is only as effective as it is because the state-capitalist regimes conform to what the imperialists say about them. They are as rotten as Time magazine or whatever say they are. Insofar as a Russian invasion of Poland will tend to isolate and discredit the left among large sectors of U.S. society, therefore, this is to a great degree because the left has discarded itself. That is, it has squandered its political capital by being apologists for (and even worse, the imitators of) thoroughly anti-working class, anti-socialist and anti-fascist regimes.

Looking at this in context, the present crisis of the left is not fundamentally an ideological one or—if we can use a non-materialist expression—a spiritual one. It is a crisis of the very definition of the left, of what it really stands for and what it really wants. Does it stand primarily for the nationalization of the means of production and planning, even if these nationalized means of production are controlled and the planning carried out by horrid police regimes? Or does it stand for human freedom, including a free and human society actually run by working class and oppressed people, a society that is better in every way than the society it wishes to replace?

Reject state capitalism

We do not know, of course, what precise effects a Russian invasion of Poland would have on the left. We do know that it would give those revolutionaries who understand the state-capitalist nature of the Stalinist regimes a crucial opportunity to argue for the point of view within the left as well as among non-leftist working class people.

We also realize that the present conjuncture involves tremendous responsibilities. If we are going to build a truly revolutionary working class movement in this country, we must make it absolutely clear that we want nothing to do with corrupt cynical regimes that perpetrate horrendous crimes in the name of socialism and communism.

The times are past when large numbers of people are going to believe that police states are really people’s paradise. And it will not be possible to convince them to commit their time, energy, money and lives for a substitute form of tyranny. The left will find that if it fails to repudiate both capitalism and tradition and reject state capitalism and fight for a truly free society, it might as well cede the fight to the bourgeoisie, liberals and social democrats who will channel the workers’ energy into reforming an unremorable system, disenchant and demoralize them, and leave them incapable of fighting the capitalist offensive and the growing fascist threat. That is the challenge presented by the events in Poland today.
**EDITORIAL**

Congress moves against civil rights gains

On December 4, Congress passed legislation which, if enacted, would strike a blow against the use of busing to ensure integration of public schools. This legislation, actually an amendment to the 1981 appropriations bill, would forbid the Justice Department to initiate or participate in court actions to enforce public school integration through busing programs. The amendment represents an attempt by anti-busing forces in Congress to get around Supreme Court decisions upholding the legality of busing. Although the right wing would like to pass a law outlawing busing altogether, it does not want to do so now because the Supreme Court, with its present composition, is likely to declare such legislation unconstitutional.

The passage of the anti-busing amendment involves a lot more than the issue of busing itself. While busing, in our view, has not proven effective in either eliminating segregation or providing quality education for the majority of Black people, it is often the only available means of fighting segregation in local school systems. Moreover, busing has been used by the right-wing movement to whip up racism among whites and build up its political base. As the ruling class as a whole has shifted to the right, the campaign against busing has become one of the driving wedges of a much broader campaign against the rights and needs of Blacks and other oppressed people in the U.S. today.

The anti-busing amendment will not become law this year. On December 5, President Carter threatened to veto the appropriations bill if the anti-busing amendment was not removed or modified. This threat compelled anti-busing forces in Congress to give up their attempt to push through the amendment on December 4. Congress must pass a kind of appropriations bill before it adjourns in order to provide the federal government with the funds it needs to operate. It would have taken a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress to override a presidential veto and pass the appropriations bill with the amendment attached. Supporters of the amendment in the Senate apparently did not have enough votes to do this.

At most, a Carter veto threat was a symbolic gesture which will not stop the anti-busing campaign. The Republicans in the Senate dropped their fight for the amendment only in return for a deal with Senate Democrats over fair housing legislation. Congress passed a fair housing law in 1981, but did not include effective enforcement provisions in the bill. For 12 years, Congress made no effort to repair this law. But right after the passage of the anti-busing amendment, Democratic Democrats brought up a bill that would give the Department of Housing and Urban Development the power to file discrimination complaints before a judge appointed by the Justice Department. This judge would be able to impose fines of up to $10,000 against violators of the fair housing law. On December 5, in a straight party-line vote, Democrats forced Republicans to end a filibuster aimed at preventing the bill from coming to the Senate floor. The next day, Democratic and Republican leaders worked out an agreement in which the Democrats promised to let the bill die if they lost either a second vote to bring the bill to the floor or a roll call vote on a motion to end debate on the bill. Then on December 9, 12 Democrats voted with Republicans against ending debate. This effectively killed the bill.

These maneuvers reflect the strategies of the various sections of the ruling class. The right wing is pressing for a full-scale attack on Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. Strom Thurmond, the Republican Senator from South Carolina, who will chair the Senate Judiciary Committee in the incoming Congress, is a major proponent of this approach. Thurmond is an old-time Southern segregationist who ran a third-party campaign for president on a racist "states' rights" platform in 1948. He was also a die-hard opponent of civil rights legislation both as governor of South Carolina and as a Senator. Now he wants to scuttle the 1965 Voting Rights Act when it comes up for renewal in 1981. Such proposals are gaining at least partial backing from so-called moderates in the ruling class who in the past have given token support to the rights of Blacks, Latins and other oppressed people.

The more liberal wing of the ruling class, however, opposes such a straight-out approach. It wants to move more slowly and in a "fairer" way. It is primarily concerned that the right-wing strategy will alienate oppressed people entirely from the system and encourage more radical actions to defend their rights. Liberal and moderate Democrats in particular want to maintain Blacks and Latinos as their political base, especially in the aftermath of the Republican sweep in the elections. This is why they are now making some moves to try to show that they, and the Democratic Party as a whole, are the "friends" of Black people.

The hypocrisy of these maneuvers is demonstrated by the record of Congress over the past year. It was this Democratic-controlled Congress, not the new one, that passed the anti-busing amendment. This same Congress also slashed CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) job programs by 40 percent and cut the federal food-stamp program for 1981. The House Judiciary Representatives, where Democrats had a 276-159 majority in the past year, passed legislation which would prevent federal spending on programs that use numerical goals for organizing the militant masses of Black people. In the incoming Congress, Is a Liberal and moderate Democratic Party as a whole, to heel 1981 appropriations bill, numbers of Democrats also Senate Judicary Committee actions to defend their rights. the liberals and the Demo­

The REAL lesson of the busing vote is that Black people should not look to any section of the ruling class in their struggle for equality. The capitalists can and will try to talk away the gains Black people have won whenever it suits their interests to do so.

To defend themselves, the masses of Black people must begin building their own organizations totally indepen­

defence of the capitalists and capitalist politicians. For al­
lies, Black people should look to militant white workers, Latins, women, lesbians and gays, and other oppressed people who are also facing attacks from the right wing and ruling class as a whole. An alliance among these groups can be the first step in organizing the militant mass workers' movement that will be necessary to defend the rights and needs of all working and oppressed people.

—BY PAUL BENJAMIN

**Political debt squashed**

Apparent impact of the new Democratic leadership means to press them to the view from being

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Black Independent Party

(Continued from page 3) the North Carolina delegation, thought it was better for anti-Klan work to be carried out by "other networks." Ron Daniels said the party should be the center of a national mobilization "to bring massive and unrelenting pressure on the government at all levels to bring to heel the murderers at Greensboro, and the KKK, Nazis and Klaw-like, Nazi-like groups all across this land." But point 15 of the New York document calls for the party to "create institutions for both our individual and collective self-defense" against the Nazis and Klan because "African people through bitter experience, have learned we cannot rely on the forces of repression (i.e., police, FBI, CIA) for our personal safety."

Political discussion squashed

Apparently afraid of the impact of the radical forces at the convention, the NBPA leadership made every effort to prevent the radical point of view from being directly introduced onto the convention floor.

The first session of the convention occurred on Friday night. This session was devoted exclusively to welcoming remarks and speeches and little of substance was accomplished. However, one of the members of the convention organizing committee, Harold Simmons, took the opportunity to warn of "some who have come with the intention of disrupting," without specifying who those "some" might be.

Saturday was suddenly taken up by state caucus meetings. Saturday evening was the first session of the convention to actually take up the question of founding a party.

At the beginning of the business session of this section, the Illinois delegation attempted to introduce the New York document as an alternative to the proposed charter. Chairperson Daniels, however, ruled them out of order, otherwise, citing a rule adopted on Saturday morning that made the charter commission's document the "basis for amendment" and disallowed amendments that departed whole sections of the charter and replaced them with something else.

For nearly 30 minutes there was a shouting match between the chair and the New York/Illinois delegates. One New Yorker claimed that he had not fought over the rules that were made because they thought they had an agreement with the NBPA people that New York's statement of principles would be included along with the charter commission's structure and that now they were being doublecrossed.

However, the NBPA forces prevailed and presented the New York document from reaching the floor. The session then turned to a discussion of amendments, particularly on the party's name and membership requirements. Throughout this process, there was shouting, chaos and sporadic attempts by New York/Illinois delegates to speak their minds despite the rules. Marable and Ron Daniels (the most well-known of the Wilmington 10 and someone who works closely with the Communist Party) both left the stage and attempted to "calm down" the New York delegation. Chavis, who is respected for his militancy by many New York delegates, included in his speech a demand to the convention a condemnation of "some who have come to prevent us from ratifying this charter," and urged New York on Saturday night to back off and accept the proposed charter. Finally, at 11 p.m., Daniels adjourned the meeting, citing "the general confusion" as the reason.

All previously scheduled activities were cancelled Sunday morning as a consequence of the members of the convention organizing committee and the heads of the state delegations attempted to work out a compromise. Also included in the meeting, although he did not fall into either category, was Chavis. Several reports have him playing a key role in working out an agreement.

"To save this party and to build it, we have to have some input in it from the bottom up," a supporter of the New York document said. "The Torches/La Antorchas as we sat around Saturday morning working for the closed meeting to break up and announce its results. "I see the two documents as fundamentally opposed. One is talking about the interests of the masses, the other about the particular interests of the few. It's hard to resolve all that's lying up this convention."

By noon an agreement was nailed down, announced to the press, and then taken into a plenary session. It had five points:

1) There would be another convention in July or August.
2) The New York-proposed charter, along with the few amendments passed on Saturday, would be in effect until the summer convention, except for the sections on goals and the preamble, which are to be free to ignore.
3) Instead of the officers described in the charter, a National Party Organizing Committee would be elected that would be broadly representative.
4) A new charter review committee would be set up to work out a proposal for the next convention.
5) State and local branches would be mandated to have mini-conventions between now and the national convention next summer.

After discussion of some minor amendments to the compromise agreement, it was passed by the conven­tion. The agreement of Saturday was devoted to electing people to fill the newly created committees.

Black party would be major step

Despite its meager results, the convention was not a total failure. Just having 1,400 activists from 26 states come together to discuss forming an independent Black party was significant. Certainly, the formation of a political party actually committed to fighting for the needs of Black people in the U.S. and truly independent of the Capitol class would be a step forward.

Unfortunately, it is not all clear just how independent of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democratic Party, the National Black Independent Party is going to be. On the one hand, there was plenty of anti-Democratic Party rhetoric to be heard at the convention. For example, Barbara Sizemore said: "There is only one party, that is the capitalist party of America. It has two branches, the Republicans and the Democrats."

On the other hand, such talk is belied by more concrete indications. The fact that David Richardson, a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania state legislature, was a member of the convention organizing committee and addressed the first session of the convention is not an encouraging sign. Nor is the fact that Barbara Arri­wine told reporters that she had several elected local officials (most likely Democrats) line up to run on the Black party. Electing Demo­crats under a new label is a rather limited kind of independence. Finally, some important figures at the convention, including Daniels, explicitly call for a policy of endorsing "progressive Democrats" in local and statewide elections.

These and other issues will be discussed and wrangled over in the coming months. At its close, the National Black Independent Political Party Convention was united by a whole but an agreement to postpone the fight until the party convention next summer. The discussion between now and then, and at the convention itself, will determine whether the organization lives or dies, and whether it becomes an organization of the Black masses or one devoted, in the words of the supporter of the New York document, to "the particular interests of the few."