

# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE



VOLUME 7, NUMBER 8

AUGUST 15-SEPTEMBER 14, 1980 / 25¢

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## Miami Rebels Proclaim:

# “Racism Begets Revolution”

By PAUL ALDRIDGE

On May 17, the first Black rebellion of the '80s shook Miami, Florida, and sent shock waves across the U.S. After four days of fighting, 18 people were dead, dozens injured, 1,200 arrested and millions of dollars in property damage done. Important in itself, the Miami rebellion was not an isolated event. Black people in Chattanooga, Tennessee; Flint, Michigan; Orlando, Florida; and, again, in Miami have clashed with the cops during the last two months. These confrontations mark the beginning of a new stage in the struggle against racist oppression in the U.S.

The following is a brief account of the events which took place in the four cities in the last three weeks of July.

• **July 12**—In the early evening, 500 Black residents of Flint, Michigan, threw rocks and bottles at cops investigating a reported shooting in a Black neighborhood. For four hours, the cops blockaded an area four blocks long and two blocks wide in an attempt to contain the fighting. By the time the crowd was dispersed shortly after midnight, several store windows and cop cars had been trashed, two cops injured and three Black people arrested.

The confrontation was provoked by the racist murder of 15-year-old William Taylor, Jr., by police officer Gerald Collins on July 8. Collins shot Taylor in the back of the head with a shotgun when the youth supposedly failed to halt near the scene of an alleged robbery. Witnesses at the scene reported that Taylor had stopped and was raising his hands over his head when he was gunned down. This was the second time in two years that Collins was responsible for the murder of a Black youth. His suspension from the



Chattanooga cops take cover during July rebellion.

police force did little to cool the anger of Blacks in the city. Taylor's murder was the sixth police shooting of young Blacks in Flint in the last 24 months.

• **July 15**—Renewed rioting broke out in the Black Liberty City section of Miami after cops brutalized two Black youths (Continued on page 4)

By MIKE EVERETT

## Nazis and Klan Get Permit to March in Detroit; Labor/Community Fightback Needed

DETROIT, August 10—Members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis have been granted a permit to march and rally here on August 23.

The Detroit City Council voted 5-3 on July 31 to grant the racists a permit and police protection. The Detroit area is in the midst of a Klan/Nazi campaign of racist terror, propaganda and recruitment. Last month, a series of violent racist attacks erupted on this city's southwest and west sides. (See last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*.) Klan/Nazi involvement was clear. But despite these facts—and the fact that over 600 people gathered at the city council hearings on the permit to oppose allowing these racist terrorists the opportunity to march—the city council voted to give them a permit.

Throughout the summer, racist attacks in Detroit have been escalating. Underscoring the Nazi/Klan threat, on (Continued on page 5)

**our  
readers  
write...**

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10116

## Overcrowding worsens at Somers prison

Dear Editor,

In the May/June issue of *Torch* you published an article that claimed that the Connecticut State Prison at Somers, Connecticut, planned to build a dormitory in the prison recreation area. This is now a reality.

Commissioner of the prison system, John R. Manson, and warden of the Connecticut State Prison, Carl Robinson, have ordered that one-third of the indoor recreation area be converted into a massive dormitory for prisoners. So far 34 beds have been installed in this area, with plans for a total of 200 beds by the onset of winter. Prisoners are now being housed in this growing dormitory.

Thus at the beginning of inside recreation this coming winter, Connecticut prisoners will find themselves with one-third less room to move around in. Though this prison is now 150 prisoners over its maximum rated capacity, more than a hundred new prisoners will be packed into the new dormitory—thus grossly overloading all prison facilities such as the visiting room, the library, the mess hall, the hospital, and the industries area.

Already more than 25 percent of the prisoners being held captive in the Somers prison are idle. This figure will increase as new prisoners are packed into the new dormitory. This is a sure-fire method to start a riot, and riot is the plan. The criminals who administer the Connecticut State Prison are complaining that they do not have enough money, though they have \$44 million for 1980 alone, and they hope that a massive riot will enable them to swindle the state government out of huge capital funds appropriations for new prisons. And as we all know, such state funds come from the people—the common people—not the rich, and not from business.

As if this is not bad enough, the prison administrators have begun to throw new prisoners into solitary confinement because there are often no other cells available for new admissions, in spite of the new dormitory. These prisoners have done nothing to merit punishment, but our prison personnel, criminals themselves, throw these prisoners into solitary confinement, under all solitary confinement conditions, because there is not enough room.

The criminals in the Connecticut State Prison are the prison administrators. We prisoners have a lot to learn before we can equal the massive human rights violations of our captors.

Lawrence J. Pelletier, Jr.  
Ron Simmat  
Somers, Connecticut

## "We must defend the rights of everyone"

Dear Torch:

I think the League paper is an excellent revolutionary paper. I've read a few of the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) paper, the *Militant*—they use revolutionary slogans and reformist tactics, and revolutionaries don't run for president pretending to change the system when the only change for this capitalist system is total destruction. I've read some of the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) literature during the time of their May Day campaign, which was kind of unorganized. Well they were organized but negative, using strongarm tactics to win working people on their side.

When I started reading and receiving the *Torch*, I would

ask myself, why is the League so interested in defending the rights of gay people? I'm not anti-gay, I believe that people are born with the natural freedom which nature has given to everyone to dispose of himself according to his or her will and I respect that human right, but I couldn't understand how gays were going to fit in the revolution.

I preconceived that narrow conviction from the APSP [African People's Socialist Party—Ed.] newspaper the *Burning Spear* before I started receiving the *Torch*. They had an anti-gay article in their paper stating: homosexuality in Black men and women will not be tolerated, homosexuals are weak and cannot help lead the fight to liberate Black people

from the hands of U.S. capitalism, etc. It sounded pretty logical at that time because of my low level of political understanding, and a Black revolutionary party has to sound strong and show some kind of strength to attract and win people on their side. I understand now in order to get working class and oppressed people ready for revolution you have to stress and defend the rights of everyone and gays are a great part of the oppressed masses. This is how I distinguish the League from other parties; most parties are revolutionary in words but not in deeds. I see that the League is willing to communicate and educate people to defend themselves against capitalism and fight for revolution.

The APSP uses a lot of Mao phrases and concepts, revolutionary slogans which attract large forces of Black people who are tired of being attacked by right-wing forces and racists alike, tired of being oppressed and used by the system. But their tactics and political strategy for leading Black people and making revolution are backward and limited due to the internal conflicts inside their party and outside. I read the response in *Burning Spear* to Wadood [who wrote: "I was surprised that you didn't have anything to say in regards to the February 2nd Anti-Klan march in Greensboro."]. I think they were full of shit. Here are a few lines the APSP wrote in response: "While we are/were in support of the Greensboro marches, we do not view them as strategically important enough to drop already made plans." That statement indicates exactly where their heads are. The demonstration and marches were the right time to meet and unite with the revolutionary groups to plan a strategy to fight the Klans and Nazis. That chauvinistic attitude will keep the struggle down and the most oppressed and working class people divided.

On nationalism I believe Black people have the right to separate as a nation and the right to fight for self-determination and this could only happen through a successful socialist revolution against American imperialism, though nationalism has a reformist or reactionary tendency which has to be fought in order for Black people to have complete freedom.

Closing for now.  
Comradely regards,  
Reginald Frank  
Soledad

## From a Virgin Islands' freedom fighter

Dear People,

Just recently I read your paper for the first time and I was very enthused with your work, especially your coverage on the struggle in Jamaica.

I myself am a freedom fighter from the Virgin Islands and for the past seven years I have been incarcerated illegally here inside U.S. prisons.

There is a growing number of freedom fighters as myself

from the Caribbean area who have been shanghaied from their native land and placed in exile. The government of these islands, according to Virgin Islands law statutes, did not have the authority to enter into a prisoner contract agreement with the federal Bureau of Prisons when they first began to unlawfully send us here. Most of us were sent here without any evidentiary hearings and now the courts are refusing to honor the law and grant us these hearings.

The political scene in the Virgin Islands is quite similar to that in Jamaica in that U.S. undermining is steadily on the move. This is why U.S. prisons are filled with those Virgin Islanders who would dare to fight against U.S. expansionism.

There is no organized vanguard at present in the Virgin Islands so the government mercenaries are free to viciously attack young Brothers and force them to flee their homeland if they fail to compromise with the lackey government.

The United States is on the move to bend or break the leftist resistance in the Caribbean and they are well succeeding in the Virgin Islands. They can only be halted if our neighboring Brothers and Sisters and other comrades throughout the world take notice and aid and assist our small country that is being preyed upon by the U.S. vampires.

In struggle,  
H.S.  
Terre Haute, Indiana

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# "Respect and Dignity"—Key Issues in Militant S.F. Hotel Strike

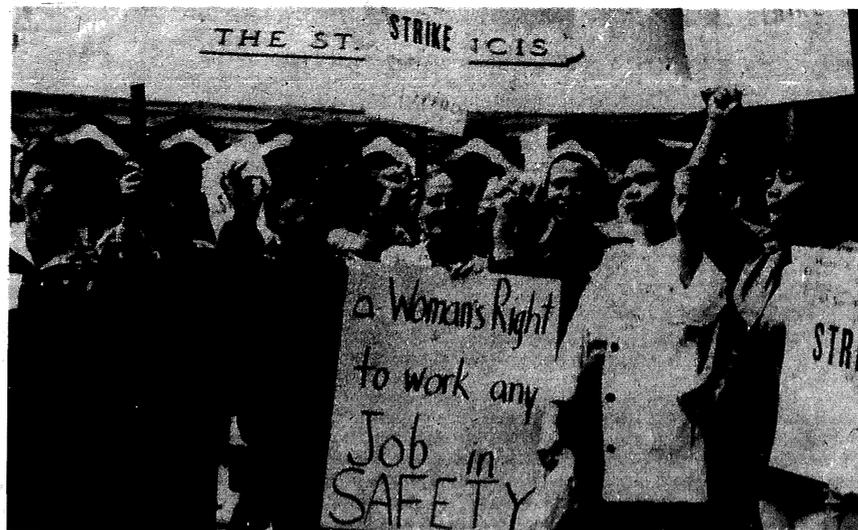
By a  
STRIKING HOTEL WORKER

**SAN FRANCISCO**—Six thousand hotel workers struck or were locked out at 36 of San Francisco's largest hotels on July 17. It was the first major strike to hit this city's largest industry in 39 years. The striking workers include maids, porters, cooks, dishwashers, stewards, waiters and waitresses—the lowest-paid workers in a chronically low-paying industry. The outcome of the strike will set a pattern for the industry nationwide.

The demands of the union, Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, include sick pay, promotion by seniority, fair vacation pay, reduced work loads for maids, increased paid holidays, affirmative action and wage increases of 14 percent a year. The Hotel Employers Association has responded by trying to eliminate over 50 provisions in the current contract and offering wage increases averaging eight percent annually. The average wage is currently \$4.50 an hour.

The strikers have waged a militant fight to back up their demand for a decent contract. Eighty arrests have occurred in the strike's first two weeks, including the arrest of local union President Charles Lamb.

During the first week of the strike picketers used whistles, drums, empty cans and sticks as noise makers to drive the unwanted tourists from their hotels. After three days of ear-splitting noise the police moved to silence the strikers. Following the police action the courts issued injunctions limiting the union to two picketers at each hotel entrance, but the police—aware that enforcing the measure would mean mass arrests—have declared it a civil matter and declined to take any



action.

Despite the attacks from the cops and courts, the picket lines have remained relatively strong. Some strikers have launched a campaign to intimidate and harass scabs, often following them home or using bullhorns to let everyone know what they are as they travel the streets. In addition, numerous scab cars have been disabled. These activities point out the need for union-organized self-defense committees to take direct action against scabs during strikes, as well as to defend workers against racist and fascist attacks at all times.

## Labor solidarity with strikers

With 17,000 members, Local 2 is the largest local in San Francisco. Its current strike could lead to a revitalization of the Bay Area labor movement. Labor solidarity will



Police drag off striker outside Hyatt Regency Hotel.

play a key role in the outcome of the strike. During the third week of the strike a united labor rally and march were held in the city's hotel district. Over 2,000 people gathered and marched, including representatives of the teamsters, longshore, auto-workers, musicians, office workers, teachers, service workers and retail clerks unions. The previous weekend a march of 500 was put together by rank and file activists from various Bay Area unions. A third even larger rally is planned for August 23.

Despite these impressive displays of unity, some union bureaucrats have chosen to try to sabotage the strike. Although the strike has been sanctioned by the Teamster Joint Council, the Teamster local representing the 1,200 desk clerks and accounting employees at the hotels has been less than cooperative. The local has declared that it's up to the individual member to decide whether or not to cross the picket line. Faced with the lack of labor solidarity from their leadership an estimated 80 percent of the desk clerks and accounting personnel are working. Laundry workers who are in a second Teamster local are also engaging in large-scale strike breaking.

Most members of the Stationary Engineers Union, the other major union at the hotels, however, are respecting the picket line, as are the Teamsters who make deliveries.

The strike is a direct result of the rank and file activity in Local 2. Prior to 1978 the local was run by one Joseph Belardi, who permitted no dissent or democracy within the

union. Under his regime a five-year contract was signed with hotels and always renegotiated during the fourth year.

Insurgents won union elections in 1978 but were soon ousted by the union's International leadership, who put the local in trusteeship. Last year a candidate acceptable to the International, Charles Lamb, won the first election for president after trusteeship. Lamb has been forced to maintain a militant stance by the membership and various rank and file committees. In June, hotel workers voted 2,845 to 192 for a strike, letting Lamb know exactly how they felt about the current contract. In addition, Workers for a Strong Union, a broad opposition group, won 12 of the 25 elected seats on the 35-member negotiating committee. The somewhat more militant Program for 1980 won five seats.

## Better jobs reserved for whites

Demands for affirmative action and promotion by seniority are especially critical in this local, where the membership is 40 percent Asian, 30 percent white, 20 percent Spanish-speaking and 10 percent Black. In addition, 80 percent of the strikers are women and large numbers are gay. Affirmative action is strongly opposed by the hotel management. At stake are the better-paying jobs of waiter, waitress and bartender. Hotel management wants to maintain total control over promo-

tion into these jobs, citing the need to maintain the proper image. Their image has meant that these occupations have remained overwhelmingly white.

## Workers determined to win

The strike, now in its second month, is turning into a major test of strength between the workers and the bosses. The mood on the picket lines has changed from the joyous exhilaration which began the strike. In the early days of the strike the presence of masses of screaming pickets on every block made it seem as though a general strike had hit downtown San Francisco.

After a month of arrests and physical attacks from both security guards and guests, however, the mood has become one of grim determination to win the strike. The strikers have been encouraged by the knowledge that their actions are having a significant impact on the hotels and the city as a whole. After the third week of the strike the city's Convention and Visitors Bureau estimated that the city has lost \$10 million in convention business and millions more in individual tourist trade. The losses are expected to mount as the city enters its heavy convention period in September.

The economic costs have also been high for the strikers who usually have little or no savings. It is not uncommon for two or even more family members to be on strike. The union's International finally provided strike benefits during the third week of the strike, but the \$50 a week does not go very far.

Underlying everything else is the demand of hotel workers to be treated with respect and dignity. When asked why they are striking, the typical answer from maids, dishwashers and waitresses alike is not for benefits or wages but "because we are treated like shit." For years San Francisco's hotel workers have been subject to the racism and sexism of both hotel management and guests. They are truly the modern equivalent of the servant class. Here hotel workers are saying they have had enough.

As one bartender from the prestigious Mark Hopkins Hotel put it: "I've walked out of four places before this but I sure feels good to have everyone else walk out with me for a change." □

# "Racism Begets Revolution"



People in Chattanooga celebrate taking control of the streets during protest sparked by acquittal of Klan thugs.

(Continued from page 1)  
during an arrest for an alleged robbery. The cops making the arrest were forced to withdraw when a crowd gathered as word of the incident spread through the James E. Scott housing project. The cops returned with reinforcements, but were again forced to retreat by the crowd, which numbered several hundred. By evening, cops in the area were being fired on by snipers and white motorists were being attacked. During the rest of the night, 400 cops sealed off 170 square blocks around the project and attempted to disperse the crowd with tear gas. Repeatedly, the pigs were forced to retreat under fire from snipers. After five days of rioting, five cops had been wounded, 40 people injured and 130 arrested.

According to reports in the daily papers, Black youths were the main force in the rebellion. Earlier, on June 9, President Carter had attempted to visit Liberty City, but was run out of the neighborhood by jeering youths who pelted his motorcade with rocks and bottles. The day prior to the most recent outbreak of rioting over 100 young Black men along with a 25-car motorcade marched on the Dade County Justice Building chanting "We want justice." One of the placards carried in the protest warned: "Racism Begets Revolution." One project youth summed up the feelings of many, saying: "If you don't live here, you better stay out. That goes for the police, the press and especially for the crackers." A young Black woman declared that the youths were "at war."

Finally, on July 20, the court-imposed curfew was lifted and 450 National Guards called in to back up the cops were sent home. Despite the blatant racism of the cops and the rotten future facing youth in the projects, "respectable"

Black leaders joined the city government in condemning the rebellion as the work of "young thugs."

• July 22—Just two months after an all-white jury acquitted four Miami cops in the murder of Black businessman Arthur McDuffie, an all-white Chattanooga jury found William Church and Larry Payne innocent in the April 19 shooting of four Black women. A third man, Marshal Thrash, was given a 20-month sentence on reduced charges in the same trial. All three men are members of a local Ku Klux Klan organization and openly admitted that they shotgunned the women after

nobody paid any attention to a cross they had burned in a Black neighborhood. Half of the 80 potential jurors in the case were Black and all were dismissed.

Twelve hours after the verdict was announced, Alton Park, a Black industrial neighborhood in Chattanooga, was in a state of rebellion. When the fighting ended six days later, four buildings had been firebombed, one fireman injured, two fire engines and dozens of cars battered by rocks, 50 people arrested and seven cops shot.

The attacks against the police demonstrated a higher level of organization than has

been shown in similar situations. On July 24, cops responded to a call from the Spencer J. McCallie housing project to investigate a burning barricade. As the cops neared the fire, an unknown person opened fire with a shotgun, ambushing the cops. Immediately, SWAT teams swept through Alton Park, shooting out street lamps and sealing off the area. However, firebombs continued to explode in the streets throughout the night and snipers fired on the SWAT teams investigating the fires.

Finally, on July 25, the city government agreed to withdraw police patrols from Alton Park under pressure from the growing rebellion. Responding to a request from PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, responsibility for patrolling the area was turned over to patrols made up of ministers and community volunteers. After the civilian patrols took over, no further major violence was reported. In a further concession, the federal government promised \$13 million for rebuilding the public housing projects.

During the rebellion, Chattanooga Blacks also faced an additional threat from organized racist groups. On July 26, Mayor Rose and the police commissioner met with Bill Wilkinson, the Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and pressured him to leave town. Wilkinson later

threatened that he would send armed Klansmen to Chattanooga if the situation was not controlled to his liking. In Chattanooga itself, three Klansmen, dressed in camouflage fatigues and carrying hunting bows with steel-tipped arrows, two boxes of ammo and parts needed for making a bomb in the trunk of their car, were arrested one mile from Alton Park after a police chase on July 27. The cops later found blasting caps, fuses, a pistol and a stick of dynamite along the route of the chase.

✦ Although the Klan acquittal sparked the fighting, the underlying reasons for the rebellion go much deeper. Unemployment among Blacks in Chattanooga is the highest in the state. Conditions in the projects are miserable. And there is only one Black elected official in the city, although Blacks make up 35 percent of the population. This situation prompted a local minister, Reverend Herbert H. Wright, to tell Chattanooga Mayor Charles A. Rose: "You give us what you want to give us, but I'm telling you—if you keep it up, you may not see my choo-choo train, but you are sure as hell going to smell my smoke."

• July 30—Angry Blacks in Orlando fought the cops for five hours with rocks and bottles after a Black woman was beaten during an arrest in a local tavern. Although the fighting did not receive much publicity and information is scarce, available reports indicate that two cops were injured, an unmarked police car torched and five people arrested.

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On July 1, at the 71st Annual Convention of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said that the conditions exist in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Houston to produce another Miami. Hooks went on to say that the NAACP had tried to warn the government so that situations like Miami could be averted. But the events since May show that many Blacks, particularly the young people, have moved past the "begging-for-crums" strategy of reformist organizations like the NAACP. At the same time, they point to the tremendous potential for revolutionary organization and struggle in the coming period. Despite the many obstacles in the way of building a united, multi-national assault on racist capitalism, these spontaneous rebellions prove that the real possibility to fight and win exists. □

## Chicago Cops Beat Black Man to Death

By GAIL THORNE

On July 6, 1980, Richard Ramey, a 51-year-old Black man of Chicago, was beaten to death by three Chicago cops.

Ramey got capital punishment without trial. His crime? Smoking on the Jackson Park El train. The pigs claim that they asked Ramey to stop smoking, and he became hostile. They also claim they only beat him enough to subdue him.

This story is ridiculous for a number of reasons:

1) Any Black Chicago smoker knows that if the cops catch you smoking on an El or a bus, they don't ask you to stop. You are immediately arrested.

2) Ramey was 51 years old and not especially muscular. The autopsy showed he had been drinking. So how much resistance could he put up? Even if he did put up a fight, there were three pigs and only

one Ramey.

3) Ramey was seen by witnesses walking around under his own power after the arrest—which shows that the fatal beating must have taken place later.

4) Months earlier, the same three cops, Fred Christiana, Louis Klisz, and Fred Earullo, had been accused of beating Richard Seager. Seager said he was beaten by Christiana on April 26 while two other men held him: "The Office of Professional Standards has identified the other two men as Earullo and Klisz."

Because the Ramey case was obviously out-and-out murder, and because of the recent riots in Miami, these three cops were indicted on July 22 for the murder of Ramey and fired from the Chicago police force.

Racism in Chicago is on the upswing. There have been such incidents as cross-burnings on the lawns of Black people, along with other at-

tacks on Blacks by white racists. This is because most racists, who weren't sure in the past that they could get away with such attacks, are beginning to see clearly that the cops are on their side and will turn their heads and allow this to go on. This is most clear with the Nazis. Cops protect Nazi rallies all over the U.S., and the Nazis and Klan use this to organize and recruit people to their racist ideas.

Lately in Chicago the cops have stepped up their harassment of anti-Nazi demonstrators.

The only reason the cops in Chicago were indicted is because what happened in Miami was fresh in the minds of the government bureaucrats. But they will not remember Miami forever. What the working class has to do is to organize ourselves so that when they do forget, we can quickly and effectively give them a reminder that they won't be able to forget. □

(Continued from page 1)  
August 5 a National Republican Convention in Michigan, which included a speech by Governor George Romney and several other officials. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a pro-Nazi organization. It has a long history of supporting the interests of white people and opposing the interests of Black people. It has been a major force in the civil rights movement since the 1940s. It has been a major force in the civil rights movement since the 1940s. It has been a major force in the civil rights movement since the 1940s.



Gerald Carlson.

and also blame "drugs and crime."

Carlson's career had a strong anti-Nazi bias. He claimed: "Corrupt, fascist-led unions grope. Solution: active action, inspect and discipline groes, regulate."

Carlson is no win the November election in the 11th district and Democratic District. Nonetheless, he defeated his opponent by 3,037 votes to 3,037 votes. He is a middle class Republican. It will be interesting to watch the degree to which Carlson receives support from workers in his district. His support is growing ever more in economically depressed Detroit, fueled by the United Auto Workers and other unions' serious struggle with the city's massive unemployment.

In addition to his primary victory, he attacked covered month's Torch/Light there have been theoretical developments in the area:

• In late July, an angry Black man drove a Black car into their rented home in the Ford Heights area. These same racists to drive young Black

# Detroit: Labor/Community Fightback Needed

(Continued from page 1)  
August 5 a Nazi won the Republican Congressional primary in Michigan's 15th District, which includes Detroit's western and southwestern suburbs. The Nazi, Gerald Carlson, campaigned openly on his white supremacist and pro-Nazi views. He blamed Black people for inflation and recession, claiming that "whites work harder than Blacks." Carlson called for limiting the involvement of Black people in technical work



Gerald Carlson.

and also blamed Blacks for "drugs and crime."

Carlson's campaign also had a strong anti-labor thrust. The Nazi candidate proclaimed: "Corrupt Communist-led unions protect Negroes. Solution: Stop affirmative action, instill more respect and discipline in Negroes, regulate unions. . . ."

Carlson is not expected to win the November general election in the heavily working class and Democratic 15th District. Nonetheless, his victory in the primary (he defeated his opponent 3,759 votes to 3,037) shows the appeal his Nazi program has in middle class Republican circles. It will be important to watch the degree of support Carlson receives from white workers in his district. Racism is growing ever more rampant in economically devastated Detroit, fueled by the failure of the United Auto Workers and other unions to launch a serious struggle against the city's massive unemployment.

In addition to the Nazi primary victory and the racist attacks covered in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*, there have been the following developments in the Detroit area:

- In late July, armed whites drove a Black couple from their rented home near Chene and the Ford Expressway. These same racists later tried to drive young Black people

out of a nearby park. This attempt backfired, and the racists only avoided getting the justice they deserved from an angry crowd when the police stepped in to rescue them.

- During the same week, right across the river from Detroit in Windsor, Ontario, two Black men were stabbed by four whites in a store. One of the whites was wearing a KKK T-shirt.

- On August 4, a Black man from Brightmoor—a working class neighborhood of Detroit which has been the scene of many Klan/Nazi attacks—was shot at three times outside a bar. Later the same night his house was attacked. Racists fired 24 shots into the living room, kitchen and baby's bedroom. Fortunately, no one was hurt. The apparent reason for the attack was that the man associated with white people and frequented a mostly-white bar. These Klan/Nazi-inspired racists are out to enforce "separation of the races" at the point of a gun.

Two days after this assault, the FBI and police arrested seven men for the attacks, and they are seeking one more. When the arrests were made, a large supply of arms and ammunition along with KKK literature was discovered. A fully automatic M-16, which was apparently used in the attack on the house, was also seized. According to the police, the weapon was purchased in Texas, obtained there by Ku Klux Klan members.



Anti-racist forces protest Klan request for march permit at June 26 Detroit City Council meeting.

Tragically, there has not yet been a serious response by the city's labor movement or its Black organizations to the growing racist offensive. None of these organizations have come forward to provide defense and aid for those under attack. Nor have these organizations called for a mass counter-action to stop

the Klan/Nazi march scheduled for August 23. Similarly, no effort has been made to launch a united working class offensive—Black, Latin, Arab and white, employed and unemployed—against the deepening capitalist attacks on working people. The result of this failure is that Detroit—a city once viewed as a labor

## Rally Against Growing Klan Violence Held in LA Area

FONTANA, Ca., August 9— Three hundred and fifty people from Black and Latin organizations, trade union locals and left groups rallied together today in response to increasing Ku Klux Klan violence in this city of 21,000, located 50 miles east of Los Angeles.

The event that sparked the demonstration was the July 1 attempted murder of a Black telephone worker by a suspected member of the Ku Klux Klan. Dovid Howard was in his lift bucket splicing telephone lines when a man driving down the street

stopped, shouted racial slurs at him and then shotgunned him in the back. Doctors expect Howard to be paralyzed from the waist down for life.

The same day Howard was shot, the Klan held a rally at the city hall—something it does frequently in Fontana. Also the same day, police arrested Larry West Deane for the shooting of Howard. Deane is said not to be a member of the Klan group that held the rally, although "he might be a member of another Klan chapter" according to local Klan leader George Pepper.

"We've had trouble with the Klan before," reported Geneva Howard, Dovid Howard's wife. "A cross was burned on our front lawn just a few months ago." The Howards are one of four Black families in their housing tract.

"There's been a noticeable increase in Klan activities in the last year," said Rick Flores, vice-president of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 2869. The local represents workers at the Kaiser Steel works in Fontana, which once employed over 7,000 people but has now laid off over 1,600 of them.

"There are many people in Fontana who used to belong to the Klan but kept quiet about it who are now openly saying they belong," Flores

(Continued on page 17)

## Greensboro Klan/Nazi Trial Underway

The trial of six Klansmen and Nazis, charged in the murders of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) members at an anti-racist rally last November 3, opened on August 4 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The prosecution—the state of North Carolina—exerted little of the legal pressure available to it during jury selection, resulting in an all-white jury of six men and six women. Now the prosecutors are presenting a case that portrays the CWP and the Klan/Nazi group as equally evil extremists carrying out evil acts which resulted in the murder of one group by the other. (Surviving CWP members are being prosecuted for felonious riot in the attack on them.)

This prosecution strategy plays right into the hands of the defense. The defense lawyers' line has three parts: One, that the Klan/Nazi members on trial and their friends shot in self-defense because they felt their lives were in danger from the CWP. Two, that the particular Klansmen and Nazis on trial merely emptied their guns or fired into the air. Three, that the defendants were entrapped because the murder party was instigated by undercover Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent Bernard

Butkovich and guided by Edward Dawson, a Klansman acting as an informer for the Greensboro police.

The prosecution has been reluctant to discuss the role of Butkovich and Dawson, but has asserted that internal reports show they "acted properly." Overall, the weak prosecution efforts make an acquittal on the murder charges a good possibility, despite television footage of the clearly intentional murders and the testimony of many witnesses, including reporters.

On the first day of the trial two of the slain men's widows, Marty Nathan and Florence Cauce, denounced the trial as a sham and a farce. Judge James M. Long had them ejected from the courtroom and gave them each 30 days for contempt. At the same time, in another courtroom, state prosecutors held a bail hearing for CWP leader Nelson Johnson. Johnson was arrested the previous weekend for speaking at a streetcorner rally and freed on \$15,000 bail. The state then moved to rearrest him and require another \$100,000 bail unless he agreed to refrain from so-called disruptive activities. Meanwhile, the Klan/Nazi murderers are free on \$4,000 bail. □



## Prisoners rebel in Idaho

A 20-hour rebellion in the Idaho State Penitentiary at Boise left 26 prisoners injured when riot-equipped police and national guard troops stormed the prison. About 300 prisoners seized a cellblock on July 23 and took two hostages after guards confiscated prisoners' property, including guitars, radios, TVs and blankets.

The prisoners' demands included better food, recreation and work opportunities. They released one hostage when Idaho Corrections Director William Crowl promised to set up regular meetings with a citizens' panel and a prisoners' grievance committee. Crowl then issued a written statement demanded by the prisoners and continued to negotiate through the night for the release of the second hostage. But meanwhile he had the troopers and guardsmen surround the prison. In the morning Crowl ordered the attack.

After the uprising the authorities housed over 200 prisoners in tents in the yard. They claimed the prison was unusable because a big part of it was burned down in the rebellion. Another 85 men were shipped out to a federal prison and 24 to a state prison in Montana.

On the flight to Montana, the prisoners tried to seize the plane, but the pilot radioed for help. When the flight landed in Butte, the prisoners were forced to surrender to armed police. At the same time there was an uprising in the tent city, where prisoners had been left to swelter in the 100-degree heat. No hostages were taken, and the prisoners gave up after deputy sheriffs and guardsmen fired warning shots into the air.

## Green Haven keeps step up repression

Repression has been increased at Green Haven prison in Stormville, New York, since three prisoners escaped in June. There have been lock-ins, searches, transfers and a change in visiting rules. The new rules include holding all visitors until the prisoners are back in their cells and counted, and a restriction of weekend visits to either Saturday or Sunday, but not both days in the same week. State officials claim the new rules are necessary because two prisoners who escaped June 23 walked out with visitors.

On July 20, prisoners at Green Haven went on a hunger strike to protest the new visiting rules. The authorities promised there would be no transfers in reprisal. But three days later they shipped 40 men to Downstate, and from there they sent 30 up to Comstock a week later. According to the prisoners' families, the men got brutal beatings when they arrived at Comstock.

On July 22, Charles Scully, formerly of Downstate, took over as warden of Green Haven. He immediately ordered the prisoners locked in while a 130-member CERT team conducted a two-day frisk of the cells. On July 28, prisoners were locked in again, following a two-day work stoppage.

## Graham and Allen up for fourth trial

Ernest Graham and Eugene Allen are scheduled for a fourth trial September 15 in San Francisco, on charges of killing a guard at Deuel Vocational Institute in 1973. The two Black prisoners, now in their twenties, were framed because they were political activists. Graham has been active in the Black prison movement for 10 years. Their first trial, in 1973, ended in a hung jury. During the second trial, guards threatened to kill both men if the court didn't impose the death penalty. They were sentenced to death, but the verdict was overturned by the California Supreme Court because Black people had been excluded from the jury. Both men then spent close to six years in solitary in Soledad Prison. Their third trial this spring ended in a hung jury on May 12. Letters demanding no fourth trial should be sent to the defense committee, which will present them to state officials. Write to: **Graham and Allen Defense Committee, 1255 Post St., Suite 625, San Francisco, CA 94109.**

—AL

# Prisoners of War Get 30-Year Jail Terms

By  
MICHAEL BLUMENTHAL

CHICAGO—Two of the 11 Puerto Rican nationalists—known as the 11 Prisoners of War—arrested in Evanston, Illinois, last April and accused of membership in the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation) were sentenced here on August 4 to 30 years in jail.

As we reported last month, Luis Rosa and Alycia Rodriguez were convicted on July 9 of conspiracy to commit armed robbery, armed robbery and possession of a stolen car.

At their sentencing, Judge James Bailey said that they were "absolutely unrepentant; a threat to all law-abiding, God-fearing citizens." The prosecuting attorney Michael Fillard, had asked that they receive such stiff sentences to "send a message to anarchists and revolutionaries that their tactics will not be tolerated." These quotes show that although the government says the POWs are being sent to jail for "armed robbery" the real reason for their imprisonment is political.

The 30-year sentences do not include federal charges, which are yet to be drawn up, or one and a half year "con-

tempt of court" sentences that must be served before the other time.

Another eight POWs, who were convicted on similar charges on July 30, are scheduled to be sentenced on August 26. The eleventh prisoner, Haydee Beltran Torres, has been sentenced in separate federal proceedings in New York to life imprisonment.

Outside the courthouse in Chicago on each trial date there were from 50 to 100 militant demonstrators organized by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. Such chants as "Esta lucha va a llegar a la guerra popular" (This struggle will become a people's war) could be heard into the courtroom where, by order of Judge Bailey, no spectators were allowed in without giving him their name and address. On July 22, there was a joint rally held with the demonstrators there in support of the Pontiac Brothers, who are being tried in the same courthouse.

The 11 POWs have neither confirmed nor denied the charge that they are members of the FALN or any of the charges brought against them. Their defense is that they are not responsible to U.S. courts because they are freedom fighters of a foreign nation—prisoners of war—and therefore should be tried by an

international court.

Puerto Rico was invaded by U.S. armed forces in 1898, several months after Spain had conceded its independence, and has been forcefully held as a colony since. Even the UN, dominated as it is by the imperialist superpowers, passed a resolution in August 1978 declaring Puerto Rico an independent nation. Supporters of the POWs have been circulating a petition to be presented to the Committee on Colonization of the UN on August 18, asking that it recognize the POWs as such.

Much of the U.S. left has failed to support the struggle of the POWs allegedly because they are waging individual armed struggle. We feel it is a criminal mistake to not support the POWs. All revolutionaries must defend any and all who struggle against U.S. imperialism regardless of differences on tactics.

On August 25, the eve of the scheduled sentencing of the remaining eight POWs, there is a march planned through Chicago from Westtown to the County Courthouse, and then an all-night vigil there. The RSL is planning to participate in that march and we urge all groups and individuals to join us. For further information, call (312) 226-5915. □

## Who Are the Real Terrorists?

Dear Torch:

I am writing to submit the enclosed statement in support of the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War for printing in your publication, the Torch/La Antorcha; and also to offer my compliments and encouragement for your (helpful) critical analysis of the oppressive situation here in the U.S. With the rise in unemployment, KKK violence, and the coming recession a continuous critical analysis is needed.

I am an African prisoner held captive here at the Michigan City, Indiana, state prison, one of many Hell Holes throughout the U.S., and I want to express my solidarity in support of the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War who have been captured by our enemy oppressor while waging a battle to free the nation of Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial domination; a battle that is just in the eyes of the oppressed—and we are many....

Comrades, be not intimidated by the illegal jurisdiction of the U.S. courts, for they have no right to judge you. Resolution 2621 of the UN's Committee on Decolonization declared that continued colonization, in all its forms, is a crime. This resolution reaffirms the right of all colonized nations to fight, using every possible means, against their colonizers, who (through domination and imperialist hegemony) destroy the right of nations to be free and independent....

Comrades, stand tall and firm, for there are many who bear record to your struggle that it is just and true, in that they themselves are victims of colonial domination. Africans at home on the great continent of Africa and we in the U.S., South America and the Caribbean have been struggling for centuries against colonial domination—against murder and brutality, joblessness and hunger, run-down housing, forced sterilization of women, against the rich (the Rockefeller, DuPonts and Fords) living off of our sweat and blood—and we are tired of being ruled by aliens who have reduced our lives to that of animals.

It is on the background of consciously struggling against this madness that prisoners of war have come into existence. Labeling those who struggle against this madness subversives, terrorists and criminals—will be to no avail. History depicts who the real terrorists are: those who have forced slavery on human lives; those who have dominated and exploited nations of people, infiltrated their movements and killed the leaders of those who resist terror; those who have dropped numerous bombs in Vietnam, taking lives by the millions of those who fought against terror, and yet they (the imperialists) were defeated, and this tells us that our oppressor is not invincible....

Freedom for Puerto Rico and all colonized nations within and without the U.S. borders.  
—Bankole

## A Disc

As we wrote last Torch/La Antorcha, ested in receiving a letters and articles tions related to movement and its r to the struggle on t We would now like this out to include issues that are l cussed and debat prisons today. To th are happy to reprint letter written by a Soledad to a group ers in Leavenworth

This is in respo letter you wrote in stated that you wo get in contact with s people who share s same interests as order for us to begin I decided to respon one question you Albania, which if I' you stated that due information on Alba still under question was a socialist count

I'm not very info Albania and the Party of Albania (PLA) m I'm beginning to clear understanding RSL's position on st talism. With that un ing, I'm able to deter what class rules in By understanding w rules in Albania and v of revolution was ca there, we can clear whether Albania is socialist country, a c country or a state-c country.

Just like China is the so-called Chinese Communist Party (CPC) an

## "Shock

By ADELE LOHMA

Five prison experts Puerto Rico's jails this and found them "un human habitation," ac to the San Juan Star (1980). The panel, wh cuded a criminologist, chiatrist, a physician, a and a psychologist, called in by prisoners w suing in federal court a violations of their co tional rights.

The panel's reports w supposed to be issued September, when the p ers' class action suit is l But the experts foun emergency situation needed immediate action so they asked the pris lawyers to move for a

## A Discussion Among Prisoners

# IS ALBANIA SOCIALIST?

As we wrote last month, the Torch/La Antorcha is interested in receiving and printing letters and articles on questions related to the prison movement and its relationship to the struggle on the outside. We would now like to broaden this out to include any of the issues that are being discussed and debated in the prisons today. To this end, we are happy to reprint below a letter written by a brother in Soledad to a group of prisoners in Leavenworth.

This is in response to a letter you wrote in which you stated that you would like to get in contact with some other people who share some of the same interests as yours. In order for us to begin a dialog, I decided to respond to the one question you raised on Albania, which if I'm correct you stated that due to lack of information on Albania it was still under question whether it was a socialist country or not.

I'm not very informed on Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) myself, but I'm beginning to develop a clear understanding of the RSL's position on state capitalism. With that understanding, I'm able to determine just what class rules in Albania. By understanding what class rules in Albania and what type of revolution was carried out there, we can clearly see whether Albania is truly a socialist country, a capitalist country or a state-capitalist country.

Just like China is ruled by the so-called Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and Cuba

is ruled by Castro and Co., Albania is ruled by the so-called PLA—Enver Hoxha and Co. Hoxha and his party came to power as a result of a national liberation struggle, based among the rural peasants in 1944. At that time Hoxha called his party the Albanian Communist Party, which was a revisionist party heavily influenced with Stalinism. It was formed in 1941, as a result of a conference of the various communist groups in Albania. These groups were united and formed into a party with Hoxha being elected its leader.

The first task taken up by Hoxha's party was an effort to



Enver Hoxha.

unite and mobilize the masses for the anti-fascist national liberation war. In late '42 a national liberation conference was held under the leadership of Hoxha's party. A general national liberation council was formed to lead a common

national liberation front in a struggle for "national liberation and democracy." At this conference the issue of the proletariat being the leading force in the fight for democracy was ignored and replaced by a national liberation front; the fight for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat was ignored and replaced by a struggle for national liberation and "democracy." This all negated the fact that only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can genuine democracy be insured.

So, Hoxha's party only ended up forming an anti-Nazi guerrilla force fighting in the hills and based among the rural peasants. The defeat of the Nazis in the worldwide anti-fascist war was a turning point for Albania. With the area being in chaos and no clear bourgeois government existing to rule, the guerrillas moved down into the cities and drove out the remaining fascist forces and assumed power.

Although the fascists were defeated and the old capitalist bosses were kicked out, there was never a proletarian revolution and there was never a party of the proletariat. The old bourgeoisie was merely replaced by Hoxha and his so-called Albanian Communist Party—which is only a party of bourgeois nationalists.

Albania allied itself with state-capitalist Russia and began its so-called construction of the economic base of socialism. (The stage which it still claims to be in.) This only



entails the consolidating of state power into the hands of the Albanian Communist Party, which then changed its name to the Party of Labor of Albania and then nationalized some private property, industry and the means of production. Although this improved the living conditions for the masses of Albanian people it didn't at all establish socialism. It established only another form of capitalism in which the state became the rulers and owners of the means of production—not the proletariat. This form of capitalism is termed state capitalism, which places Albania within the framework of the worldwide capitalist market, where it's still forced to make deals with imperialism.

After Stalin's death, aid to Albania was cut off and the PLA then began promoting

Mao Zedong Thought and the CPC until China cut off aid to them. These types of flip-flops are only conditioned by the bourgeois nationalism of the Albanian revisionists, and not at all by proletarian internationalism. Today Hoxha and the PLA are still following in the footsteps of Mao and the CPC (despite Hoxha's recent denunciation of Mao and the CPC as revisionist) in their attempts to unite with the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped, colonial and semi-colonial nations. This has allowed Hoxha to concretely call Khomeini's Islamic republic "revolutionary" and justify Vietnam's invasions of Kampuchea among other counter-revolutionary positions they have taken.

If Hoxha was really a Marxist-Leninist and the workers really ruled in Albania, they would have never lived for 20 years in the close political alliance with Maoist China. Furthermore, they would be attempting to spread the revolution to neighboring countries, offering aid not to various national capitalists, but to the international working class—which they aren't.

If the RSL had comrades in Albania, they would be organizing to throw out Hoxha and his state-capitalist clique and touch off a socialist revolution for all of Europe.

I'm very interested in hearing your impression of the RSL and the Torch, especially their position and work with prisoners.

Take care,  
Wadood Abu Majied

## "Shocking" Conditions in P.R. Prisons

By ADELE LOHMAN

Five prison experts toured Puerto Rico's jails this spring and found them "unfit for human habitation," according to the San Juan Star (May 27, 1980). The panel, which included a criminologist, a psychiatrist, a physician, a lawyer and a psychologist, was called in by prisoners who are suing in federal court against violations of their constitutional rights.

The panel's reports were not supposed to be issued until September, when the prisoners' class action suit is heard. But the experts found an emergency situation which needed immediate action. And so they asked the prisoners' lawyers to move for a court

order which would: relieve the overcrowding; order the screening of all incoming prisoners for physical and mental disease; remove all mental patients from the jails; and close the isolation cells, known as the dungeons, which are used both for punishment and to isolate mental patients.

The experts found that not even the most recently built jail, at Guayama, meets basic fire and safety regulations. The older jails, Aguadilla, Humacao, Mirama and Ponce, are "delapidated, crumbling firetraps." All the prisons are so filthy that "a health emergency of the gravest magnitude exists." In the women's prison at Vega Alta the showers, eating facilities, food

storage areas, and isolation cells are so filthy, reports the panel, that "maintenance of personal hygiene and cleanliness is almost impossible." In the main prison for men, at Bayamon, 1,256 prisoners are housed in a space built for 640, with two or three men sharing one mattress and some sleeping on the floor.

Perhaps the worst conditions were found in the dungeons. The experts saw open sewage draining in these isolation cells. Psychiatrist Frank L. Rundle describes the condition of mental patients in 16 of these cells, known as "maxima de locos": "Most of the men were naked. Some lay immobile on the window ledge...some paced recklessly, pounding the wall with their

fists...some lay curled up a fetal position on the bare floor."

Dr. David Fogel, a criminologist who has been involved in close to 30 prison suits, states that Puerto Rico's correction system is the worst he has seen in his 30 years' experience. He cites the lack of medical treatment, recreation, vocational and educational programs, adequate libraries and legal materials, as well as the lack of access to lawyers and courts. He continues: "I went to the dungeons and saw such degradation of human beings and such destruction of the individuals...that I was shocked by the brutality of the conditions." His conclusion: "The system is the product of a deliberate and malevolent neglect." □

### SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

In the past two years, the Torch/La Antorcha has greatly expanded its coverage of prisoners' struggles. The number of prisoners who read the Torch/La Antorcha and correspond with the Revolutionary Socialist League has also increased significantly.

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

Lack of funds keeps us from sending prisoners all the literature they want. Thus, to increase the amount of literature we can send, we have established a Prisoner Literature Fund. We encourage all readers of the Torch/La Antorcha to donate to this fund so that we can supply prisoners with revolutionary literature. Those who can make a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively for providing prisoners with revolutionary literature.

Send contributions to:  
Prisoner Literature Fund  
PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10116

People's Convention Meets in South Bronx

# 5,000 March on Democratic Party Convention

NEW YORK CITY, August 10—Chanting, "Too Many Years of Broken Promises—Now We Shall Be Heard," over 5,000 people marched here to a mass rally at Madison Square Garden, site of the Democratic Party National Convention scheduled to begin this week. The demonstration climaxed three days of activities organized by an umbrella group called the Coalition for a People's Alternative. For two days prior to the demonstration, nearly 1,000 people gathered in the Charlotte Street area of the South Bronx for a "People's Convention," designed to call attention to the growing problems facing working and oppressed people throughout the country.

The South Bronx People's Convention brought together activists from many diverse social movements. Anti-draft, anti-nuke and lesbian and gay liberationists joined with anti-racist organizers, tenants' rights coalitions, labor groups and anti-imperialist forces to adopt a "people's program." A number of left groups, including the Revolutionary Socialist League, took part in the three days of activities.

The ability of the People's Convention to unite a wide range of activists from many different areas of struggle was a positive accomplishment. All too often, especially over the past several years, unity against our common enemy—the big corporations, the government and the growing right-wing movement—has been lacking. Different movements have struggled separately, often isolated from one another, failing to tap the potential power of a united



question squarely—the failure to break decisively with a decades-old strategy for defeat—was the central political weakness of the People's Convention.

## People looking for answers

Fortunately, in contrast to the leadership, the majority of people who attended both the People's Convention and the Madison Square Garden march and rally, were not pro-Democratic Party. Many of these people, particularly younger people, are becoming politically active for the first time. They can see that the economy is falling apart, living standards are declining, the environment is being polluted, groups like the Klan and Nazis are ever more boldly on the march and the ruling class is whipping up a drive for new wars. These people are genuinely looking for answers as to why and what to do about it. To build a powerful mass movement, this new layer of political activists needs to be told the truth—about the Democratic Party, the capitalist system it represents, and the need for socialist revolution as the only alternative to a world plunged into war, depression, fascism and destruction. The goal of the RSL, in participating in the three days of activities around the People's Convention and the march, was to bring this message to the developing movement.

Below we reprint the RSL leaflet to the People's Convention and march. □

movement. "Gay, straight, Black and white—Same struggle, same fight," an RSL-led chant in the march on Madison Square Garden, expressed the importance of building a united mass movement which fights against all oppression and taps the energy and strength of all people fighting for liberation and freedom.

## Unity is not enough

Important as unity is, however, unity itself is not sufficient to fight the escalating capitalist attacks. The most immediate and pressing question facing the People's Convention—What should the attitude of a developing mass movement be to the Democratic Party?—was left un-

answered. In fact, the leadership of the convention, the Coalition for a People's Alternative, deliberately sought to avoid discussion and debate on this crucial question. There was good reason for this. Despite a great deal of "radical" rhetoric, much of the leadership explicitly favors working inside the Democratic Party, seeking to reform it by supporting its "left wing" (Kennedy) or by fighting for the party to adopt a "people-oriented program." Others in the leadership of the coalition do not favor working inside the Democratic Party, but nonetheless have an approach of pressuring the Democratic Party from the outside.

All these strategies are fundamentally reformist. They seek change through putting pressure on one wing of the capitalist class. This is a dead end for any developing mass movement. To build a strong

and effective movement, we must clearly explain to people that the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, is, and always will be, our enemy. Despite its age-old claims to be a party of "the common man" or of "poor and working people" or of Blacks, Latins and other specially oppressed groups, the Democratic Party is dedicated to the preservation of U.S. capitalism and U.S. imperialism. The Democratic Party, particularly when the capitalist system is entering the kind of crisis it is today, will wage a determined struggle to drive down the living standards of working and oppressed people—in the U.S. and throughout the world. Carter is beginning to do this today—and Ted Kennedy, despite his claims to be "different," would do essentially the same.

The failure to address this

The delegates and big-wigs of the Democratic Party's convention are sitting inside Madison Square Garden trying to come up with a candidate they think can beat Ronald Reagan in November. These jokers are playing all their games, making backroom deals and fighting with each other over who is going to be top man on the totem pole. And while they play games, the majority of society—the masses of working and oppressed people—who have no delegates, no representation, and would have to fight across police barricades just to get near the damn building—are left with one simple question: **What difference does it make?**

For example, no matter how much they want people to think they are different, Reagan, Carter, Anderson and Kennedy are all for adding billions of dollars to the defense budget. No matter which candidate becomes president, it's still going to mean the same thing as far as the masses of people are concerned: a steadily declining

standard of living, more unemployment, more layoffs, more cuts in hospital services, education, and the growing threat of our youth being drafted to die in more brutal and unjust wars for someone else's power.

The fact of the matter is that all the politicians and their friends—the bankers, the big business executives, the government planners and economists, the top-level managers who now control and make all the decisions on how to run society—regardless of whether they're Republican, Democrat or Independent—all agree on the kind of society they want. They want a top-down system controlled by a handful of people, where the majority of workers and other oppressed people have no control over the future of their lives. They want a system where giant corporations can continue to amass wealth and power by working us to the bone, polluting our environment and contaminating our food. They want a system that uses the police, the courts and the jails as a

threat to keep the masses of people intimidated and "in our place," without the organization or means to defend ourselves. They want a system that fans the flames of hatred to divide us with racism, sexism and all the oppression in society that sets one against another. They want a system that builds a massive war machine—guns, tanks, armies and nuclear warheads—for the purpose of conquering and ripping off people around the world.

In short, they all want society to remain as it now exists, under the system which now exists and which they control—the capitalist system. It's a system which has inequality built right into it. It's a system that has always dragged the people of the world into depression and world war. It's a system that is heading for another depression and world war, one that this time could wipe humanity off the face of the earth.

More than ever before, the future of the majority of people in the world is

on the line. We cannot let the present rulers of society drag us into starvation and nuclear war. We cannot put our fate in the hands of these lying politicians or in the system they represent. The more sweet-talking ones want to convince us to wait for a few "favors," a few reforms, a few crumbs. But make no mistake: **The prosperity of the '60s is over.** Even the few crumbs we won through militant struggle are being taken away. Empty promises will get us nowhere. It's the whole capitalist system that is the cause of the misery and oppression we face. **What we really need is to tear the whole system down!**

## Socialism means freedom

Through making a revolution that overthrows capitalism, the masses of workers and oppressed people could rebuild society based on a socialist system: a system where the majority

(Continued on page 17)

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By RICHARD ALL

For two weeks before July 21, the U.S. government set in motion machinery to register approximately four million 19-year-old men with the Selective Service System. The spread protests and defiance greeted registration, dealing the U.S. ruling class a serious setback in their preparations.

Protests took place in most every major city in the country, mostly on the first day of registration. In Boston, 500 people demonstrated at the Post Office Square; nine people were arrested for a sit-in inside the Post Office. In New York City, 18 for blocking the entrance to the General Post Office in New York City. In Chicago, 250 people protested at the Loop Post Office; one man was arrested for refusing to register for the Selective Service where he kept filling out forms, saying he didn't want to register. Eight protesters were arrested in Hartford, Connecticut, for blocking the entrance to the post office grounds. Two hundred demonstrated in San Francisco, where two people were arrested for chaining themselves to the post office. In Los Angeles, 100 people marched on the Federal Building in Los Angeles, Michigan, 350 demonstrated in Los Angeles, Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin,

Rally Plan



Chicano Moratorium march

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# Protests, Refusals Greet Start of Draft Registration

By RICHARD ALLEN

For two weeks beginning July 21, the U.S. government set in motion the machinery to register approximately four million 19- and 20-year-old men with the Selective Service System. Widespread protests and resistance greeted registration, dealing the U.S. ruling class a serious setback in their war preparations.

Protests took place in almost every major city across the country, mostly on the first day of registration. In Boston, 500 people demonstrated at the Post Office Square; nine people were arrested for a sit-in inside and 18 for blocking the steps. Three hundred people picketed at the General Post Office in New York City. In Chicago, 250 people protested at the Loop PO; one man was arrested for refusing to leave the Selective Service window where he kept filling out cards saying he didn't want his children to register. Eight protesters were arrested in Hartford, Connecticut, for refusing to leave post office grounds. Two hundred people demonstrated in San Francisco, where two people were arrested for chaining themselves to the post office. Eight hundred people marched at the Federal Building in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 350 demonstrated in Los Angeles, 350 in Madison, Wisconsin, and

countless others across the country.

The largest demonstration was 5,000 people on the upper west side of Manhattan in New York City, the evening of July 21. It was sponsored by the Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), which is tightly controlled by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). The rally drew a broad range of young people, workers, community and anti-draft activists and leftists, who were treated to a stream of liberal pablum from speakers, who included New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein and Reverend William Sloane Coffin.

Ohrenstein spoke to the group as "a member of the establishment" and said that "many members of the establishment, including Ronald Reagan, are against the draft." He was roundly booed.

## Post office bombed

The most serious action took place in Puerto Rico, where four post offices and five military installations were bombed, with total damage of \$1 million. The Commandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo took responsibility for the bombings, stating: "This is an operation of denunciation against the imposition of obligatory military registration by

the Yankee government." The draft poses a double oppression for the Puerto Rican people; while being among the foremost victims of U.S. imperialism, they are also forced to fight in its armies.

In addition to the open protests, there has been a high level of resistance to registration. According to Barry Lynn, chairman of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), about 500,000 young men, 12.5 percent of those required to, failed to register. Initial estimates indicate that 31 percent didn't register in Seattle, 20 percent in Phoenix, 40 percent in Boston and 44 percent in Atlanta. These figures make a joke out of Selective Service estimates that only two percent would not register, and will make it very hard for the government to prosecute those who resist.

In spite of these successes, the anti-draft movement has been plagued by serious political weaknesses. These weaknesses generally reflect the rightward shift in the political climate, following the Iranian hostage crisis and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The most obvious is its relatively small size. The 30,000 who marched in Washington on March 22 and the 5,000 in New York on July 21 pale in size compared to the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated against the Vietnam War; they are even small



Anti-Draft demonstrators block registration window at Manhattan General Post Office.

compared to the anti-nuke and gay rights marches last year that drew 100,000 people.

## Movement soft on U.S. imperialism

The movement has also been disunited and politically untogether. There are many openly right-wing groups inside the movement. A good example is the Chicago group Patriots Against Registration and the Draft, which always carries American flags. Pro-China Maoist groups, like the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), are calling on the U.S. government to take a tough stand against "Soviet expansionism," and are therefore in a weak position to oppose the draft.

There are also a number of religious and pacifist groups—such as the American Friends Service Committee and the Mobilization for Sur-

vival—which have served to keep the movement passive. The reformist Socialist Workers Party has played an even more insidious role. They have openly opposed the use of civil disobedience to disrupt registration. This is to the right of the pacifists, who are at least willing to challenge the laws of the capitalist state and get arrested.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has played a major role in keeping the movement tied to U.S. imperialism. Their strategy has been to provide a platform for liberal Democrats and keep out the left. DSOC controls the MAD coalition which called the national march on Washington and the west side rally in New York. The March 22 national demonstration gave a limited expression to the movement and kept it loyal to U.S. imperialism and inside the Democratic Party.

These various reformist forces have dominated the organized movement and kept it from exposing the role of U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces have largely remained outside the organized coalitions, being forced to intervene from the outside. Many have relied on their own independent work.

We have a long and difficult struggle ahead of us. As capitalism sinks deeper into crisis, the rulers of this country will increasingly need war to maintain their sagging empire. The fight against imperialist war will take on many different forms: the anti-draft movement will be one of these. It is essential that the anti-draft movement openly expose the role of U.S. imperialism. We need to begin now to build the foundation for the kind of movement that can turn a devastating imperialist war into a class war—a war of all working and oppressed people uniting to throw out our oppressors and take control of society for ourselves. □

## Rally Planned to Commemorate Chicano Moratorium



Chicano Moratorium march, 1970.

On August 29, 1970, 25,000 Chicanos and their supporters marched through East Los Angeles to protest the imperialist war against Vietnam. This action, called the Chicano Moratorium Against the War, was one of the largest political demonstrations by Chicanos ever seen. The protesters not only opposed the war itself, but also pointed out its racist character in the disproportionately high number of Chicanos who were being drafted, wounded and killed. In 1970 Chicanos made up 20 percent of the U.S. army's front-line troops in Vietnam, while at home they continued to suffer from racist attacks and discrimination.

The 1970 march was attacked by hundreds of armed police. Three Chicanos were killed by the cops and dozens more wounded. One of the dead was Ruben Salazar, a respected liberal journalist who had exposed police brutality in the Chicano community on earlier occasions. But the police attack was not a defeat for the community. Hundreds of demonstrators fought back, burning 12 police cars and injuring many cops.

This year, on August 30, a march and rally will be held to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium. The Los Angeles branch of the RSL will be participating. For more information, contact the RSL at (213) 685-0345.

# STEELWORKER DISCUSSES WHY HE RAN FOR DELEGATE IN LOCAL 1010 ELECTIONS

Dear Torch readers,

In my local (United Steelworkers of America—USWA—Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana) I ran in elections for delegate to the union's convention this year. I ran as an independent, separate from the Rank and File Caucus (a caucus which is the leadership in the local and is affiliated with the district head, Jim Balanoff) which has done little to fight for our needs.

In the election on July 10, I got 725 votes. You needed about 2,000 votes to win. This was a very strong showing on my first time in union elections. The other four people who were running as independents also did very well—getting from 600 to 800 votes. The strong backing that all of the independents got shows that there are a lot of workers who want to fight against the layoffs and plant closings in steel.

I thought that it was important to run this year for two reasons. First, the national and local contracts were up in the same year as the steelworkers' convention is taking place. This means that a lot of people will be thinking about the kind of union leadership we all really need. Second,



Local 1010 members protest against USWA sellout of apprentice rights last September.

steelworkers are under attack from plant closings and layoffs. Across the country 25 percent of us are out of work. At Inland, a lot of us are on four-day workweeks. And we are the ones who are lucky not to be laid off. It is important to address these problems and to show people how to solve them. Running for delegate is a good way to do this.

I was especially happy to run for delegate after I saw the results of the vote on the local contract. (Steelworkers don't get to vote on the national contract.) The contract did nothing to solve the problem of the layoffs. The vote to accept or reject the contract

wasn't a strike vote, but many saw it that way. A lot of people were afraid of a strike. It was nine to one to accept the local contract—6,430 voted not to strike. But 698 people voted to fight for more. I saw then that I had to aim my campaign at the people who wanted to fight. I wanted to win the support of these people, and be able to talk with them about what kind of strategy we need to fight the layoffs and plant closings.

The main reason I ran in the elections was to get the politics of the RSL out to these people. I saw that these workers would be a force to push the union to fight for our

needs. I saw that we all need to discuss how we are going to fight for what we need. The issues that I concentrated on in my campaign were how to fight the layoffs and plant closings and the need for the USWA to oppose the Nazis and the Klan. In my local I got a motion passed that the USWA oppose Klan and Nazi terror. A supporter of the Rank and File Caucus made sure this motion passed at the District 31 Conference (a pre-convention conference). Now this motion will go to the convention.

In the elections, I ran against the Rank and File slate but I voted for individuals on that slate who I believe are trying to fight for steelworkers' needs. I also tried to convince other workers to do the same—to vote for the militants on the Rank and File slate without supporting the whole slate. My leaflet stated: "although there are some good people in the Rank and File Caucus, as a whole they failed in leadership, especially in the recent contract."

A couple of supporters of the Spartacist League ran in the elections as independents. I decided it wasn't worth supporting them; they have a line against joining any union

committees to fight layoffs unless the committees are set up to take over the plants. This means, in the meanwhile, they won't struggle against the bureaucracy and for our needs. And by the time workers are talking about taking over the plants, we won't need these people's "help."

Running for delegate, I gained a lot of respect for my views in the local, though my ideas are still not popular. In fact, raising the issue of the Klan and Nazis may have cost me votes. But it was worth it. It is important that the unions take up the struggle to defend all workers from Klan and Nazi attacks. The idea may not be popular today, but it is necessary.

I was also able to discuss with other workers our need for a mass movement of all workers affected by the layoffs and plant closings. My ideas were new and the most repeated question was "how do we stop the layoffs?" I told other workers that we need a strong movement with new leaders who "will use the power of the rank and file. The power of the rank and file comes from shutting down production."

Supporters of the RSL will be going to the USWA Convention to leaflet and talk to people there. This was a good beginning for us in building a fight against the layoffs. I plan to involve myself in more activities in my local, and to continue fighting for these views.

David Vance

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Phone unions sign new contract

Over 700,000 telephone workers were prepared to strike against the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) when their contract expired at midnight, August 10. However, Glenn Watts, the head of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), signed a three-year contract just three hours before the strike deadline. The two other unions involved in the negotiations, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Telecommunications International Union, also reached agreement with AT&T.

The new contract includes a 10.5 percent annual wage increase, which Watts describes as "comfortably within" President Carter's wage-price guidelines. It also contains a slight rise in the union's cost-of-living allowance (COLA). However, AT&T came out of the negotiations with an almost free hand to introduce automated machinery. Workers assigned to the new machinery will have to accept a pay cut or lose their jobs. Only those with 15 years seniority or more will escape the pay cuts under the new contract.

Watts agreed to these terms because he was anxious to avoid a nationwide strike. As a longtime supporter of President Carter, he was willing to do almost anything to prevent a strike that would embarrass Carter politically. In particular he wanted to prevent any disruption of telephone communications or television broadcasts of the Democratic National Convention, which opened in New York City on August 11. Although 20 New York State locals

staged a one-day walkout to protest the weak job security clause in the contract, state union officials ordered them back to work before the convention started, claiming they had "made their point."

### Cops harass Milwaukee strikers

On July 28 hundreds of trade union members from Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha, Wisconsin, rallied in front of the Master Lock Company's Milwaukee plant in support of 1,200 striking workers. Police attacked the rally, clubbed one demonstrator and jailed 10 others, including the president of United Auto Workers Local 469, which represents the strikers.

This attack was typical of the harassment Master Lock workers have faced since they began their strike on June 1. The company provoked the strike by offering the workers a wage raise of only 10 percent over the life of a new three-year contract. The company also insisted on retaining a cap on the union's cost-of-living allowance (COLA), although workers lost over \$1.25 an hour in real wages over the last four-year contract because of rising prices. The workers rejected this offer by a 1,049-1 vote and walked off the job.

Management has hired hundreds of scabs through ads for skilled trades and production workers in local newspapers. Twice a day police rope off the entrances to the plant and escort the scabs through the strikers' picket lines. A dozen strikers have been jailed for doing nothing more than shouting at the scabs. Nevertheless, the Local 469 workers are holding firm. On August 11 they voted down a "new" company offer, which

repeated the 10 percent wage package, offered only an additional five cents COLA money, and called for disciplinary layoffs of up to 15 days for some of the strikers.

### U.K. unemployment at '30s peak

The British government announced on July 22 that unemployment in Britain has reached its highest point since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Close to two million British workers, or eight percent of the workforce, have no jobs. Moreover, total unemployment is expected to reach three million by the end of the year.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government has deliberately encouraged high unemployment in order to build British capitalism at the workers' expense. After the latest jobless figures were announced, Sir Geoffrey Howe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered an ultimatum to British workers, saying they must choose "either higher pay and few jobs or lower pay settlements and more jobs." By engineering a recession through jacking up interest rates and restricting funds for investment, the Thatcher government hopes it can force workers into accepting a lower standard of living.

Large sections of the U.S. ruling class want to copy Thatcher's strategy. President Carter's March attempt to provoke a recession by raising interest rates and restricting credit has already sent total unemployment over eight million. The right-wing economic theories of the Republican Party candidate, Ronald Reagan, are similar to those of Thatcher and her economic advisors. No matter who wins the elections, U.S. workers will have to contend with the same sort of ruling-class attacks that British workers are facing today.

—PB

# Fight for Jobs Ignored As McBride Keeps Tight Lid on USWA Convention

By a  
**STEELWORKER  
CORRESPONDENT**

**LOS ANGELES, August 9—**The 20th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) ended here yesterday after a five-day meeting that brought together nearly 4,000 delegates representing the union's 1.4 million members. The USWA holds conventions every two years to debate and decide the union's policy goals, constitutional changes and trial appeals.

Since the last convention, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1978, many issues facing USWA members have become more sharply drawn. In particular, jobs and job security has become the key issue the union must tackle. In the past two years, over 35,000 workers in basic steel have permanently lost their jobs as a result of plant shutdowns. Overall unemployment in basic steel is now near 25 percent. Meanwhile, inflation continues to hit hard at both unemployed and working steelworkers.

Where jobs have not been lost, working conditions and contract rights previously won are under increasing attack. The steel bosses are pitting plant against plant and worker against worker in a stepped-up effort to weaken workers' rights and undermine the union.

At the same time, the right wing has grown in the past two years. The right-wing Ku Klux Klan during the past two years has waged an offensive against oppressed people, union members and leaders and leftists who work for labor unity.

The USWA, and all workers, need a plan of action that can unite workers so we can defend ourselves from the bosses and the right wing.

## Convention stacked by IEB

Many unionists came here hoping that the 1980 USWA convention would be a step forward in the fight for jobs and against oppression. Yet very few voices from the floor called the union's attention to the plant closings.

A crucial reason for this was that many of the locals at shutdown plants couldn't afford to send delegates. Workers from the two U.S. Steel plants recently closed in Youngstown, Ohio, for example, had no elected represen-

tative at this convention. Hundreds of other locals all over the country were also unable to send delegates.

Approximately one-third of the delegates to this convention were therefore staff people assigned to represent locals that couldn't afford to send delegates. Since staff people are appointed by the International Executive Board (IEB), controlled by USWA President Lloyd McBride, they owe their jobs and loyalty to McBride and the International leadership. As a result, when the issues of union democracy, jobs and labor solidarity were raised on the floor, they were brushed aside by this convention.

Similarly, although hundreds of policy resolutions were submitted by members through their local unions, special IEB-appointed committees screened and re-drafted these resolutions for consideration by the delegates. Thus, the convention was presented with 50 toothless resolutions, and amending or tabling them was not allowed.

## Oppositionists force brief floor fights

Even these watered-down resolutions, however, generated some debate by the more militant non-staff section of the convention. Alice Peurala, president of Local 65, urged that the delegates vote down the committee's woman's rights resolution because McBride supporters had deleted a provision to create a women's department within the union. Delegates also rose up to speak against the Ku Klux Klan. A resolution from the floor to send representatives from the International to an anti-KKK rally to be held on August 9 in Fontana, California, was not voted on. District 31 Director Jim Balanoff urged the convention to vote against a salary hike for the USWA tops "because it's the right thing to do." Debates on various other controversial subjects were allowed to go on for from five to 25 minutes, but the resolutions from the committee always won.

Controversy surrounded the IEB proposal to dissolve District 26 into three surrounding districts. Youngstown, Ohio, where U.S. Steel recently shut down two of its mills, is the heart of District 26.

This reporter interviewed a delegate from Local 2163, which represents the Jones and Laughlin mill in Youngs-

town. That local has seen its active membership decline from 10,000 to 2,500 in the past three years. The mill, like others in Youngstown, will probably be shut down.

According to the delegate, there is no adequate way to measure the toll that these shutdowns have taken on the workers. The number of suicides in the area has risen. Divorces and mental cases are up. Retail businesses have pulled out. The international union itself leads laid-off workers through a run-around in the courts, where the companies always seem to win.

According to the Local 2163 delegate, the reason the IEB wants to split up his district is that a dissident candidate stands a good chance of

winning the district elections in 1981. And, even though the membership of District 26 has dropped from 50,000 to 30,000, it is still bigger than other USWA districts.

But this proposal, like others by the IEB, passed after less than half an hour debate.

Another controversial matter to hit the floor was the resolution to endorse Carter/Mondale in the 1980 presidential elections. That resolution came up on the fourth day of the convention. Previous speakers, including AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, and Patricia Harris (U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services), stressed the anti-labor stance of the Republican Party and its extremely right-wing candidate, Ronald Reagan.

Harris noted that the Republican platform was endorsed by Wilkinson's Klan. She passed over the fact that David Duke's Klan was openly running a candidate, Tom Metzger, on the Democratic Party line in California. Several delegates raised resolutions to support Senator Kennedy. Not one delegate rose up to call on the union to break from both capitalist parties and help form a new political party of, by and for the workers.

Controversy briefly flared up at the report of the Appeals Committee. Eugene Pughsley, a Black militant coke worker at Republic Steel in South Chicago, who stood up and fought for coke plant safety and against racism and sexism for many years, will be barred from office for two years as a result of the Appeals Committee's findings. Last year, members of the Executive Board of Local 1033 (Republic Steel), led by local President Frank Guzzo, charged Pughsley with wrongly charging the union for time spent on union business. Pughsley was then vice-president and coke plant grievor for 1033. The elected trial committee found Pughsley innocent. A local membership meeting agreed with the committee and exonerated him by a vote of 153-18. The International overturned that vote. The Appeals Committee upheld the International as did the heavily pro-McBride convention.

## Leftists active at convention

Non-delegates had some impact during the five-day convention. On the morning of August 7, an RSL leaflet was handed out, entitled "Unite to Fight the Layoffs."

"Our current union leaders have the wrong strategy for saving our jobs," the leaflet contended. "McBride, and the other AFL-CIO tops, say we should rely on lobbying, letter-writing, bloc voting, law suits, protectionism, and imperialist war moves to save our jobs. But the courts, the politicians and the system itself are in the hands of the bosses. The bosses, as always, want to increase the power they have over us. Now, they are beating us down with unemployment and inflation. Our best strategy is to fight them with our united, direct mass action."

The leaflet called for a  
(Continued on page 17)

## "Don't Scrap Wisconsin Steel"



**CHICAGO—130 workers from Wisconsin Steel and their friends protested at International Harvester's headquarters here on August 4. In April, Harvester and Chase Manhattan Bank foreclosed on a loan to Wisconsin. The foreclosure shut the mill down.**

The Save Our Jobs Committee (SOJC) called the August 4 rally. SOJC is a rank and file group of unemployed Wisconsin Steel workers. Employed and unemployed workers from at least five other South Side mills and factories also marched. Some of these workers were friends and supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The workers marched from Harvester through the Loop to the Dirksen Federal Building, where Judge Charles B. McCormick was expected to issue a ruling the next day on whether Wisconsin Steel would have to sell its heavy machinery as part of its bankruptcy settlement. The workers chanted: "Don't Scrap Wisconsin Steel!" Frank Lumpkin, an organizer of the SOJC, spoke at the Federal Building, warning that while Wisconsin Steel workers' jobs were on the line today, "it could be yours tomorrow." A worker with 24 years' seniority at Wisconsin Steel said privately that the government should take over the mill and give the 4,000 laid-off workers their jobs.

The rally and march showed that there is a percentage in raising hell. Judge McCormick postponed his expected August 5 decision on whether to scrap the mill to pay off the creditors. However, Wisconsin still owes the workers back pay, SUB benefits, and pension credits.

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—PB

Readers of the *Torch/La Antorcha* should be well familiar with the increasing activity and influence of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. But these groups are only the most extreme, conscious and consistent elements—the vanguard—of a much larger right-wing movement.

In fact, there are millions of people—the potential base for the Nazis and the Klan—who do not necessarily look to the fascists for leadership, but who support right-wing solutions to the problems caused by decaying capitalism.

Millions of people across the U.S. are being mobilized around sexist, racist and pro-imperialist issues, and more and more "respectable" politicians are openly taking right-wing positions.

This growing mass movement has become known as the "New Right," and some of the most effective organizers for it are a spate of white, evangelical preachers. Through the "electronic church"—radio and television gospel shows such as Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour," Pat Robertson's "700 Club," James Robison's "Wake Up America," Jim Bakker's "PTL [Praise the Lord] Club," and others—the preachers reach an estimated 128 million people and receive upwards of \$500 million a year for their New Right crusades. There are more than 1,300 radio and 36 television stations in the U.S. that devote most or all of their time to so-called religious programming, as well as many religious shows that buy time on the commercial networks.

## The New Right's program

Known as evangelical, fundamentalist or born-again Christians, the electronic preachers—indeed the entire New Right—use "morality" issues (those relating to sexuality and sex roles) as the cutting edge of their right-wing program. They oppose homosexuality, abortion, pornography, sex education and the Equal Rights Amendment. Their strict, repressive, old-fashioned morality is then tied in with the work ethic, anti-communism, American chauvinism, racism and the gamut of the New Right program. This program includes:

- opposition to school desegregation;
- opposition to the establishment of a federal Department of Education;
- opposition to funding for welfare and food stamps;
- opposition to the confirmation of "liberal" judges;
- opposition to home rule for the majority Black District of Columbia;
- opposition to Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulations;
- opposition to the Panama Canal treaties;
- opposition to SALT II (the second Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty).

At the same time the New Right argues for a strong national "defense," a balanced budget, anti-labor "right-to-work" laws, and prayer in the schools.

To get more of a feel for what these preachers are saying, I joined an estimated 25 million people one Sunday in watching the "Old Time Gospel Hour." I heard the Reverend Jerry Falwell and

# Electronic Preachers Organizers for the New Right Movement

his guest discuss the family and how the survival of America depends on repairing the damage to the home. No nation could remain free with a divorce rate as high as that in the U.S., they said. According to them, the major enemies of the family are:

- 1) "the cult of the playboy"—immorality and irresponsibility on the part of husbands;
- 2) the "feminist revolution" (since they see women as "naturally submissive," they believe the struggle for women's rights is simply women's misguided reaction to the cult of the playboy);
- 3) the "homosexual revolution";
- 4) "questionable medical advances" such as artificial insemination, in vitro fertilization, etc.;
- 5) "government intervention"—examples given of this include the Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion in 1973 and consideration of gay rights bills.

Falwell went on at some length about how abortion is "murder" and encourages immorality and irresponsibility. Then, demagogically utilizing the cuteness of children and implying that people who believe in women's right to abortion never have children, he had all the parents in the congregation bring

their little ones up front. Cooing over these "bundles of joy," Falwell said: "I'm glad these parents did not believe in abortion... I'm glad they are not anti-life, but rather pro-life."

Falwell also mentioned the CBS special on homosexuality in San Francisco (see *Torch/La Antorcha*, Vol. 7, No. 5) and how sickening it was that they would devote prime time television to that subject. He joked about Adam and Eve, "not Adam and Steve," and emphasized many times the importance of basing families exclusively on the biblical model—one man who's the head, one woman who submits to him, together and faithful for their whole lives, and lots of children.

## Preachers building an activist movement

But big-name, right-wing evangelical preachers like Oral Roberts, Billy Graham and Herbert and Garner Ted Armstrong have been peddling this nonsense for years. What is new is that the preachers are now doing a lot more than just preaching. They are trying to convert their largely passive TV and radio following into an activist political

movement. In the last few years, the preachers have teamed up with other right-wing forces to lobby, campaign and organize for "Christian morality" and the New Right line, with frightening success.

Falwell, for example, tours the country, taking the "I Love America Singers"—a chorus from the Liberty Baptist College—onto the steps of the 50 state capitols. He is currently appealing for funds to purchase prime time television in every major market in the U.S. for a special entitled "America, You're Too Young to Die," in which he will talk about the "issues that will determine if the U.S. survives the 1980s as a free nation." In return for a contribution, you get a "survival kit," including a booklet entitled "Here's How You Can Help Save America," an American flag decal, and an "Old Glory" flag pin. All of this is "religious," not political, you understand—and all contributions are tax deductible.

On April 28 and 29, One Nation Under God, an 18-month-old coalition of evangelicals and broadcast preachers of different fundamentalist denominations held "Washington for Jesus"—a massive lobbying and rally in Washington, D.C. The event was co-sponsored by Pat Robertson and Bill Bright, founder of

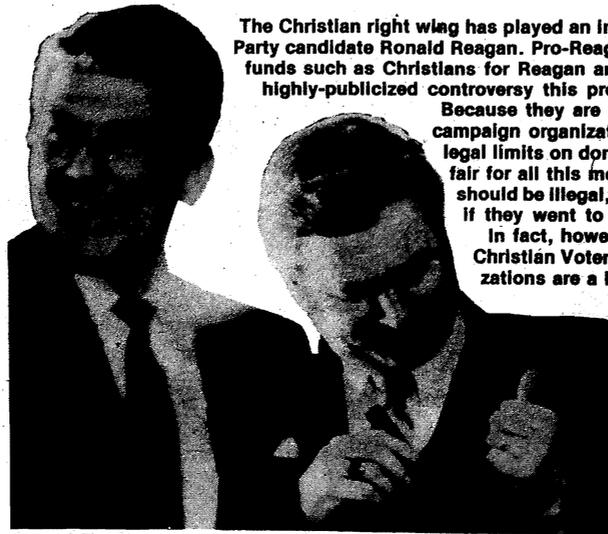
the Campus Crusade for Christ, a national organization. On Monday the organization urged every member to urge them to make policy decisions with biblical standards in mind. "On Tuesday, some people attended the rally," they heard 60-odd people address the breakdown of the public morality, the new religion into government and the deteriorating moral and military might of the U.S. the organizers insisted, was religious, not political.

## Political networks extend influence

But some activity can be disguised as religious, and so openly political organizations have been formed to organize for "morality." These groups are organized organizationally, the electronic preachers to the rest of the New Right generally function through preachers, who push the conservative message from the pulpit and mobilize their congregations, while top-notch New Right administrators, organizers and leaders do the behind-the-scenes work. Some of the most important of these are:

- **Christian Voice:** The largest of these organizations, Revs. Robert Grant, got their start in the American Christian Cause, a group formed to mobilize support for the Briggs Initiative, a 1978 initiative that would have barred homosexuals from working in California schools. Following their failure on that issue they decided to go national and address a wider range of issues, including opposition to school busing, the Panama Canal Treaty and abortion, and support for school prayer, national security and prosecuting wrongdoers. "According to Newsweek, 'The prime goal of Christian Voice is to fuse the single-issue zeal of the religious activists—on issues as abortion and school busing—with broad-gauge support for conservative policies on such general issues as the economy, diplomacy and SALT II.'" (July 16, 1979)

Christian Voice's legislative director, Gary Jarmin, got his religious



Ronald Reagan confers with evangelist Jerry Falwell.

The Christian right wing has played an important role in the presidential campaign of Republican Party candidate Ronald Reagan. Pro-Reagan political action committees and independent Reagan funds such as Christians for Reagan and Christian Voters Victory Fund have been a source of highly-publicized controversy this presidential election year.

Because they are separate organizations, independent of Reagan and his campaign organizations, money can be given to them far in excess of the legal limits on donations to candidates. Carter has complained that it's unfair for all this money to be spent on Reagan's behalf. He says the funds should be illegal, since they are being spent on Reagan's campaign just as if they went to his own campaign fund.

In fact, however, Reagan does not control Christians for Reagan, the Christian Voters Victory Fund and similar groups. Rather, these organizations are a key part of the strategy of the evangelical New Right to push Reagan even further right. By showing him that they are a significant force in the election, they hope to pressure Reagan to adopt more of their ultra-conservative program. As William Billings, chairman of the Christian Voters Victory Fund, said:

"One of our big ambitions is to work toward making sure that if Gov. Reagan becomes President he is surrounded by the right people. If we can demonstrate a little bit of strength in the 1980 election, we might be able to prove to him that involved Christian voters made the difference. Perhaps we'll be able to have some type of veto power over those he chooses to surround himself with." □

# Preachers: for the movement

In the last few years, the movement has teamed up with other groups to lobby, campaign for "Christian morality" on the national level, with frighten-

ing people, tours the country, Love America Sing-ins, the Liberty Baptist steps of the 50 state capitals, currently appealing for prime time television spots in the U.S. for a "America, You're Too Liberal" flag pin. All of this political, you understand, are tax de-

), One Nation Under God coalition of evangelist preachers of various denominations for Jesus"—a mass rally in Washington, D.C., co-sponsored by Pat Robertson, founder of

campaign of Republican Independent Reagan has been a source of

of Reagan and his excess of the money. He says the funds for his campaign just as

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work toward making President he is sure can demonstrate a Christian voters made to have some type of as to surround him-

the Campus Crusade for Christ International. On Monday they sent delegations to every member of Congress to urge them to make policy "in keeping with biblical standards of right and wrong." On Tuesday, some 200,000 people attended the rally/prayer meeting. They heard 60-odd speakers address the breakdown of the family and public morality, the need to bring religion into government and education, and the deteriorating moral, economic and military might of the USA. This too, the organizers insisted, was purely religious, not political.

## Political networks extend influence

But some activity cannot be disguised as religious, and so a number of openly political organizations have been formed to organize for "Christian morality." These groups are what tie, organizationally, the electronic preachers to the rest of the New Right. They generally function through networks of preachers, who push the agreed-on conservative message from the pulpit and mobilize their congregations as needed, while top-notch New Right administrators, organizers and fund-raisers do the behind-the-scenes work. The most important of these organizations are:

• **Christian Voice:** The founders of this organization, Revs. Richard Zone and Robert Grant, got their start in the American Christian Cause, a California group formed to mobilize support for the Briggs Initiative, a 1978 ballot initiative that would have barred gay people from working in California schools. Following their failure on that question, they decided to go national and take on a wider range of issues, including opposition to school busing, the Panama Canal Treaty and abortion funding, and support for school prayer, Taiwan security and prosecuting welfare "deadbeats." According to *Newsweek*:

"The prime goal of Christian Voice is to fuse the single-issue zeal of the nation's religious activists—on such issues as abortion and school prayer—into broad-gauge support for conservative policies on such general issues as the economy, diplomacy in Africa and SALT II." (July 16, 1979)

Christian Voice's legislative director, Gary Jarmin, got his religious start in



200,000 right-wing Christians rally in Washington, D.C., April 1980.

Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church and his political experience in the American Conservative Union. David Troxler, a member of Christian Voice's policy committee, used to be an assistant director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC—a political action committee whose director is the influential right-wing political tactician, Paul Weyrich). Robert Billings, a former member of the Christian Voice's policy committee, meanwhile, is now vice-chairman of CSFC's board of directors.

Christian Voice has an advisory committee made up of four U.S. senators (Orrin Hatch of Utah, James McClure of Idaho, Roger Jepson of Iowa and Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire) and 11 congressmen, including John Birch Society member Larry McDonald of Georgia—all New Right politicians.

Christian Voice claims to have 187,000 members and supporters, including 37,000 pastors from 45 denominations including Mormons and Roman Catholics.

It recently issued "morality" ratings on senators and congressmen based on



Evangelist preachers. Clockwise from top: Herbert Armstrong, Oral Roberts, Billy Graham.

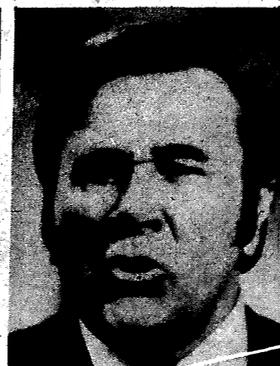
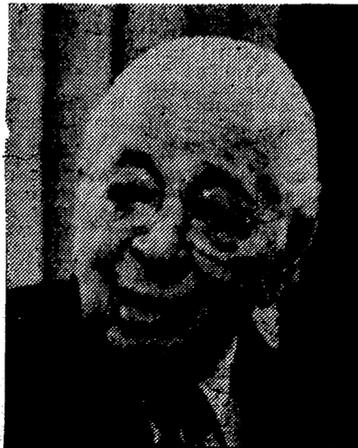
their votes on 14 New Right issues. It also has given its supporters a "hit list" of undesirable incumbents, with the request that these people be preached against on the air and in the churches.

• **Moral Majority, Inc.:** Jerry Falwell's openly political group, which tries to mobilize voters around New Right issues. Its executive director is none other than CSFC leader Robert Billings. Falwell claims that churches sympathetic to Moral Majority have registered 1.5 to 2 million voters, and that there are 70,000 clergy working with him on this drive. It "educates" voters through a newsletter (they have a mailing list of 235,000) and seminars.

Several months ago Moral Majority, Inc. ran a campaign involving large ads in major newspapers asking people to write in to express their desire to outlaw pornography on television and "militant homosexuals" (open gay people). In return for writing in, you'd get an "Old Glory" flag pin. This campaign was in cooperation with the Anita Bryant Ministries, Inc., which was running a questionnaire along similar lines at the same time.

Moral Majority also has a campaign fund-raising arm, the Moral Majority Political Action Committee.

• **The Religious Roundtable:** Founded by Edward A. McAteer, former national director of the Conservative Caucus and former sales director for Colgate-Palmolive, this group focuses on bringing together and training leaders from different denominations to get involved in "pro-God, pro-family, pro-America causes." As the *Los Angeles Times* said: "[McAteer] believes that 50 million evangelicals, conservative Catholics, Orthodox Jews and Mormons, even though their religious doctrines differ, have a commonality of principles as far as public policy is concerned."



"That really was the basis for the Roundtable," he said. "What we're doing is putting a bridge between denominations." (May 19, 1980)

• **The National Christian Action Coalition:** a behind-the-scenes brain trust which researches the issues for the other groups. Robert Billings—of Moral Majority, CSFC, and formerly Christian Voice—is the founder and president. His son, William, formerly executive director of the Conservative Leadership Youth Foundation and a consultant for the National Conservative Political Action Committee, is the coalition's executive director, newsletter editor, and political action committee chairman. The coalition publishes a monthly newsletter, *Alert*. Its political action committee, the Christian Voters Victory Fund, does its own rating of senators and congressmen called the Family Issues Voting Index, based on their votes on 10 New Right issues.

## Crusade for authoritarian morality

The Christian right-wing movement is large, strong and growing. It has a potentially huge constituency—30 to 80 million people in this country consider themselves born-again Christians. Of course, not all of them are right-wingers. But the preachers have tremendous moral authority with them, a ready-made platform—the churches and religious broadcasts—from which to reach them and, as we have shown, an efficient network to organize them.

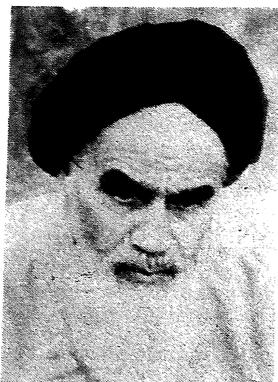
The real power of this movement, however, lies neither in its size as such nor its apparatus. Rather, the driving force of the Christian right-wing movement is its moral fervor.

With capitalist society in a crisis—the economy near collapse; the crushing weight of a nameless, faceless bureaucracy; deepening international tensions and moves toward war; inadequate and deteriorating social services; the destruction of the environment; increasing violence on the streets—it's not surprising that many people are looking for a better, more moral world.

But most of the people who make up the current and potential base of the New Right don't correctly understand why things are so bad in the first place. They don't see that the system itself is the cause of the crisis, that it is immoral and corrupt.

Instead, they believe that the root of the problem is the breakdown of traditional values, particularly traditional morality. Their starting point is that the capitalist system would work fine if everyone followed the traditional values and rules they believe are "natural." Thus the zealots of the New Right think the answer is to force everybody to act in accordance with their own version of Christian morality—a totalitarian morality. They think that by attacking gay rights and abortion rights, welfare recipients and foreign workers, unions and oppressed people who fight back, they are doing God's will, saving lives and souls, and purifying the nation.

It is this combination of desperation, fervor and faith that gives the New Right's "morality crusade" such potency—and makes it so potentially attractive to so many other desperate people. □



By PAUL BENJAMIN

A year and a half has passed since the Iranian people overthrew Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's brutal regime. By defeating the shah the Iranian workers and peasants inflicted a stunning setback to the U.S. imperialist ruling class, which had supported his reign for decades.

But the Iranian masses have so far been unable to follow up their victory by organizing a socialist revolution which could finish off the remaining pro-capitalist forces in Iran. Instead, the Iranian Shi'a Muslim clergy, or mullahs, led by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, have launched a campaign to consolidate their hold over Iranian society.

The goal of the mullahs is to establish a strong Islamic and nationalist regime. Such a regime would be based on state ownership of a large portion of the economy and the continued exploitation of the workers and peasants in a capitalist manner. Meanwhile, the mullahs would maintain their control over the people by manipulating an authoritarian version of Islamic theology, enforced by paramilitary Islamic thugs.

Last December, the mullahs adopted the constitution for

# Islamic Clergy Moves to Consolidate Rule in Iran

such an "Islamic Republic." It guarantees the mullahs strict control over a highly-centralized government apparatus. It also grants a faghi, or supreme religious leader, command over the army and the judiciary, the power to dismiss an elected president at will, and sets up an Islamic Council of Guardians which can veto laws passed by the Majlis (parliament).

Despite their hostility toward Western culture, the mullahs want to build a modern capitalist economy, dominated by state-owned industry. In many ways, the current regime's economic policies are an extension of those of the shah. The shah's government provided up to 50 percent of the investment funds for industry, as well as directly controlling the oil industry, the railroads, and other sectors of the economy. The provisional government set up after the shah's downfall vastly increased the state's role in the economy by nationalizing the banks and the auto, steel, shipbuilding and aircraft industries last summer.

As a means of regimenting the Iranian people, the mullahs are imposing a reactionary social program incorporating relics of pre-capitalist Islamic theology. Khomeini has launched campaigns against Western dress for women, Western films, Western music, and indeed any music at all. In addition, he

and his followers have resurrected medieval practices, such as stoning women to death for prostitution.

Internationally, the Khomeini regime is pursuing a neutralist foreign policy aimed at protecting its control of Iran from both the U.S. ruling class and its Russian state-capitalist rivals.

Khomeini is an ardent Iranian nationalist who refuses to play the shah's role as policeman for U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East as a whole.

But the Khomeini government also fears that the Russian ruling class, which shares a long common border with Iran and which invaded neighboring Afghanistan last December, will try to take advantage of the upheaval in Iran to increase its own influence in the country. So while Khomeini's regime continues to attack U.S. imperialism, it has also condemned the invasion of Afghanistan, as well as taking other steps aimed at warning the Russian rulers to stay out of Iranian affairs.

## Khomeini attacks masses, rivals

One of the first goals of the mullahs in their attempt to consolidate their power has been to try to crush the struggles of the non-Persian peo-

ples, such as the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis and others, for the right to regional autonomy.

These groups, which make up half the population of Iran, played a major role in the mass struggles leading to the overthrow of the shah. But their fight to recover control of their homelands is a threat to the power of Khomeini and the Muslim clergy. As a result, the regime is waging a full-scale war against the Kurdish national liberation forces, as well as sending troops to put down revolts by other non-Persian peoples.

Khomeini and the mullahs are also trying to smash the independent struggles of the working class. The workers played a leading role in the revolution, staging massive anti-government demonstrations despite brutal repression, and finally organizing the mass strikes that paralyzed the country and brought down the shah.

In the past year and a half, the workers have formed trade unions and shoras (factory committees) all over the country. Faced with 50 percent unemployment, skyrocketing inflation and food shortages, they have organized strikes, demonstrations and occupations of government offices to demand relief from the government.

Almost immediately after the revolution, Khomeini and other forces in Iranian ruling



circles began to move against the working class. In June 1979, the government set up special courts to try workers for organizing strikes or "disturbing the work of the factories." But these laws have largely remained a dead letter primarily because of the militancy of the workers, and the desire on the part of Khomeini and other elements in the government to avoid actions that might cost them popular support. Recent actions by Khomeini, however, indicate that he feels such precautions may no longer be necessary. In March he delivered a major speech warning of the threat of communism and urging his followers to confront striking workers and weed out the "counter-revolutionaries."

In addition to the workers and the oppressed nationalities, Khomeini and his supporters are also moving against various forces within the middle and upper classes which oppose the consolidation of Khomeini's power. One such group consists of the pro-imperialist opponents of the revolution who remain in Iran.

When the mass insurrection against the shah first broke out, the mullahs convinced their followers to end the rebellion before the masses succeeded in completely smashing the army and the government bureaucracy. The provisional government later attempted to preserve as much of the old state machine as they could to use as a vehicle for stabilizing its rule. Consequently many pro-U.S./pro-shah military officers and government officials not only survived the revolution, but remained in positions of authority, where they have plotted to overthrow the regime. On June 6 and July 10 some of these figures attempted military coups to seize power. While President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr has executed over 36 officers and bureaucrats and jailed several hundred others, Khomeini has ordered a purge of all "non-Islamic" officials.

Khomeini is also waging a struggle against various forces that supported the revolution but oppose his political program. At present, he is outmaneuvering middle class

## Workers Stage General Strike in El Salvador

AUGUST 13—As we go to press, the workers of El Salvador have begun what is planned to be a three-day general strike against the rightist military/Christian Democratic regime. As of yet we don't have reports on the strike's effectiveness, but all indications are that it will be as strong as the two-day general strike last June 23-24. Then, the country was completely shut down as 90 percent of the workers—over 150,000 people—refused to work, despite pleas and threats from the government.

The vast majority of the 4.5 million people of El Salvador oppose the government, which only survives because of U.S. military and economic aid. The current government is descended from one that took power in a coup last October. The October coup installed a military-dominated junta that hoped to stem the growing mass movement of workers and peasants with a combination of reforms and repression. This strategy was manufactured by the U.S. State Department, which was looking for a way to stabilize U.S. imperialist domination of Central America.

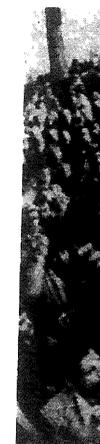
The traditional landlord/capitalist ruling class of El Salvador opposed this approach, however. It had no use

for reforms that would be made at its expense, even if Washington thought they were necessary. The ruling class—known as the 14 families—especially wanted to avoid land reform, which is one of the burning issues in El Salvador, an extremely densely populated country.

In a series of mini-coups the traditional oligarchy has regained control; today its tools, the rightist military faction and the fascist group Orden, dominate the government. Nearly 3,000 workers, peasants and middle class oppositionists have been murdered this year by the rightist forces.

In response, the workers and peasants have launched a counter-offensive, and dozens of left organizations, many with mass followings, have joined in a united front for a final assault on the ruling class. The mass movement has even been joined by Social Democratic and some Christian Democratic politicians who were forced out of the government in the mini-coups. But so far these reformists have not been able to derail the militant popular movement.

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political leaders such as Bani-Sadr, Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh and former President Mehdi Bazargan, who allied with the mullahs to overthrow the shah. Most of these individuals are Western-educated and prefer a more liberalized, secular type of statist capitalism than Khomeini and the mullahs are willing to accept. While paying lip-service to the Islamic Republic, they want to construct a state apparatus independent of the mullahs that would enable them to become

began after March of this year when the IRP gained a majority in the first round of elections to the Majlis. This was the signal for a new offensive by Khomeini and his supporters. On April 8 Khomeini personally intervened to support the students holding the hostages in the U.S. embassy and thus wrecked Bani-Sadr's efforts for a compromise settlement with the U.S. Later in the month he forced Bani-Sadr to accept an "Islamic Cultural Revolution" against the middle class and leftist

fought to gain leadership of the anti-shah struggle. Instead the workers gravitated toward the mosques, which were the only sanctuaries against the SAVAK, or political police. This in turn enabled the mullahs to capture a following among the workers which they have never lost.

The authority of the mullahs was reinforced by the fragmentation of the working class. Many workers work in factories employing only 10 or 15 people. In addition, the shah prevented the growth of a unified labor movement by splitting workers up into 1,300 separate unions, most of them controlled by SAVAK. Consequently, even at the height of the anti-shah revolution, workers from different factories seldom coordinated their activities.

Another reason why no working class political organization to organize a struggle against Khomeini's regime has appeared is because in areas like Azerbaijan and the Arab province of Khuzistan, the workers' resistance to the central government has taken the form of a struggle for national autonomy led by petty bourgeois nationalist forces. For instance, the Muslim People's Party (MPP), Shariat-Madari's political organization, was the main party active in the Azerbaijani Turkish people's rebellion against Khomeini last December.

### Working class lacks own political organizations

Finally, the various leftist opposition groups in Iran have without exception failed to put forward a clearcut alternative to the statist goals of either Khomeini or the middle class leaders. The Mujahedeen-e Khalq, the largest of those groups, actually represent the left-wing of the forces advocating an Islamic ers have adopted an ideology which combines Koranic teachings with Marxist theory. But in trying to straddle the barrier between Islam and revolutionary socialism, the Mujahedeen are finding it difficult to compete effectively against their political rivals.

The Fedayeen-e Khalq represents a somewhat more radical wing of the middle class pro-state capitalist spectrum. Their goal is to set up a regime modelled on the Stalinist state-capitalist societies in Eastern Europe and Asia. Recently the group split over disagreements in how to achieve this goal. A right-wing, pro-Russian majority faction argued for supporting the Khomeini regime while urging Khomeini to ally with

(Continued on page 16)



# WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## Bolivian workers resist military coup

On July 17, right-wing military commanders overthrew the interim government of President Lidia Gueiler Tejada in Bolivia. The generals acted to prevent installation of moderate politician Hernan Siles Zuazo as president of the country. Siles had won a plurality in elections held on June 29, and was expected to be chosen president by the Bolivian Congress on August 4.

The military has set up a three-person junta, led by army commander Luis Garcia Meza, to run the country. Since taking power, Garcia Meza has initiated a reign of terror. On the day of the coup, troops broke into the headquarters of the Bolivian Workers Federation and kidnapped 30 trade union leaders, including tin miners' leader Juan Lechin, who is still missing. Troops also murdered Simon Reyes, head of the Bolivian Communist Party, and Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, leader of the Socialist Party-1. At least 1,000 people were killed just in the first two weeks following the coup.

The Bolivian working class has put up a fierce resistance to the military. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined a 10-day general strike which paralyzed the country. In particular, the tin miners in southern Bolivia took the lead in organizing armed resistance to the coup. Miners in Potosi and Llallagna blockaded roads and fought against troops and tanks sent in to smash their resistance on July 20. On July 23, the miners and 4,500 peasants from the surrounding countryside used shotguns and dynamite in a five-hour battle with the army garrison in Gatavi. However, by August 3 the miners were forced to end their struggle when they ran out of food.

The Bolivian working class, led by its most militant section, the tin miners, has consistently fought for its freedom. In 1952 a workers' insurrection overthrew the old landowning oligarchy. Following a series of military regimes, the tin miners began a series of strikes and uprisings in 1976 which eventually compelled the army to promise free elections. Last November, the workers defeated Colonel Alberto Natusch Busch's coup against the country's first civilian government in 15 years. It's unlikely that the latest military takeover will be any more successful than its predecessors in suppressing the militant Bolivian working class for long.

## New purge reported in Afghanistan

The people of Afghanistan are continuing their resistance to the Russian troops who invaded their country last December and to the Soviet puppet regime of President Babrak Karmal. On August 11 street-fighting broke out between Afghan guerrillas and government troops in the cities of Herat and Kandahar. At the same time Radio Kabul admitted that rebel forces were stepping up their attacks on convoys and government outposts in the provinces of Logar, Kunar, Badakhshan and Kunduz.

Meanwhile, the Russian government's efforts to establish an Afghan regime stable enough to run the country and gain international recognition have been frustrated by the faction fights within the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The PDPA is composed of two rival wings, the Khalq faction and the Parcham faction. The Khalq wing supported former president Hafizullah Amin, who was killed during the Russian invasion. The Russian government installed Karmal, leader of the more pro-Russian Parcham faction, in his place. But supporters of the Khalq faction retained control of the Interior Ministry and large sections of the army. Over the past two months the two factions have engaged in almost nightly gun battles in the streets of Kabul.

On July 20 Radio Kabul announced a major shake-up of the government. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 1, 1980) reported that Communications Minister Aslam Watanjar and Interior Minister Syed Mohammed Gulazoi, both leaders of the Khalq faction, were stripped of their posts. In particular, Karmal is trying to remove Khalq loyalists in the army command. When he ordered the commander of the 14th Afghan Army Division stationed in Ghazni to give up his command in favor of an officer from the Parcham faction, most of the garrison mutinied. The Russian army headquarters had to fly troops to Ghazni on July 26 to suppress the mutiny.

—PB



Supporters of the Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari demonstrate in Qom last winter.

the real rulers of the country. They also seek some sort of accommodation with U.S. imperialism.

Khomeini has approached this struggle cautiously. When he returned to Iran in February 1979, he enjoyed an enormous following among the masses, based on his long and uncompromising opposition to the shah. But he lacked an apparatus which could weld together the decentralized Islamic Committees controlled by local mullahs. He also faced opposition from rival ayatollahs, such as Kazem Shariat-Madari.

Following the revolution Khomeini's supporters formed the Islamic Republican Party (IRP). Through the IRP they succeeded in unifying and disciplining most of the Islamic Committees and isolating and defeating their rivals among the higher-ranking clergy.

While organizing his own followers, Khomeini maintained a temporary alliance with the middle class leaders in order to gain control of the vast popular movement set in motion in the anti-shah struggle. Since the revolution brought about a collapse of the government apparatus, Khomeini and the middle class politicians had a common interest in building a new apparatus which could enforce the central government's authority.

At the same time they have been maneuvering against each other for control of the government. The most recent stage of this power struggle

university organizations.

In particular, the IRP has used its control of the Majlis, which began meeting on May 28, to reduce Bani-Sadr to near powerlessness. This was revealed when Bani-Sadr dropped the struggle to appoint one of his own supporters to be prime minister and named Mohammad Ali Rajai, who was hand-picked by a three-person committee of the Majlis, to the post.

### Left supports statist solution

One of the most significant features of the present situation in Iran is the failure of the Iranian working class to form its own political party to compete with the mullahs and the middle class leaders for power. Probably the chief reason for this is that many workers believe Khomeini will protect the revolution against the old ruling classes, and above all against U.S. imperialism. Moreover, many probably regard Khomeini as the only figure who can bring order to a society which continues to be torn apart by the long power struggle within the government.

In addition, the workers have not yet overcome the effects of the decades of repression they faced under the shah's regime. This repression prevented the organization of mass workers' organizations which could have

# Iran . . .

(Continued from page 15)  
Russia against U.S. imperialism.

The minority, which regards Russia as "revisionist," has rejected any alliances with Khomeini or Bani-Sadr. The minority claims it is trying to build a base in the working class. However, it appears its major strategy is to maintain and strengthen the Fedayeen's alliance with the petty bourgeois leaders of the national resistance movements in Kurdistan and Turkistan.

## HKE/HKS: apologists for Islamic Republic

A third group, the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) was formed following the February revolution. Although much smaller than either the Fedayeen or the Mujahedeen, the HKS, which is affiliated to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), is worth close examination because it was the single left organization which claimed from the outset to support a workers' and peasants' government in Iran. The HKS originally had a formally leftist program which included demands for a freely-elected constituent assembly, as well as defense of the rights of women and the oppressed nationalities.

However, in practice the HKS functioned as a loyal opposition to the Khomeini regime, rather than as a revolutionary alternative to it. In particular, the HKS refused to call on the workers to form their own political party to fight for leadership of the revolution against Khomeini. Once Khomeini pushed through his phony referendum for an "Islamic Republic" in March 1979, the HKS in practice abandoned any effort to continue its fight against the "Islamic Republic." Instead, it participated in the July elections for an Islamic constitutional assembly and in the December referendum on the Islamic constitution which were boycotted by the non-Persian peoples and the rest of the left.

The HKS attitude toward the constitution reveals its fundamental capitulation to the mullahs. The pressing task for revolutionaries in dealing with the constitution was to warn workers that it would set up a virtual dictatorship by the mullahs. While it opposed the constitution, the HKS did not carry out this task. Instead, it simply warned that the constitution "does not reflect the gains of the revolution," "falls short" of "guaranteeing democratic rights for the workers as a whole and for the national

minorities and women in particular," and "inadequately reflects" the growth of the shoras. (Militant, December 14, 1979) In so doing, the HKS misled the workers into believing there was no need to fight for a socialist revolution against Khomeini's reactionary regime. Instead, the workers need only struggle for reforms within the "Islamic Republic."

Following the referendum on the constitution the HKS split into two groups. One faction, still calling itself the HKS, affiliated with the Man-



Khomeini supporters attack anti-government demonstrators in Tehran last year.

del wing of the USec, has adopted a more critical attitude towards Khomeini, and is calling for the formation of an "anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front" in Iran. (Intercontinental Press, March 17, 1980).

A second faction, called the Hezb-e Kargar-e Engelab (HKE—Workers Revolutionary Party), affiliated to the wing of the USec led by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, has become a blatant apologist for the Khomeini regime. Its paper, Kargar, is filled with quotations from "the Imam" (Khomeini), and laced with phrases like "the Den of Spies" and "the Great Satan" borrowed from the rhetoric of the Islamic fundamentalists. (Kargar, June 10, 1980.) In both its January presidential campaign and its March parliamentary campaign, the HKE stressed "Solidarity with the Moslem Students Following the Imam's Line" as the first plank in its platform. (Intercontinental Press, January 14, 1980 and March 17, 1980.)

According to the HKE, the mullahs and Islamic militants are kinds of unconscious socialists who are not only defending the workers from

U.S. imperialism but also transforming Iranian society in their interests. While the HKE criticizes the Bani-Sadr government for not waging an effective fight against the capitalists and their agents in the bureaucracy, they do not try to enlighten the workers with a description of its class character. Instead, they simply call on Iranian workers to strengthen their own organizations and pressure the government into accepting "a more radical program of social measures." They also call for the election of workers' representatives to the Majlis and, ultimately, a workers' and peasants' government. They are discreetly silent concerning the role of the mullahs in

Mujahedeen had only itself to blame because the Mujahedeen's "sectarian" positions put it "in the camp of the 500 capitalist and big land-owning families who are creating these types of clashes." (Kargar, June 17, 1980.)

## Mullahs' success uncertain

Despite their political errors, however, all the left opposition groups remain a threat to Khomeini's ambitions. In particular, the Mujahedeen and Fedayeen have both grown substantially in recent months, attracting over

underground to escape these attacks.

Nevertheless, it is by no means certain that Khomeini will succeed in stabilizing his control over Iran. The U.S. ruling class is aiding exiled pro-imperialist Iranian politicians to prepare another right-wing coup attempt. In early July State Department officials admitted meeting with Gholam Oveissi, a former Iranian army commander who was known as "the butcher" for his ruthless suppression of anti-shah demonstrators. Oveissi is training 7,000 troops on bases in Iraq. U.S. officials have also met with Shahpur Bakhtiar, the last prime minister under the shah, who is trying to organize Iranian exiles in Western Europe.

It is also possible that some of the middle class leaders who are losing out in the power struggle may go over to the exiles if Khomeini and the mullahs lose their grip over Iran. There have already been reports that Ahmad Madani, a former admiral and provincial minister who was Bani-Sadr's first choice as prime minister, was connected with the attempted coup in July.

Finally, the possibility that the workers themselves may yet rise up against Khomeini cannot be ruled out. The workers have not yet suffered any major defeats. They still retain the organizations they built up after the 1979 revolution. Moreover, many possess arms captured during and after the mass insurrections against the shah. The growing economic crisis is bound to increase popular dissatisfaction with the regime. In June the government announced it was cutting the 1981 budget in half. It is eliminating housing subsidies and overtime pay for most government employees, cutting their net pay in half. On July 1, 7,000 water board workers occupied the board's offices in Tehran to protest the cuts. As Khomeini steps up his efforts to consolidate his rule, he may provoke a head-to-head confrontation with the working class. □

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## Fontana...

(Continued from page 5) reported.

Earlier this year in Fontana, a Chicano man and his white wife were terrorized into moving by armed Klansmen who surrounded their house. Other Black and Latin homes have been vandalized, fences knocked down, and racist insults and the initials KKK painted on many walls. On March 1, nearly 200 Klansmen rallied and displayed weapons at their leader Pepper's house.

The August 9 rally was initiated by Reverend William Dunston, president of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It was endorsed by Local 2869 of the USWA, Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 11513 (the union Howard belongs to), the San Bernardino AFL-CIO, Congreso Para Pueblo Unido, West Side Community Organization, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, National Lawyers Guild, the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee and the Revolutionary Socialist League. Several of the sponsoring groups, including



August 9 anti-Klan rally in Fontana.

the RSL, had speakers at the rally.

The favorite chant of the demonstrators was: "We won't go back to Jim Crow; Ku Klux Klan has got to go." The anti-racist rally was watched from across the street by about 150 Klan members. The two groups were separated by cops.

Coming as it did in the face of the brazen racist attacks and the open swaggering of the Klan in Fontana, the rally was a successful beginning. The endorsements of the USWA and the CWA were especially important, since these working class organiza-

tions have the power to crush the Klan. USWA Local 2869 has committed itself to conduct an anti-Klan educational campaign. Unfortunately however, the unions did not really mobilize for the demonstration, making it smaller and less effective than it could have been.

Besides the demonstration there have been other anti-Klan moves in Fontana. Most significant was the recent instance when armed neighbors of Reverend Dunston turned back a carload of Klansmen who attempted to attack him. In addition, members of the Fruit of Islam from the Los Angeles branch of the World Community of Islam in the West (the Black Muslims) acted as guards against the Klan during a hearing for Deane on July 25. □

## People's Convention...

(Continued from page 8)

controls, a society based on equality, cooperation and freedom. We're not talking about what exists today in Russia, China or Cuba. That's just another form of capitalism—state capitalism. Just like in the U.S., in Russia, a small handful of rulers sits at the top of society, making all the decisions, while the majority of working and oppressed people do not run society and are not free.

The kind of society we need—true socialism, which is the only alternative to the oppression, destruction and threat of war which capitalism holds in store—must mean freedom for all the oppressed. It must mean eliminating all forms of racism, sexism and anything that holds people down. **The only way the masses of oppressed people can run society is if each and every one of us is free.**

### Build a revolutionary party

This kind of revolution—a socialist revolution—is possi-

ble. Workers and all oppressed people are the ones that really keep society going: **We keep the factories going, we build the housing, we do all the work.** We can do it and we have to do it ourselves. No one is going to do it for us. The key to our success is for workers and oppressed people everywhere to get ourselves organized to fight for socialist revolution.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is committed to the fight for socialist revolution. Our strategy is to build a revolutionary party through which working and oppressed people can build the unity of purpose and coordination in action that we will need to make a successful socialist revolution. We think it has to be made up of people from all sections of the working class: Black, Latin, Asian, white, women and men, straight and gay, young and old. We think it has to fight for the freedom of all. And we think it has to be out in all the struggles throughout society, wherever people are fighting for a better life, making its message loud and clear: **Revolution is the only solution! Fight for socialist revolution!** □

## LEAGUE LITERATURE

### PAMPHLETS

- The Rise of State Capitalism (How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed).....\$1.50
  - The Russian Revolution (Revolutionary Socialist Educational Series, No. 1).....\$1.00
  - Imperialism, National Liberation and Socialist Revolution (Educational Series, No. 2).....\$1.00
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## USWA Convention...

(Continued from page 11)

network of militant and revolutionary workers who would 1) set up Save Our Jobs Committees; 2) endorse the proposed national march on Washington for jobs; 3) call for a national conference of workers affected by plant closings. The leaflet also called upon USWA delegates to, among other things, raise the call for a party of, by and for the workers.

Another group, the Trade Union Action League (TUAL), formed by the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist, called two meetings around

the jobs issue. The first meeting, held Monday night, drew about 20 non-affiliated steelworkers, most of whom roomed in the hotel the meeting was held in. These workers, some radical, most not, looked for some strategy for fighting the layoffs. They did not buy the International's strategy of relying on the government. The meeting stressed the problem of layoffs affecting all USWA members. In fact, many who attended were union officials from small plants that face imminent shutdown. The only concrete gain of the meeting was a mailing list, a possible

beginning to a militant network.

The second meeting, held Thursday night, drew only two non-TUAL supporters. Possibly staff members had rebaited anyone who worked with TUAL. Possibly the convention itself had by that time discouraged militant delegates.

As one delegate told this reporter: "This is my last convention. It's a railroad."

Another delegate from the late District 26 said: "We not only get kicked by the company, but also by the union." □

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