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Reagan's Cabinet: Big Business on the Offensive

By WILLIAM FALK and TERRY WALSH

On January 7, one month later than originally planned, President-elect Ronald Reagan completed the selection process for the top 18 positions in his administration. A look at the 17 men and one woman Reagan chose makes it clear that he not only believes the government should act in the interests of the big capitalists, but also believes the big capitalists should directly run the government.

Reagan's appointees are, on a scale unrivaled since the Eisenhower administrations of the 1950s, people from the top echelons of the capitalist class. In fact, the **New York**

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Showdown in El Salvador



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Chrysler on the Brink

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Polish Workers and Farmers Continue Struggle



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UNITE! Stop the Racist Attacks! Fight for Jobs, Justice and Freedom!

Below we are reprinting a leaflet written by the Revolutionary Socialist League for distribution at two marches on January 15. The first is one in Washington, D.C., to demand that the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., be made a national holiday. The other is one in Buffalo, New York, against a planned Nazi demonstration on the same day and to protest the wave of racist stabbings in that city.

- Sixteen young Black people have been kidnapped in Atlanta; 13 have been found murdered.

- Eleven Black people have been assaulted in Buffalo in less than four months; two victims were found with their hearts cut out.

- Five Black men and one Latin man were stabbed in one day in New York City.

- Crossburnings, firebombings, assaults, Klan and Nazi marches are sweeping the country.

- Plants are closing down and tens of thousands of people are being thrown out of work; wages are being cut; unemployment for Black youth is 40 percent—or higher.

- Hospitals are closing; CETA programs face the ax; food stamp eligibility is being reduced; communities are being destroyed.

- Congress refuses to enforce open

housing laws and school desegregation; other gains of the civil rights movement of the '60s are being taken away.

Why?

The people who run this country—the bosses of the corporations, the bankers, politicians and generals—are launching a full-scale attack on all working and oppressed people. Their capitalist system is in a deepening crisis. To attempt to save it, they are trying to lower living standards, cut wages, weaken unions, increase unemployment and cut social services. At the same time, they are increasing military spending and drafting young people.

Their plan is to attack the worst off sections of the working class first and



Buffalo stabbing victim Albert Menefee.

hardest. They believe that Black people, Latins, women and youth will be least able to fight back. They believe that if they can attack oppressed people successfully, they will
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Company Demands \$673 Million from Workers

Chrysler on the Brink



By PAUL BENJAMIN

For the second time in two years, the Chrysler Corporation—the tenth largest company in the U.S.—is on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1980 Chrysler lost \$1.7 billion, the largest loss by any corporation in U.S. history. Chrysler president Lee J. Iacocca announced that the company would need at least \$350 million in loans to survive over the next few months. He told reporters that if Chrysler couldn't get the loans, "There would be no future. Eventually we would run out of cash."

Chrysler's mushrooming losses demonstrate that efforts by the federal government, private bankers and the leadership of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) to shore up the company have failed to halt or even significantly slow down its decline. The company, whose share of the domestic auto market has fallen steadily since the early 1970s, launched an emergency survival program after it lost over \$1 billion in 1979. Chrysler executives obtained \$1.5 billion in loan guarantees from the federal government, enabling them to borrow some \$800 million from private banks. In return for these guarantees Chrysler had to accept the establishment of a Federal Loan Guarantee Board (FLGB) to oversee its operations. The company also introduced its highly-publicized K cars last fall in the hope of increasing its share of the economy car market.

At the same time, Chrysler management, supported by the UAW leadership, carried out a successful cost-cutting campaign at the expense of Chrysler workers. In October 1979 the UAW pushed through a contract settlement in which workers surrendered \$203 million in wages and benefits. Then in January 1980 the UAW agreed to reopen the contract and give up another \$259.5 million in concessions to the company. UAW president Doug Fraser argued that such sacrifices were necessary in order to preserve Chrysler workers' jobs. But in fact the number of Chrysler workers on layoff has jumped from 25,000 to 45,000 over the past year.

Chrysler claimed its program would restore the company to profitability by the fourth quarter of 1980. Instead, Chrysler is near collapse as a result of management errors and an industry-wide depression that resulted in the lowest domestic auto sales in 19 years. Consequently, the company executives now have no choice but to ask their creditors and the FLGB for additional handouts.

Aid sought from government, bankers

On December 17 Chrysler management announced a new plan aimed at ensuring the company's survival. They are requesting the government to grant the company an additional \$400 million in loan guarantees. They want the banks which have loaned Chrysler money to essentially write off the loans by converting them into Chrysler stock. And they are asking auto parts suppliers to cut their prices five percent in the first quarter of 1981, freeze them for the rest of the year, and accept delays in payment of outstanding bills.

A crucial element in Chrysler's survival plan is an austerity drive aimed mainly against Chrysler workers. Chrysler is demanding that its workers agree to yet another renegotiation of their contract and give up \$673 million in wages and benefits. In particular, Chrysler management wants to push through a two-year wage freeze and the cancellation of cost-of-living (COLA) raises

due under the present contract. In announcing these demands, Iacocca delivered a virtual ultimatum to Chrysler workers, saying: "Boys, you've been the highest paid group of guys in the world. . . . It's freeze time, boys. Chrysler's got good jobs available at \$17.50. We don't have 'em at \$20."

Chrysler officials are now seeking approval of their plan from the FLGB. To gain assistance from the government, they must convince the FLGB, and the ruling class as a whole, that Chrysler can continue to operate as a viable company. This will not be easy. At a news conference on January 8, Fraser said he was informed that the FLGB had found Chrysler's plan "unacceptable," and was drawing up one of its own. Moreover, a large section of the ruling class is skeptical about Chrysler's chances of survival, and is reluctant to give the company further aid. For example, Donald Regan, who will head the FLGB as Secretary of the Treasury in incoming President Ronald Reagan's administration, told reporters: "In a competitive economy, you're going to have casualties." (Newsweek, December 29, 1980.)

Regan and other top economic advisors in Reagan's administration believe such casualties are in fact necessary in order to rationalize U.S. capitalism. They and their co-thinkers in the ruling class think propping up failing companies not only siphons off investment capital needed to modernize U.S. industry, but also could eventually undermine the foundations of the economy. The Wall Street Journal, for instance, declared, "If failing companies are not allowed to pass out of

their misery, all other corporations have an incentive to leverage up their balance sheets with increasingly risky debt. This creates powerful forces for additional money creation and inflation, to the detriment of us all." (December 26, 1980.)

Nevertheless, there is a good chance that the government will continue to shore up Chrysler, at least in the short run. The New York Times is supporting the Chrysler proposal. Jake Garn, the right-wing Republican senator from Utah who chairs the Senate Banking Committee, says he is willing to grant Chrysler additional loan guarantees within the \$1.5 billion limit set by Congress last year. And while Business Week opposes the plan, it is calling for what amounts to a partial nationalization of Chrysler by demanding that the company issue new stock to be bought by the federal government.

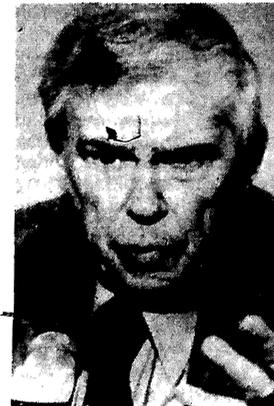
Capitalists fear effects of Chrysler collapse

The main reason these people want to avoid the collapse of Chrysler is that it would send a shock wave through an already weakened economy. Depression conditions exist in the Midwest, where hundreds of thousands of autoworkers and workers in related industries are on layoff. Chrysler's collapse would not only put 150,000 autoworkers on the streets, but also wreak additional havoc in the glass, rubber and steel industries, which supply parts or material to the company. In addition, a Chrysler bankruptcy could lead to a major financial crisis as the banks which have loaned money to Chrysler try

to recover their losses through the federal loan guarantee program.

While the ruling class may be uncertain how to respond to Chrysler's crisis, it is united in its determination to exact a heavy price from autoworkers if Chrysler actually receives more aid. The New York Times warned that if Chrysler workers rejected a wage freeze, they would "lose any moral claim" to government aid. Business Week declared that the government should allow the company to go bankrupt if the workers refused to make the concessions demanded by Chrysler.

A successful campaign against Chrysler workers would have serious implications



UAW head Doug Fraser.

tions for Ford and General Motors (GM) workers. Ford's U.S. operations lost \$595 million in the third quarter of 1980, and the company has been saved from collapse only by its comparatively healthy international subsidiaries. Although GM is in a much stronger position, it also suffered record losses in the third quarter, and finished 1980 with its first annual deficit in 59 years. Both Ford and GM executives are saying that they will demand concessions from the UAW if it renegotiates its Chrysler contract.

By backing an attack against the UAW by the auto companies, the Reagan administration could in turn encourage other capitalists to increase their own offensive against working people. Although the UAW has suffered a sharp loss in membership as a result of plant closings and layoffs, it remains one of the strongest unions in the country. If the ruling class can force the UAW to submit to its demands, it will have less difficulty enforcing cutbacks

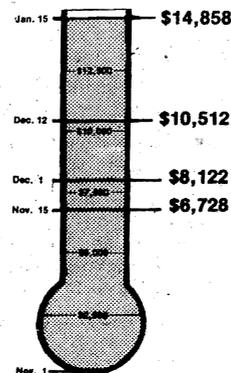
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Thanks!

The League's drive to raise \$12,500 by January 15 has succeeded. As we go to press, contributions total \$14,858. This is nearly 20 percent more than the goal.

Contributions from readers and supporters of the Torch/La Antorcha were more important in this drive than ever before, making up a significant percentage of the total raised. Our own members and sympathizers, however, did the most to make the drive succeed. Each branch and committee of the RSL raised substantially more than expected. Our special thanks go to the fund drive coordinators in each area—Kevin Lever in Boston, Darryl Clark in Chicago, Miriam Lee in Detroit, Elaine Scott in Los Angeles, and Terry Walsh in New York.

Once again, thanks to all who helped make this drive successful, putting our work on a firmer footing for the coming year.



FIRST NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION CONFERENCE MEETS IN MEXICO CITY

Mexico's first national gay liberation congress took place December 13-14 in Mexico City, sponsored by the Frente Homosexual de Accion Revolucionaria (FHAR—Gay Revolutionary Action Front). One hundred gay activists and supporters registered for the congress. Most were from Mexico City, but some came from Aguascalientes, Puebla, Toluca and Oaxaca. A delegation from the RSL was also present.

THE CONGRESS was an important step forward for the Mexican gay movement. After more than two years of organizing, FHAR felt the time was right to hold a public congress where its politics could be openly debated and its influence could expand.

But even though things have improved in Mexico for some gays as a result of FHAR's organizing work, carrying out a successful congress was not easy. Finding a building for the event was a major problem. The congress was forced to meet in a public high school quite distant from the central city. Even at that,

school authorities tried to sabotage the event. As registration began, the building was briefly sealed off and people turned away. Hurried negotiations overcame the problem but attendance at the congress was considerably lower than FHAR planners had hoped.

Congress workshops took up issues such as the special oppression of lesbians, transsexuals and transvestites; family and law; class structure in the gay community; and relations with the left.

One controversy, over an analysis of transsexuality, was resolved by an RSL-initiated motion of support to transsexuals. The motion called for defense of transsexuals' rights to live and be respected in their chosen sex and the right to receive sex-reassignment surgery. This motion was later unanimously endorsed by the congress.

In general, FHAR defines itself as anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and part of the Marxist movement. The historical lack of support to gay liberation from the left was



RSL contingent in Los Angeles Gay Pride demonstration, June 1978. Members of the LA branch were among the RSL supporters who attended Mexico gay conference.

noted and participants resolved to increase their demands on all political parties to clarify their positions on this question. A debate between FHAR and other left groups was proposed.

AT THE same time, the congress stopped short of defining FHAR's Marxist politics in more than a general sense. An RSL proposal, for example, that FHAR affirm the necessity of socialist revolution and the need to combat gay oppression all over the world was tabled. Some feared that such a call for socialist revolution would be too ideological or dogmatic. Others wanted to avoid any implicit criticism of the state-capitalist countries

—where they believe socialism already exists.

This was a serious mistake on the part of the congress. Clarifying one's politics is an essential part of moving the struggle forward. Marxists and gay liberationists cannot remain neutral on the question of socialism, revolution, and gay oppression. It is surely better to tell the truth about gay oppression in Cuba, Russia, or wherever and let people draw their own conclusions than it is to hide the truth in order to protect a "socialism" where gay people are not free.

The congress would have been stronger had there been greater participation by working people, especially by wo-

men and others of the specially oppressed. As long as the gay movement remains defined by middle class men it will not be able to provide the necessary social strength or analysis to link it to a working class revolution.

BUT THE FHAR congress was a good beginning. By opening their politics to public review, by challenging the social and political rules of Mexican capitalism, by calling on oppressed Mexican gays to organize and fight back, FHAR is contributing significantly to the international gay movement. Responsibility for the eventual success of that movement lies with the international working class. □

RML Message to FHAR Congress

The following message was sent by the Revolutionary Marxist League (our sister organization in Jamaica) to the FHAR congress in Mexico City. It, along with a message of solidarity from the Revolutionary Socialist League, was read by an RSL comrade attending the conference.

The Revolutionary Marxist League wishes to express its full solidarity to the first national congress of the Revolutionary Homosexual Action Front. The holding of this conference at this time marks an important development in the freedom struggle of gays, lesbians, working class people and other oppressed people. Today, the international capitalist class is continuing its rightward turn. This is reflected by the electoral victories of the arch-reactionary capitalist politicians, Ronald Reagan and Edward Seaga, in the U.S. and Jamaica respectively. These triumphs for international reaction signal more and harsher attacks on working and oppressed people, including gays and lesbians in the U.S., Jamaica and throughout this hemisphere.

Now more than ever, there is need for a principled, fighting unity of all working class, leftist and communist forces on the broadest possible international scale to defend the rights of all working and oppressed people against the right-wing capitalist attacks.

As you should be aware, the RML, along with our sister organization the RSL, is firmly committed to the struggle for gay liberation. As our program states: "We support the struggle of all specially oppressed groups such as women, gays, Black people and national minorities for their freedom and dignity." However, we understand that true, lasting liberation for gays, Blacks, women and other oppressed groups, will only come when the exploitative and oppressive international capitalist system is totally destroyed through socialist revolution. Only then will humankind really be free.

We wish your conference every success and end with revolutionary greetings.

Patsy Christie, for the RML Executive Committee

Polovchak Case Reveals U.S. Ruling Class Hypocrisy

By LAURA WADEBAY

CHICAGO—Walter Polovchak is a 12-year-old immigrant from the Ukraine in the USSR. His parents, who brought him here in January 1980, are disillusioned with life in the U.S. and want to go back. Walter and his sister Natalie want to stay. The result of this disagreement has been a court case which has become a show trial of the hypocrisy of the U.S. ruling class.

It began on July 14, when Walter's parents, Michael and Anna Polovchak, decided to go back to the Ukraine. They had come over in January looking for a better life. When they got here, they found out

that the American Dream ain't so hot and decided that they'd been better off in the USSR. However, their children, Walter and Natalie, wanted to stay, so they ran away to a cousin's house. Michael and Anna Polovchak are trying to take Walter back with them because the Russians will only let them return if he is with them. They are willing to let Natalie stay, because she is 17 and has a separate passport from the rest of the family.

The U.S. ruling class, in a flush of enthusiasm to defend what they saw as free world patriots fleeing from godless communism, jumped in on Walter and Natalie's side. Juvenile court judge Joseph

Mooney took them into temporary state custody on the grounds that they were delinquents for running away. For its part, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) granted Walter asylum, which they said at the time meant he was free to stay here whether his parents wanted him to or not.

Later, Michael and Anna Polovchak sued the government to regain custody of Walter. They are being represented by lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which volunteered its services. The ACLU is contending that in taking Walter and Natalie into state custody, Judge Mooney violated

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By ROD

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Left to right: Buffalo Unity Day rally last October 19 protesting racist killings; Ernest Jones and Parlor Edwards, two of the Buffalo murder victims; Lubie Geter, the 16th Black child to disappear in Atlanta in the last 17 months; Buffalo anti-racist activists announce counter-demonstration against January 15 Nazi rally.

Buffalo: Anger Grows Over Racist Killings

By ROD MILLER

January 10—"Where will it stop?" This is the question on the minds of Black people in Buffalo following the news of the latest racially motivated stabbing in that city. On Monday, January 5, a Black man was stabbed on Buffalo's East Side—the fifth stabbing victim in little over a week. Only one of the victims has survived.

The five knifing attacks this past week followed the shooting deaths of four Black men in and around Buffalo during a 36-hour period this past September 22-24. Authorities believe these shooting deaths and the recent rash of stabbings are connected. In addition, two Black taxi-cab drivers were shot to death in October. The bodies of the two men were discovered with their hearts cut out.

AS THE racist attacks continue to escalate, there is a growing fear among Black people in Buffalo about their physical safety. Most of the attacks have taken place in the daytime, often on busy streets. Accompanying this fear is mounting outrage at the inability of the police to do anything about the attacks. Many Black people in Buffalo are reportedly arming themselves and, according to a number of community residents, "an explosion is likely to occur soon."

The attacks in Buffalo are part of a nationwide series of apparently racially motivated assaults and slayings. On December 22 in New York City, five Black men and one Hispanic man were knifed on a single day. In Atlanta, Lubie Geter, a 14-year-old Black youth, was reported missing on January 3. Geter is the 16th young Black person to disappear from Atlanta's city streets in the past 18 months. On January 9, two skeletons were found which may be those of two of the missing Black children. This would bring to 13 the number of the kidnap victims known to have been murdered; the others are believed dead as well.

Incidents of racist terror—

assaults, murders, crossburnings, firebombings of Black people's homes, Klan and Nazi marches—are reaching epidemic proportions throughout the country. As the government steps up its attacks on people's living and working conditions, it is increasingly fostering a reactionary and racist climate in the country. This climate is encouraging hard-core racists and fascists to act more boldly as the shock troops for an assault on the most oppressed sections of the working class, in particular, Black people.

In Buffalo, the Nazis—the National Socialist Party of

America—have announced plans to hold a racist rally at the City Hall on January 15—the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. Nazi leaflets building for the rally have called for "100 White Men With Guns" to demonstrate. Members of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada have stated that they intend to join the Nazis for the Buffalo rally. The very fact of a Nazi/Klan demonstration in downtown Buffalo on Martin Luther King's birthday is a clear indication of the growing boldness of the racist forces.

ANTI-RACIST forces, organized in the Martin Luther King Day Memorial Rally Coalition,

are calling for a counter-demonstration to the planned Nazi/Klan rally in Buffalo. At a press conference, a spokesperson for the coalition said: "The proposed Nazi rally, if it takes place, is an outrage and a provocation to the people of Buffalo." Another spokesperson added: "We anticipate a strong and determined showing on January 15 demonstrating the strength and militancy of this community and communities across the Northeast against racism, anti-Semitism and bigotry in all its forms."

Supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League will

be traveling to Buffalo to participate in the anti-Nazi rally. RSL supporters will also be in Washington, D.C., on January 15, where a large turnout is expected for a march demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday. The call for the Washington march was made initially by musician Stevie Wonder and has been endorsed by a wide array of civil rights, trade union, community and left organizations. Many people view the march as an important opportunity to respond to the recent wave of racist assaults and murders. □

UNITE!

(Continued from page 1)

then be better able to attack the entire working class.

The racist and reactionary climate they are creating is encouraging forces like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis to grow bolder and step up their activities. These arch-racists play an important role in the plans of the bosses, bankers and politicians. The Klan and the Nazis do much of the dirty work: They terrorize people to try to make them afraid to fight back; they whip up racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry to try to keep people divided; they promote the lie that the problems in the country are due to oppressed people "demanding too much." In the final analysis, the bosses and the Klan work hand-in-hand.

What should we do?

We need to organize to fight back.

Today's march is a good start. But we need to organize even bigger and stronger protests in every major city in the country. We need mass marches and other actions to demand: jobs, housing, better schools, decent health care and an end to racist terror! We

need self-defense organizations to defend our communities from racist forces like the Klan and the Nazis. It is clear that we cannot rely on the police or the government to do this—in fact, the police are often involved in terrorizing oppressed communities and murdering young people.

We need to unite.

Our slogan must be: "Everyone organize to support everyone's struggle—An injury to one is an injury to all!" Millions of people are under attack. Divided we are weak—but united we are strong.

We need to build a movement of working class and oppressed people.

The overwhelming majority of working and oppressed people have the same common interests. When factories shut down, when schools get more crowded, when money for job training, hospitals, housing or mass transit is taken away, who suffers? Not the rich—not the capitalists and politicians. It is working and oppressed people—Blacks, Latins, women, young people, gays, people who work in factories, offices, mines and mills, the unemployed, the people who actually make this country run and get little in return—these are the people who pay the price. We need to build a movement of all working class and oppressed people to say: **No to racism! No to sexism! No to unemployment! No to the destruction of our com-**

munities! No to ever higher prices! No to schools where young people cannot learn! No to the death penalty! No to the draft! No to the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis!

We need to know who our enemies are

The right wing is our enemy.

The Klan and the Nazis, the "Moral Majority," the forces opposing school desegregation, affirmative action and open housing are the enemies of all working and oppressed people. These people are for attacking Black and Latin people, rolling back the gains of the civil rights movement, weakening the trade unions, driving women out of jobs and back into the home, oppressing gay people and destroying our communities.

The entire ruling class is our enemy.

It is not just the right wing which is out to attack our living standards and working conditions. The ruling class—the people who run the big corporations and the banks—plan to solve their economic crisis by launching an offensive against the entire working class and all oppressed people. Budget cuts, the draft, the death penalty and racism are all part of this offensive.

The government is our enemy.

The government is commit-

ted to leading and coordinating these attacks. Ours is not a government "of the people"—it is a government of the rich and powerful—the ruling class. We cannot look to the government to solve our problems out of the goodness of its heart. We need to build our own independent movement, relying on the strength of all working and oppressed people united, to fight for the things we need.

Both the Republicans and the Democrats are our enemy.

These two parties are the parties of big business. Reagan and the Republicans are up front about this. But the Democratic Party, which paints itself as the friend of Black people, of poor people, of young people, of working people in general, is really no different. The Klan was on the march under Carter. Racist attacks were on the rise under Carter. Tens of thousands of people were thrown out of work under Carter. Food prices, heating bills, rent, etc., were all becoming too expensive to afford under Carter. Both political parties, the Democrats and Republicans alike, are committed to massive budget cuts, lowering wages, unemployment—an all-out war on working people.

We need to build a movement of the working class and all oppressed people to organize to fight back. We must fight for justice, dignity and freedom. The time is now! □



New protests at Walla Walla

On December 29, prisoners in the notorious Walla Walla prison in Washington state rebelled against conditions there. They broke windows, set fire to the prison store and three offices in the classification and parole building, and overturned pews and a piano in the prison chapel. The specific demand of the prisoners was the release of Joseph Bolduc and Julius Gillespie (head of the Inmate Advisory Council) from the segregation unit. Both men were put in segregation on December 28 after four guards beat Bolduc and Gillespie attempted to defend him.

The next morning, five men went to Superintendent Spalding and demanded that Bolduc and Gillespie be released. When Spalding stalled, more than 100 prisoners demanded the men be let out of segregation by 10:30 a.m. "or else." The two were not released and at 10:30 sharp, the fires started. By noon, helmeted guards, reinforced by state and local cops, forced the prisoners back into their cells. Spalding ordered a short lockdown until he could identify the leaders of the uprising. Officially, no injuries were reported.

As we go to press, we have learned of yet another attempt by Walla Walla prisoners to force change. On January 7, some 800 prisoners who have jobs went on strike to demand the removal of Superintendent Spalding.

Court clips 'double-jeopardy' protection

In a 5-4 decision announced December 9, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a law that gives prosecutors, in special circumstances, the right to appeal a sentence they consider too lenient.

The ruling was on a section of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 that allows federal prosecutors to ask for extra years to be tacked on to the sentences of people classified as "dangerous special offenders." While we don't understand all the legal implications, it is clear that this ruling is an attack on prisoners' rights, and one that will be even more significant if this decision is used as a precedent.

What it could mean if extended to other offenses, for example, is that in a murder trial, where the prosecution demands the death penalty and the jury, after weighing the evidence, imposes a lesser sentence, the prosecutor could appeal. Then, at an appeal proceeding, where only legal points and not the facts of the case could be argued, the prisoner could be sentenced to death.

For over 100 years the Court has ruled that the Fifth Amendment not only bars a second trial after acquittal but also bars prosecutor appeals of sentences. But the Court's interpretation of the Constitution changes according to the political climate. In the last few years, as the ruling class has been moving to the right, the Court has been handing down decision after decision that, like this latest one, limits the rights of defendants.

Kiko Martinez trial to open this month

Chicano activist Francisco E. "Kiko" Martinez will go on trial January 27 in federal court in Pueblo, Colorado, on seven counts of sending explosives through the mail, possessing explosives, and conspiracy. He also faces nine counts in two separate state cases, with trials to begin February 9 in Denver.

All these charges stem from incidents in the fall of 1973. At that time there was a series of bombings in Colorado. Federal and state grand juries were convened, which were then used largely to harass the Chicano movement. When three people who had public confrontations with the Chicano community (a Denver policewoman and two others) received bombs through the mail—bombs which never exploded—the grand juries charged Martinez. Martinez was a target because he was well known as a fighter for Chicano rights and a movement lawyer who defended farmworkers and victims of police brutality.

Late in 1973, after learning that the cops had orders to shoot him on sight, Martinez went underground. Then, on September 3, 1980, while crossing the border from Mexico, he was arrested and held on \$1 million bail. This was later reduced as a result of massive protests, and Martinez was released in October.

Prisoner's Death Linked to Plot Against Peltier

By ADELE LOHMAN

Bobby Gene Garcia, a Native American prisoner, was found hanged in his cell in the Terre Haute federal penitentiary December 13. Garcia had been placed in isolation on December 1 and then moved to a special isolation hospital unit shortly before his death.

Prison authorities claim that Garcia committed suicide. But there is good reason—in fact, many good reasons—to doubt this claim. It seems unlikely, for example, that Garcia could have killed himself in a unit that was under 24-hour surveillance. It has also been reported that Garcia's body had bruises on it when he was found—hardly indicating suicide. And the keepers have yet to explain why Garcia was put in isolation in the first place, or then transferred to the hospital unit.

More than all this, however, is the fact that Garcia received death threats from prison and federal officials, because of his association with, and aid to, Leonard Peltier, a well-known Native American activist in the American Indian Movement (AIM). Peltier has been the target of government harassment and attacks since the early '70s, when the FBI, as part of its "counter-intelligence" program (COINTELPRO), selected Native American activists to be set up for arrest. The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee describes what happened to Peltier this way:

"On June 26, 1975, FBI agents came to the home of a traditional Native family near the village of Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation [in South Dakota]. A spiritual camp and several other homes were located on the same property. A shooting incident took place some distance from the houses; it was followed by a massive government assault. Hundreds of federal agents surrounded the entire area and shot thousands of rounds of ammunition into homes. . . . An Indian man, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents were killed on June 26. Leonard Peltier and three other AIM activists were charged with murdering the FBI agents." Of these, only Peltier was convicted, of "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of the FBI agents.

But the harassment of Peltier didn't stop with his conviction. In 1979, while he was at Marion penitentiary, Peltier was warned by another Native prisoner, Standing Deer, of an FBI plot to assassinate him. Standing Deer later stated in two signed affidavits that he was approached by a prison official and a stranger "in civilian clothes, whom he believed to be an FBI agent. He was promised medical treatment for his bad back as well as federal parole if he helped set up Peltier to be killed during a phony escape attempt. Since Marion was considered escape-proof, the two men would be transferred to the less secure prison at Lompoc, California. Soon

after, Peltier was in fact transferred. On July 20, 1979, Peltier, fearing for his life, escaped from Lompoc with the help of Bobby Gene Garcia and Dallas Thundershield, who escaped with him. Thundershield was shot dead as he tried to surrender and Garcia was captured immediately. Peltier was able to remain free for five days.

At Peltier's escape trial, Standing Deer's affidavits were not admitted as evidence. Neither was testimony that, when Peltier was recaptured after his escape, an FBI agent tried to shoot him in the head, but was prevented by a deputy sheriff.

Both Standing Deer and Bobby Gene Garcia received threats against their lives if they testified about the plot to murder Peltier, prompting Garcia to write in a poem shortly before his death: "The U.S. government will kill me in their Iron Houses. . . ."

Now Garcia is dead and there are fears for the lives of Standing Deer and Leonard Peltier. Their supporters are asking that people write to the wardens of the prisons where they are being held and let them know that you are concerned for the safety of the two men. Standing Deer (Hugh Wilson) is in the Federal Correctional Medical Facility, PO Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65802; Leonard Peltier is at the U.S. Penitentiary, PO Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. □

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

The Revolutionary Socialist League is a party plaintiff in a suit challenging the Federal Bureau of Prisons' practice of withholding publications from prisoners, particularly left-wing publications. The suit is *Abbott v. Richardson* and is being handled by the ACLU. The suit will be going to trial soon, and we will have to give depositions within the next several months. So what we need to know IMMEDIATELY is:

- How often has your TORCH/LA ANTORCHA been withheld (or just not reached you) in the past two years?
- Are you properly notified every time it is withheld?
- Are you allowed to appeal? If so, with what results?
- Are you harassed by the keepers for filing appeals?
- Any other information that could help us in this suit.

Again, we need to hear from you as soon as possible. It would be best if we can use your name. But if you prefer to remain anonymous, just let us know.

Send letters to: Torch/La Antorcha, GPO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116, Attn. Lee Ramie. Mark the envelopes "Special Media Correspondence—Do Not Open."

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Judge Rules Against TDC in Ruiz Suit, Cites 'Routine Brutality'

By LEE RAMIE

In 1972, David Ruiz, a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC), filed a suit that called on the federal government to put an end to a wide range of brutal practices in TDC. The suit, which was merged with several others in 1974, was finally heard in a trial that ran from October 1978 to September 1979, with 349 witnesses and 1,530 exhibits.

On December 12, 1980, 15 months after the trial closed, federal Judge William Justice issued a 248-page opinion declaring TDC to be riddled with "pernicious conditions, pain and degradation," and ordered sweeping changes in TDC practices under court supervision. He ordered the plaintiffs, the Justice Department (which had been asked by the prisoners to act as a "friend of the court") and TDC to present, by February 10, a plan for implementing the decision. If they fail to agree, Judge Justice will present his own order on February 15.

TDC has long enjoyed a reputation among prison administrators and "liberal" penologists as a "model," "progressive" prison system. The Ruiz suit, along with several others filed and won by TDC prisoners over the last few years, exposed TDC as a snakepit of oppression and calculated brutality. Arnold Pontesso, a former warden in Oklahoma who testified in Ruiz, has called TDC "probably the best example of slavery remaining in this country."

Judge condemns overcrowding

Describing the scope of TDC's oppressive practices, Judge Justice cited "rampant overcrowding, inadequate security, substandard health care, inappropriate disciplinary practices and substantially impeded access to the courts."

TDC is terribly overcrowded. The 17 units that comprise TDC have cell space for about 19,000 prisoners. As of December 15, 1980, TDC housed 29,739. About 10 percent of the prisoners are forced to sleep on the floor. TDC plans to build two new units, but these won't absorb even the existing surplus, let alone the increase in the prison population, which grows about 10 percent a year.

Judge Justice cited the testimony of TDC Director James Estelle that one-third or more of TDC's inmates could be released immediately with no risk of harm to the

public. Yet, there are no work-release or long-term probation programs in TDC, and parole is a near-impossibility.

The judge's opinion also noted "the unconstitutional climate of fear and violence," declaring that "high-level officials have... contributed to its perpetuation." Judge Justice told of one instance where an escaped prisoner was made to "fight the dogs" after he had been treed by a pack of hounds, and then, after the "fight," was beaten with a bullwhip.

Violence is carried out not only by the guards, but in large part by Building Tenders (BTs), prisoners who are used as guards. The BTs are often armed with knives, blackjacks or clubs. During the hearings Thomas Carlisle, a former prisoner, said that a prisoner named Melvin Austin died from a beating at the hands of a BT.

This kind of violence continues in TDC to this day. Paul Brown, one of the Ruiz witnesses, had his arm broken by a guard who slammed a cell

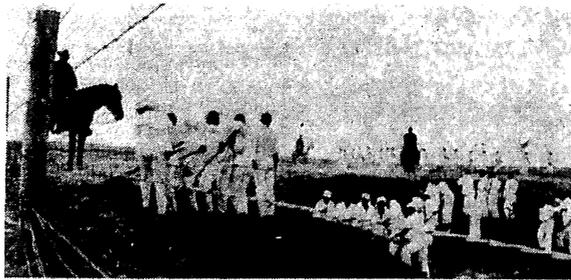


David Ruiz.

door on it shortly before Brown took a transfer to federal custody. A recent letter to the Torch/La Antorcha told of an incident in which six guards twice invaded the cell of a prisoner and beat him. Four Ruiz witnesses have died violent deaths since they testified in the trial.

Justice concluded that "brutality against inmates is nothing short of routine in Texas prisons."

Prisoners are also victimized through the "disciplinary" process. While he upheld the legality of solitary confinement, Judge Justice charged that "discipline" is "frequently and often arbitrarily and commonly wreaked upon inmates in disfavor with TDC officials, including those who have pursued their constitutional rights by filing lawsuits." For example, Ruiz himself was put in solitary confinement



Slave labor at TDC.

countless times, and resorted to self-mutilation 15 times in an effort to get out. His case is not unique.

Johnny Swift, a writ-writer, political activist and long-time Torch/La Antorcha correspondent, has been in administrative segregation for over five years. Last May he, along with 19 others, was sentenced to permanent segregation status and placed on death row because, according to the committee, he "has been a malcontent and hasn't adjusted during his stay." Judge Justice noted finally that disciplinary rules are vague and often enforced without evidence and without protection for the prisoner.

The other main area cited in the opinion was the "woefully inadequate health-care system." During the trial, TDC prisoners called the prison hospital at Huntsville a "butcher shop" and reported numerous cases of maltreatment, including one prisoner who went in for a hernia operation and woke up to find the doctor had removed one of his testicles. A former registered nurse at TDC described poor plumbing, roof cave-ins and "a fair amount of dirt" at the hospital, and told of once performing an appendectomy by flashlight when the electrical system, which has no backup, failed. Several prisoners have written to the Torch/La Antorcha telling of being denied proper medication or treatment in reprisal for writing or political activity.

Despite verdict few reforms likely

The decision in the Ruiz suit is a victory for the prisoners of TDC. But it is only a limited one. However many reforms Judge Justice orders TDC to carry out, for a number of reasons conditions are not likely to change dramatically for years, if ever.

First, there is the fact that TDC will do everything it can to avoid implementing the court's orders. TDC is likely first to appeal the ruling.

This alone could tie everything up for several years (it took six years for the Ruiz suit to be heard in the first place and another 15 months for the initial opinion to be handed down). And in the meantime all the suggested changes can be stalled.

Second, even if the ruling stands on appeal and all the suggested changes are ordered, TDC is more than capable of stalling implementation indefinitely, just as it has done in the various cases that it has lost in court over the past several years.

Third, even if TDC were willing to implement the order, there is the question of money and other resources to fulfill it. Estimates of the ultimate cost of the changes that may be ordered in Ruiz run as high as \$1.5 billion. It is improbable that TDC could come up with that kind of money—even if it wanted to.

If TDC fails to make the required changes, the possibility has been raised that the

federal government might then take TDC over, or put it into receivership. This, too, cannot be expected to bring dramatic improvements in the lives of TDC prisoners. While the federal system has a number of minimum security and "country club" facilities, these are generally reserved for "white collar" criminals: business executives, congressmen and the like. Places like Marion, Atlanta and Leavenworth are every bit as hellish as TDC.

The fact is that for poor white, Black and Latin working class people there is no such thing as a decent or humane prison. Prisons exist to warehouse the people whom the system has no use for: the people who are denied a decent education, who can't get a job, who may commit "crimes" in order to survive. The prisons are also for those who fight back against this dehumanizing capitalist system. Prisons are not meant to rehabilitate, they are meant to punish, break the spirit, and ultimately toss people on the scrap heap.

Whether TDC takes a stab at making some cosmetic changes or the feds take TDC over, the dehumanization and brutalization of poor white, Black and Latin working class people in the prisons will not change. This will only be solved by a workers' revolution which will end the conditions that place our brothers and sisters in prison, and which will tear down the walls forever. □

Getting Out Soon?

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

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

When you're back on the street, why not pass your copy of the Torch/La Antorcha around? One of the best ways you can help build the Revolutionary Socialist League is by introducing people to our newspaper. And let us know what you're doing when you get home. The struggle doesn't end when you walk out of the cage—it only begins on a different level. Continue to struggle! Contact us in any of our branch cities (see listing on page 15), or write to our National Office and maybe we could arrange to meet you somewhere. There are always lots of activities going on in which your participation and experience could be a big help. Or there are classes on revolutionary politics you could join.

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

Residents Hold Rally

GM Starts Demolition of Detroit Community

By PAUL CARSON

DETROIT—On December 20, 60 people braved frigid weather to march and rally against General Motors' plan to destroy Poletown, a multi-racial, working class neighborhood on the city's east side. The plan calls for tearing down the abandoned Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck along with the homes of 3,500 people in Poletown to clear a site for a new GM plant.

The City of Detroit is spending \$320 million on the project to help GM, claiming that the plant will create new jobs. But the fact is that the GM Poletown plant will employ 9,000 fewer workers than the Fleetwood and Cadillac plants it is scheduled to replace.

THE DECEMBER 20 demonstration was sponsored by the Poletown Neighborhood Council. It began with a march through the neighborhood. Many of the demonstrators were from the immediate area. A number were from left organizations active in Detroit.

All along the march route neighborhood residents

showed support from their windows, or by honking their horns. One house on the march route displayed a sign reading "This house is not for sale."

The march was successful in drawing support from out-

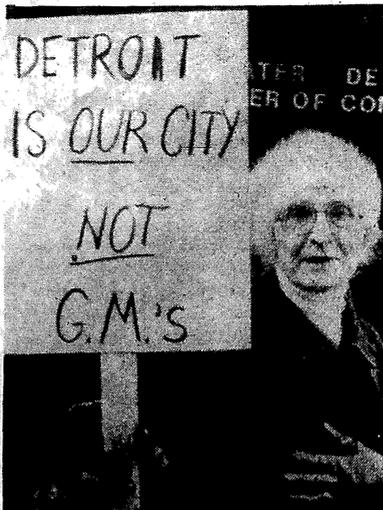
side Poletown. Autoworkers from a number of shops in and around Detroit attended. This is significant because the GM plan is actively supported by United Auto Workers' president Douglas Fraser, who endorses the lie that it will

create jobs. A worker from Fleetwood spoke at the rally which followed the march and suggested organizing the auto workers present and UAW retirees in the Poletown neighborhood against Fraser's support for the new plant.

Other speakers at the rally included Tom Olechowski, the President of the Poletown Neighborhood Council, along with representatives of the PLUS Neighborhood Council of Northeast Detroit and the RSL.

A HIGH point was a speech by Teofilo Lucero, a Native American resident of Poletown. He compared the forcible eviction of Poletown residents to the repeated removal of Native Americans from their land throughout history. He called it a "trail of tears" that Native Americans are all too familiar with and that some Poletown residents are just now experiencing. He argued against trusting any politicians, and said we should have started protesting in the streets long ago.

Despite community organizing, many Poletown residents feel the GM plant is inevitable and are making plans to move. GM and the city government are confidently going ahead with their plans. The demolition of the Dodge Main plant, which is the first step in "clearing the site," has begun. □



General Motors wants to build a new plant on the site of the old Dodge Main plant and the adjoining Poletown neighborhood. Left: Poletown resident protests plans. Right: demolition of Dodge Main.

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

UFCW calls for Perdue boycott

In December the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) began organizing a consumer boycott of chicken sold by Perdue Farms, the largest poultry processor on the East Coast and the fifth largest in the country. The union plans to use the boycott as a major weapon in its struggle to win union recognition for workers at Perdue.

Altogether there are about 16,000 workers, many of them Black women, working in processing plants on the East Coast, mainly in Virginia and Maryland. Over 6,000 of them are employed by Perdue Farms, which has played a major role in resisting union organizing efforts in the poultry processing industry. Jerry Gordon, who is coordinating the UFCW's organizing drive, calls Perdue "the J.P. Stevens of the chicken industry." For instance, in the past two years Perdue bought four plants owned by Swift, a unionized company, closed them for "modernization," and then reopened three of the plants with non-union workers.

Perdue management has temporarily held off UFCW's organizing efforts at its largest plant in Accomac, Virginia. A union representation election was scheduled at the plant for October 2. But last August the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which was trying to unionize truck drivers at the plant, organized an unsuccessful two-week strike. During the walkout, hundreds of workers refused to cross the truckers' picket lines. This gave Perdue an excuse to fire 56 workers who were the core of the UFCW's organizing drive. As a result, the union was forced to

cancel the election until it can rebuild its strength in the plant. At this time, it is maintaining only a token picket line at Accomac, while shifting most of its resources into the boycott.

Campus workers strike in Mexico

One thousand academic and service workers at the four-campus Autonomous University of Baja California in Mexico have been on strike for over two months, demanding recognition of the Sindicato de Trabajadores Academicos (STA—Academic Workers Union) and the Sindicato de Trabajadores al Servicio (STS—Service Workers Union). The state university, which includes over 30,000 students, has been closed throughout the strike. The government has created and recognized two of its own company unions in an effort to break the more radical STA and STS.

Several violent attacks have been launched against the strikers by professional scabs and government agents. On November 26, 200 thugs attacked a building occupied by strikers. Fourteen workers were injured and six cars destroyed. On January 5 and 6, 300 strikers and 300 strike-breakers battled on the Tijuana campus, leaving several injured. On January 7, 400 strike-breakers attacked an occupied building on the Mexicali campus. The building was set afire, seven cars destroyed and one person injured by gunfire. Similar incidents have also been reported from the campuses at Tecate and Ensenada.

After threatening the strikers with mass firings and arrests, the Baja California government may be ready to give up. Governor Roberto de la Madrid announced on January 8 that elections to

settle the unionization dispute would be held later in January. Striking teachers and workers say they will not go back to work until such elections are held.

SF Blue Shield workers walk out

Over 1,000 clerical workers at the San Francisco offices of Blue Shield (the health insurance company) have been on strike since December 9. Most of the workers, who are members of the Office and Professional Employees Union, are Black, Chicano and Filipino women. They walked out after the company refused to renew the union's cost-of-living clause in negotiations for a new contract. Blue Shield also offered the workers only a 9.5 percent raise for the first year of a three-year contract, although inflation in the San Francisco area is running at a 15 percent annual rate. The California State Federation of Labor is supporting the strike by calling on affiliated unions to cancel any insurance programs they have with Blue Shield.

The Blue Shield strike could have important consequences for clerical workers throughout the San Francisco area. Next to New York, San Francisco is the largest banking and insurance center in the country. Over 200,000 clerical workers are employed in the city's financial district. Blue Shield is the only unionized insurance company in San Francisco. If Blue Shield workers win their strike, other workers in the area will be in a better position to hold off similar attacks on their living standards. But if they lose despite widespread union support, clerical workers without any union protection may face a general offensive by the companies.

—PB

Polish Workers and Farmers Continue Struggle Under Threat of Russian Invasion



Polish farmers demonstrate for union recognition in Warsaw on January 4.

Since the outbreak of the Polish workers' rebellion last August, the threat of Russian intervention has loomed over the Polish people. Fears of a Russian invasion rose dramatically in late November after a series of confrontations between Solidarnosc (Solidarity), the independent union formed by the workers, and the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), currently led by Stanislaw Kania. The Russian government placed 250,000 troops on alert near the Russian-Polish border, and an invasion seemed imminent.

But on December 5, at an emergency meeting in Moscow of Eastern European leaders, it was apparently decided to give Kania more time to try to restore the PUWP's authority over the country. After the meeting, Russian officials expressed confidence in the PUWP's ability to resolve the Polish crisis. However, Russian troops remain camped on the Polish border. According to a Western intelligence officer, they could "be off and running across the Polish frontier in anything from one to eight hours." Thus, it remains to be seen exactly how much time the Russian rulers will allow Kania, or what further concessions, if any, they will tolerate before moving in.

Workers, farmers press demands

These questions are assuming critical importance as Polish workers and farmers continue to take militant action against Kania's state-capitalist regime. On December 22, 150 delegates representing workers from 135 factories and mines around Pietrkow Trybunalski in central Poland were promised increased meat rations after a four-day sit-in in local government offices. Workers and farmers in southeastern Poland organized a one-hour general strike on January 6 to protest government harassment of their unions. In western Poland, the Solidarnosc committee in Zielona charged Stanislaw Cioseki, a minister without portfolio in charge of union activities, with corruption and threatened to strike on January 22 unless he was dismissed.

In addition to these local struggles, the government faces conflicts with farmers and workers that could erupt into nationwide confrontations. A national organization of 600,000 farmers, Rural Solidarnosc, is demanding official recognition and other concessions from the government. At the same time, a struggle between Solidarnosc and the Kania regime has shaped up over the workers' demands for a five-day workweek. The PUWP

promised to shorten the workweek as part of the settlement that ended the August mass strikes. But on January 2 Prime Minister Josef Pinkowski announced that workers would have to work every other Saturday, and that the government would not implement a five-day workweek until 1985.

Workers in Warsaw and coal miners in the southern region of Silesia responded to the government's announcement by declaring that they would refuse to work Saturday, January 10, to press the demand for an immediate five-day week. Their action forced the national Solidarnosc leadership to reject the government's plan on January 7 and support demands for a five-day week with no increase in workloads, no wage cuts, and no elimination of other days off. The union called on its members to demonstrate their opposition to the PUWP plan by striking on the 10th. In response to this appeal, hundreds of thousands of workers stayed home, shutting down factories all over the country. While government officials are urging negotiations to resolve the conflict, they are also threatening to dock the pay of workers who refuse Saturday work. Solidarnosc leaders say they may call mass strikes if the workers are penalized.

Despite such warnings it appears that Solidarnosc officials are trying to avoid an all-out confrontation with the government over the five-day workweek. The union's guidelines on the workweek issued to members after the January 7 meeting state that "in a difficult economic situation, workers can recognize the need to work on free Saturdays." In Warsaw itself workers at the Ursus tractor plant and the Fiat auto factory worked out a deal in which managers agreed to close the plants on the 10th in return for the workers' promise to work another Saturday later in the month. Seweryn Jaworski, the Solidarnosc spokesperson at the Huta Warszawa steelworks in Warsaw, told reporters that management had agreed "in principle" to negotiate a reduced workload. He declared: "We're each giving ideas to the other, and maybe one side will come up with an idea that is better than the other's."

PUWP steps up attacks to reassure Russians

While a compromise settlement to the workweek conflict might be welcomed by the Kania regime, it will not solve its fundamental problems. The PUWP leadership knows that the Russian ruling class is maintaining a close watch over events in Poland. It

wants to head off an invasion that would destroy its own limited freedom of action in domestic and international affairs. To do so, Kania must convince the Russian government that his regime can reduce the workers to obedience without the "fraternal assistance" of Russian troops. But he can hardly do so as long as he is forced, time and again, to negotiate with the Solidarnosc leaders as equals.

Consequently, Kania's regime is trying to reassure the Russian rulers that it will take a hard line against any further opposition. The government has stepped up its propaganda against "anti-socialist forces" in Solidarnosc and the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), a dissident group that works closely with the union. In particular, the government has begun to attack Solidarnosc leaders by name for the first time. In an editorial printed January 7 and read over national television that night, the PUWP newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* condemned "noisy forces" for instigating "anarchical incidents." It attacked Andrzej Gwiazda, a leader of the most militant wing of Solidarnosc based in Gdansk, for telling a West German newspaper that multi-party democracy would eventually be established in Poland. It also criticized Solidarnosc leaders in seven cities for "abusing the rules of democracy" by demanding the ouster of government officials.

On the following day, *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, the "armed forces newspaper, warned KOR leader Jacek Kuron that he could expect no "leniency" from the government. That same night Polish television showed films of Polish troops on maneuvers as it has done during earlier confrontations.

Then, on January 10, Kania rejected the demands of Rural Solidarnosc, warning that: "There is no room in the Polish countryside for a political opposition of an antisocialist character."

It is hardly coincidental that this campaign coincides with the increased attacks on Solidarnosc by Russian propaganda organs. On January 1, the Russian news agency Tass repeated its warnings against "anti-communists" in the union. Then on January 7 *Pravda*, the official government newspaper, printed a polemic against an article written by KOR leader Adam Michnik, which had appeared in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* on December 29. In the article Michnik called for a compromise between the Polish workers and the government and "raised questions" about the PUWP's monopoly of political power. Such statements by KOR leaders are neither new nor particularly threatening to Kania's

regime. But *Pravda* claimed that they represented views that were previously "hushed up" and that violate the Polish constitution.

Will Russians invade Poland?

We cannot predict when the Russians will invade Poland, or if they will do so at all. However, the Russian government is unlikely to keep its troops mobilized but inactive for long, particularly since many are reservists called up from vital jobs in industry to bring the army up to war strength. Sooner or later the Russian ruling class must choose either to invade Poland or to send at least some of these troops home. Some military experts believe the best time for an invasion would be between January and March, when the marshy lands on the Polish-Russian border are frozen and would more easily support movement of troops, tanks and artillery. It is also possible that the Russian government will make no move until after the national congress of the PUWP in March, in order to see whether the party leadership is able to unite and come up with an effective, longer-term strategy for restoring its authority.

There are certainly strong reasons for the Russians to want to avoid direct military intervention. An invasion of Poland would be enormously costly for the Russian government, as it would meet resistance from the whole of Polish society. For instance, the Speaker of the Polish Parliament warned in December that "any intervention from the outside" in Poland's internal affairs would be "inadmissible." The commander of the Polish navy told a party meeting that "The army will do nothing to sever its ties with society and the workers." Significant sections of the army are likely to resist any Russian invasion.

The Russian army could quickly overwhelm any conventional forces massed against it, particularly since there are few natural barriers to hold up their advance. But it would have to maintain a massive occupying army against inevitable guerrilla attacks at enormous cost to its already weakening economy. Moreover, it would face the task of suppressing the mass workers' and peasants' organizations in a country whose people have a long history of resisting Russian domination.

Nevertheless, if the Polish state-capitalist class remains unable to re-establish its authority by its own efforts, the Russian ruling class may well decide it has no other choice but to order its troops into Poland. □

Left Launches 'Final Offensive'

Showdown in El Salvador

By ALBERT LARY

The year ended in El Salvador with 12,000 dead, the economy in a shambles, the government on the edge of collapse and the bloodied masses facing the danger of U.S. military intervention and escalating civil war. "This is a place drifting toward chaos," said one observer, as all sides rushed to consolidate their strength before Ronald Reagan takes office.

Late in December the Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada (DRU—Unified Revolutionary Directorate), military command of the Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberacion Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front), launched what it called its "final offensive" against the government with a major attack in the northern border provinces of Chalatenango and Santa Ana. Leaflets distributed in San Salvador, the capital, proclaimed that "the hour of decisive combat and final triumph" was at hand. On January 11, the rebels widened the offensive with attacks in and around San Salvador, Usulután and other cities.

A DRU spokesperson, Fernan Cienfuegos of the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional (FARN—Armed Forces of National Resistance), described their strategy as one of seizing small



Liberation forces in El Salvador train for combat.

towns and surrounding the larger cities, in the style of the Vietnamese national liberation war, to avoid the danger of concentrated aerial bombings. According to Cienfuegos, once a liberated zone is won a "democratic revolutionary government" will be established to claim international recognition. This government will not be socialist, he said, but rather a coalition of leftist guerrillas, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and independents. It will be willing to open friendly relations with the U.S. The property rights of

capitalists will be guaranteed, he added.

Leftists forced into war of attrition

But the rebel offensive is in trouble. Army reinforcements backed by U.S.-supplied planes and helicopters beat back the December attacks in

Chalatenango and Santa Ana. Despite new assaults by the liberation forces, most of the area is still in government hands. As we go to press, the attacks in San Salvador and other cities also appear stalled.

The guerrillas, who claim to have 15,000 regular troops and 30,000 reservists, are poorly armed. They cannot sustain a

direct confrontation with the U.S.-equipped and U.S.-trained Salvadorean army. As a result, they are forced to wage a rural-based war of attrition, waiting for the political mood of the masses to swing over to a readiness for insurrection.

But the Salvadorean army is not in great shape either. Split by internal political factions and demoralized by the widespread hatred they face from the Salvadorean masses, they are unable to crush the left.

U.S. gov't is junta's only supporter

Meanwhile, in the capital, a U.S. diplomatic team, allegedly sent to El Salvador to investigate the murders of four U.S. women missionaries, actually spent most of its time trying to breathe life into the crumbling junta. Its solution was a government re-shuffle which dissolved the junta and replaced it with a figurehead president authorized to seek negotiations with the rebels. This concession to international public opinion cost little and means even less. Real government power shift-

H-BLOCK PRISONERS END

By CASS MAYHEW

On December 18, 1980, 37 nationalist political prisoners in British-occupied northern Ireland ended a 63-day hunger strike.

The prisoners were demanding recognition as political prisoners, including the right to: not wear prison uniforms; do no work for the prison system; get and send mail, uncensored, to and from whomever they wish; and associate freely with their fellow-prisoners. In addition, the prisoners demanded a remission of their sentences—reduction to time already served.

During the strike, thousands demonstrated in support of the prisoners in northern Ireland, and thousands more around the world. On December 13, their supporters burned shops in Derry, and 2,000 people battled the cops in Armagh, where the seven women strikers are imprisoned.

THE BRITISH government, which is holding the seven women and 30 men, denies they are political prisoners. Instead, it says they are

"criminals," guilty of "bombing" and "murder," and wants to treat them like capitalists treat anyone else who does these things. But this same imperialist government has locked these liberation fighters up after secret trials with no juries and only police evidence presented—for the "crime" of being nationalists in an occupied country.

THE nationalist prisoners staged their hunger strike not simply to win improved treatment, and not because they think they are "better" than other prisoners, but because forcing the British to grant them political status would make the imperialists officially recognize the existence of a legitimate national liberation movement. Granting nationalist prisoners political status would also mean that the imperialists recognized them and their organizations (primarily the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army—IRA—to which most of the strikers belong) as parties to a political conflict, not "criminals" and "terrorists."

The IRA is one of the oldest

active liberation movements in the world; it has been around since 1919. But the British have always refused to deal with it as such a movement. It is this recognition, from either the British or the semi-colonial government of the Irish "republic," that the fasting prisoners were demanding.

The strike had been declared as a fast to the death. Such fasts have a long history in the modern Irish nationalist movement, dating back to 1920. The last person to starve himself to death was Frank Stagg, a Provisional IRA member who died in Britain in 1976. Nationalists have often chosen this slow and painful death both to protest British imperialism and to demand better conditions for their fellow prisoners.

THIS FAST was an intensification of the four-year-old blanket protest, during which prisoners have refused to wear clothing, work, use toilets or bathe because the imperialists won't recognize them as political prisoners. The strikers ended their fast, they say,

West Coast Actions Hit U.S. Support for Salvadorean Junta

Over 800 people demonstrated in Los Angeles January 4 to demand "No Draft" and "U.S. Out of El Salvador." A majority of the demonstrators were Salvadoreans. Popular chants included "No Draft! No War!"; "Revolution—Yes! Intervention—No!"; and "El Pueblo Armado Jamas Sera Aplastado!" (The armed people will never be crushed.)

Sponsor of the march and rally was the May 4th Coalition, which was originally created last year as an anti-draft group. Recently, this coalition has tried to link up the draft issue with the increasing danger of U.S. intervention in Central America. "Don't let El Salvador be the next Vietnam" was a common theme among speakers at the rally.

Hundreds of people joined in the demonstration as it marched around MacArthur Park, in a working class Latin neighborhood.

To protest U.S. involvement in the El Salvador civil war, longshore workers on the U.S. West Coast are refusing to load U.S. military equipment already en route to the Salvadorean regime. Several tons of material have been halted at the port of San Francisco alone. A spokesperson for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union said the boycott would be felt in over 30 ports.

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Salvadoran President Leon Duarte.

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Since then, the IRA public relations that the British had given in, the after the fast was says they appear because two of them were on the brink then went back on ises. He asked the supporters to hold alert for future ac prisoners for the demands. This is such a large group of strikers has either winning the or, more frequent to death. Whatever of the prisoners' c lutionaries must Irish national liberation and the political captives of the power. □

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ed slightly to the right, to
undermine a threatened ultra-
rightist coup and prepare for a
worsening military situation.

Colonel Adolfo Arnaldo Ma-
jano, the one remaining liberal
in the junta, who has been
powerless for months, was
completely ousted in the shuf-
fle. Majano promptly called
for the overthrow of the re-
gime "by whatever means are
necessary" and then went
underground. Majano's re-
moval split the middle-level



Salvadorean President Napo-
leon Duarte.

officer corps into rival camps.
At least one officer has
threatened to take his com-
mand over to the side of the
rebels—if Majano leads the
way.

The new president is a
Christian Democratic politi-
cian and long-time junta mem-
ber, Jose Napoleon Duarte,

who admits the new govern-
ment is a "last ditch effort" to
avert the "ultimate crisis." No
one expects the government
to survive. Right-wing Colonel
Jaime Abdul Gutierrez now
holds effective power as vice
president and commander-in-
chief. Colonel Jose Guillermo
Garcia, an ultra-rightist with
known ties to the paramilitary
death squads, remains as
defense minister.

In a further ominous devel-
opment, Major Roberto D'Au-
buisson, head of the fascist
White Warriors Union, re-
entered the country in mid-
December. D'Aubuisson was
involved in two previous coup
attempts last year.

To promote the stability of
the reshuffled regime, on
December 18 the U.S. govern-
ment pushed through a \$45.5
million loan from the Inter-
American Development Bank.
It also restored \$20 million in
U.S. economic assistance
which, along with \$5.5 million
in military aid, had been
suspended two weeks earlier
after the murders of the four
missionaries. Although an
FBI/State Department investi-
gation implicated Salvadorean
security forces in the mur-
ders, U.S. aid to these forces
is essential to maintaining
U.S. influence in the area.
Even the January 3 killings of
two U.S. officials, Michael P.
Hammer and Mark David Pearl-
man, shot by rightists to pre-
vent their collaboration with
the junta's "land reform" pro-
gram, hasn't altered the im-
perialists' strategy.

At first, in an effort to keep
alive his "human rights" repu-

tation, President Carter re-
fused to restore the \$5.5 mil-
lion in military aid to the
regime. But he left a five-man
U.S. Army counter-insurgency
team in El Salvador and con-
tinued to pour arms into
neighboring Honduras, a
close ally of the El Salvador
junta. Finally, on January 14,
Carter used the rebel offensive
as an excuse to restore the
suspended military aid

While U.S. policy makers
nearly all recognize that the
immediate threat to the re-
gime is from the far-right
forces, they fear even more
that continued instability will
serve to strengthen the left.
Therefore, they continue to
promote the charade of a
"moderate centrist" govern-
ment, which long ago ceased
to have any base outside the
U.S. embassy. □

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63-DAY HUNGER STRIKE

when the British government
seemed to have granted some
of their demands. But these
concessions did not meet all
the demands of the prisoners;
some work is being demanded
of them, and nothing was said
about remission of sentences.
The strikers nonetheless said,
at first, that they had won.

Since then, the Provisional
IRA public relations officer at
the Maze prison has stated
that the British government
had given in, then backed off
after the fast was called off. He
says they appeared to give in
because two of the prisoners
were on the brink of death, but
then went back on their prom-
ises. He asked the prisoners'
supporters to hold themselves
alert for future actions by the
prisoners for their original
demands. This is the first time
such a large group of national-
ist fasters has quit without
either winning their demands
or, more frequently, starving
to death. Whatever the causes
of the prisoners' defeat, revolu-
tionaries must support the
Irish national liberation strug-
gle and the political rights of
captives of the occupying
power. □



Dublin demonstration last November in support of hunger
strikers.

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

French CP leads attack on immigrants

The French Communist Party (PCF) is actively participating
in a racist campaign against immigrant workers in France. On
December 24 Paul Mercleca, the PCF mayor of Vitry-sur-Seine,
a working class suburb of Paris, led a white mob in an attack on
a housing project for 320 immigrants from the West African
country of Mali. While Mercleca urged them on over a bullhorn,
his followers destroyed telephone wires, water pipes and hot
water heaters in the government project. One used a bulldozer
to knock down one of the walls of the project.

There are over four million immigrant workers in France,
representing almost eight percent of the total population of the
country. The French government originally encouraged
immigrant workers to come to France as a source of cheap
labor for the capitalists, while it denied them any political
rights. However, French capitalism is now in the grip of a
recession which has left 1.5 million French workers unem-
ployed. Consequently, President Giscard d'Estaing's govern-
ment is restricting immigration, while a growing number of
French workers are blaming the immigrants for taking away
their jobs.

The PCF is encouraging these racist attitudes and is calling
for a total ban on further immigration. The mob attack led by
the "communist" mayor Mercleca is an example of the PCF's
policy. PCF leader Georges Marchais also claims that the
d'Estaing regime is trying to force his party to take responsi-
bility for immigrant workers by placing them in towns and city
districts controlled by local PCF governments. While this may
be true, it hardly excuses the PCF's racist policy, or its criminal
actions in Vitry.

Mugabe reshuffles cabinet

Mugabe, the prime minister of Zimbabwe, has begun
a shake-up of his government aimed at consolidating his
power. On January 3, he dismissed Joshua Nkomo (the head of
the Zimbabwe African People's Union—ZAPU) as home affairs
minister. At the same time he fired Edgar Tekere, a leading
member of Mugabe's own party, the Zimbabwe African National
Union (ZANU), from his position as manpower planning
minister.

Mugabe and Nkomo were co-leaders of the Patriotic Front,
which led the successful struggle for Black rule in Zimbabwe.
But they are political enemies, largely because Nkomo was
always more willing to compromise with the former white
settler regime, but also because they represent rival tribes.
When they ran against each other in last year's election for a
Black government, Mugabe won an overwhelming victory.
Since then their respective supporters have fought several
skirmishes. In Bulawayo, an Nkomo stronghold, at least 55
people were killed on November 11, after Nkomo supporters
apparently opened fire on troops loyal to Mugabe. The shooting
started after Enos Nkala, the finance minister and a close ally
of Mugabe, made a speech in which he called for a one-party
state and urged Mugabe troops to "take action" against the
Nkomo forces. Since then, the government has jailed several of
Nkomo's leading aides.

Although Tekere is a member of ZANU, he is not one of
Mugabe's close political allies. Instead, he represents a faction
within the party which opposes Mugabe's moderate policies
that allow the white minority to retain their grip over the
economy. Last summer, Tekere was charged with murder after
a gun battle in which a white farmer was killed. He was ac-
quitted in December. Mugabe justified his dismissal of Tekere
by claiming that he needed "lots of rest" after the trial. Mugabe
refused to say whether Tekere would keep his high party posts.

In dismissing both men, Mugabe has strengthened his own
control over the government. By firing Nkomo from a post
which gave him nominal authority over the country's police, he
has deprived him and his followers of any chance to gain actual
control over a vital piece of the state apparatus. And by
dismissing Tekere, Mugabe has weakened the influence of one
of his main rivals within his own party.

—PB

(Continued from page 1)

Times reported that the first cabinet appointments, made on December 11, were "greeted by corporate leaders as one of the best cabinets since the days of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover."

"The Good Gray Cabinet" is what *Newsweek* called them, partly as a description of the wall of gray flannel business suits formed as they stood side-by-side at a news conference, but also as a reference to the main-line conservative backgrounds of the individuals. Reagan's top appointees are not ideologues or theorists of the New Right. They are not deacons of churches devoted to the "moral re-arming of America." They are among the best and most successful managers and administrators of the business world. Their mentality and political outlook has been formed by their life's work of running capitalist enterprises and making profits. They believe in the most narrow and literal meaning of the phrase, "what's good for business is good for the country."

Reagan ran for president on a promise to "put America back to work." His program to accomplish this included rolling back government regulations to give business greater leeway to re-organize production, regardless of safety and health hazards, and exploit and pollute natural resources; lowering the minimum wage, at least for youth; cutting individual and corporate taxes and shortening the period over which business can write-off depreciation costs; and creating a balanced budget by cutting food stamps, unemployment compensation and other social services.

Implicit in most of Reagan's campaign and his program is the lie that working women, Blacks and Latins are getting too much, and that affirmative action, busing, and other anti-discrimination measures should be ended.

The individuals Reagan has picked for the top 18 jobs are people ready to carry out this program. "We're looking for people with a real S.O.B. factor," a Wall Street recruiter smugly confided to a *Wall Street Journal* reporter this December.

In fact, most of the "S.O.B.s" are not merely tough-skinned businessmen. They are also solid members of the WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) Eastern Establishment that forms the core of the U.S. ruling class. This sector of the capitalist class, which has taken the lion's share of top government jobs over the years, is blamed for "the decline in America's strength and morality" by many rank-and-filers of the New Right.

Of Reagan's 18 top people, nine attended Ivy League universities and two attended West Point. Five currently own or are executive officers of at least one large company. Five others are now corporate lawyers and three come directly from full-time staff positions in the Reagan campaign. The remaining five include two state government officials, one former governor, one congressman, and one resident scholar at a right-wing think-tank. Eight of the 18 have served in past presidential administrations, mostly the Nixon/Ford ones.

There is one woman among the 18, one Black person and two Catholics, both of them of Irish descent. There are no Latins, Jews, Asians, or Southern or Eastern Europeans.

A look at the individual records of Reagan's appointees makes clear where their loyalties lie. We'll start by looking

Reagan's Cabinet: Big Business on the Offensive

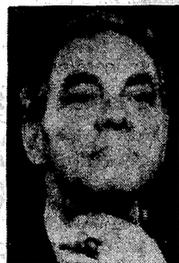


at the six posts that are concerned with foreign policy.

Foreign policy junta

The new **Secretary of State** is **Alexander Haig**. He is most recently president of the country's 10th largest manufacturing firm and the third largest defense contractor, United Technologies Corporation.

Haig is best known, however, for his career as a professional army man and White House aide in the years before joining United Technologies. Haig was Henry Kissinger's number one admin-



istrator and leading protege during the years that Kissinger was National Security Advisor to Richard Nixon. Haig, who had the rank of colonel at the time, was one of the most blood-thirsty hawks in the Nixon White House; he pushed hard for the 1972 Christmas bombing of Hanoi and the mining of Haiphong Harbor. Over the course of four years, Nixon promoted Haig from colonel to four-star general and then appointed him to a top Pentagon position—Army vice-chief of staff.

Haig came back to the White House and became the president's chief of staff, however, when Watergate disclosures forced H.R. Haldeman to resign from that position. Many accounts of the last Nixon days picture Haig actually running the White House, although the source for these stories may be Haig himself. Haig was appointed commander of the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces soon after Ford became president. He retired from the army in 1979 and, after testing the waters for a possible try at the Republican presidential nomination, became United Technologies' president—at a salary so large, he says he will lose upwards of \$8 million by serving in the cabinet for four years.

Casper Weinberger is the new **Secretary of Defense**. Most recently, he has been chief legal officer of Bechtel Corporation. Bechtel, with annual revenues of around \$6 billion, is the country's third largest engineering and construction company, as well as the number one builder of nuclear power plants. Bechtel's president is George Schultz, who was Treasury Secretary in Nixon's

administration; the company's construction projects in Iran—now defunct—were supervised by former ambassador to Iran and former CIA director Richard Helms.

Before going to Bechtel, Weinberger had a string of political offices and high-level government jobs. He was a member of the California state legislature in the 1950s and was Republican Party state chairman in the early 1960s. Although he gave only token support to presidential candidate Barry Goldwater in 1964, and fought Ronald Reagan's successful drive to win the Republican nomination for governor in 1966, he served as state finance director while Reagan was governor. He left that position when Nixon appointed him Federal Trade Commission chairman in 1969. Weinberger later became Director of the Office of Management and Budget and finally Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). At HEW, Weinberger got the nickname "Cap the Knife" for his cutting of social service programs.



Weinberger is a Harvard graduate and serves on the board of directors of Bechtel, PepsiCo, Inc., and the Quaker Oats Company.

William Casey is Reagan's choice for **Director of the CIA**. For the last year he has been working full time on the Reagan campaign staff and was Reagan's campaign manager beginning last April. Previously he had careers as a tax lawyer in New York and later as holder of several high level government jobs.

Casey the tax lawyer is best known for writing highly profitable desk manuals on taxes, real estate and investment law. Among these are **How to Raise Money to Make Money, How to Build and Preserve Executive Wealth and How Federal Tax Angles Multiply Real Estate Profits**. The advice may



have helped the rich get richer but it may not have come all from Casey: He settled a suit for plagiarism on one occasion by agreeing to pay \$20,500 in return for sealing the court record. Casey also twice faced charges of violating securities laws in the course of his high-flying financial activity.

In 1969, Casey began his career in government. After he came to the attention of Richard Nixon as the leader of a committee buying newspaper ads supporting the controversial anti-ballistic missile system, Nixon appointed him to the advisory council of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Two years later, he was appointed chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the government agency that polices the stock exchanges and stock and bond brokers—and the same agency that had investigated Casey for violating its laws. While at the SEC, Casey helped the International Telephone and Telegraph company (ITT) side-step charges of bribery. As SEC chairman, Casey was also near the center of the dealings between Nixon and fugitive financier Robert Vesco.

Casey left the SEC to become Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, but soon left that post and became head of the Import-Export Bank, a semi-independent government agency.

The new **National Security Advisor** (NSA—the post held by Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski in the past) is **Richard Allen**, another full-time staffer in the Reagan campaign. The job is not much of a change for Allen; for the past 10 years he has been a professional advisor and lobbyist in and around the Washington foreign policy establish-

ment. Early on in the Nixon administration he served as deputy to NSA Kissinger until rivalry between them led to Allen getting the boot.



After that, Allen became, among other things, a registered agent of the Portuguese government. For \$60,000 a year, Allen was, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, "in charge of convincing American lawmakers, scholars

and citizens that the people of Mozambique and Angola really like being under the rule of the Portuguese."

During the same period, Robert Vesco paid him \$10,000 a year to represent his interests, and he was working for Nippon Motors as well. Five days before the 1980 election, the *Wall Street Journal* printed an article documenting that at the same time he was hiring himself out as a lobbyist for these people, he was also working on a day-to-day contract basis for Kissinger's office and passed information he received in confidence at the White House to his private clients. This article forced Allen to resign from the Reagan staff, but after the election he was restored to a position of honor.



Reagan visited the South Bronx in New York City (above) during the campaign and attacked Carter for breaking his promises to rebuild the area. Now Reagan is planning to cut back on unemployment compensation, the food stamp program and urban aid programs.

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Allen to resign from the Reagan staff,
but after the election he was restored to
a position of honor.

As Allen's past shows, Reagan's bus-
nessmen's cabinet signals a break from
the post-Watergate concern over possi-
ble scandals. It represents a return to
openly accepting that the ethics of bus-
iness—where breaking the law when
necessary and possible is standard
operating procedure—are the proper
ethics for government as well.

The last two foreign policy positions,
which have much less power than the
previous four, are the Ambassador to
the UN, and the Special Trade Envoy.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the new **Ambas-
sador to the UN**, is a political science
professor at Georgetown University and

a resident scholar
at the American
Enterprise Insti-
tute, a right-wing
think-tank. She has
not held a govern-
ment job before.
Kirkpatrick is part
of the group known
as neo-conserva-
tives, former liber-
als, even social-
ists, who have be-
come conservative
hawks in recent
years.

Like most neo-
conservatives, Kirkpatrick considers
herself a Democrat. She has been an
outspoken critic of Carter's human
rights campaign, believing it gets in the
way of supporting the repressive re-
gimes she sees as the best defenders of
U.S. interests against social change. It
is a typical move for Reagan that the
one job he has given to a woman
involves mostly talk and little power.

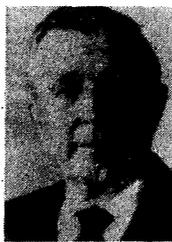
William Brock, the **Special Trade
Envoy**, is most recently Republican
National Chairman. He is from an elite
Southern background, and was given
the post largely because he is widely
credited with playing a major role in
rebuilding the Republican Party. He is
close to the more moderate wing of the
Republican Party grouped around Ger-
ald Ford, and is not well liked by the
circle around Reagan. He was the last
person appointed to a cabinet-level
position, and reportedly only took the
job after Reagan promised that the job
would remain at the cabinet level for at
least six months.

Economic policy group

The promise to do something about
the economy was responsible for more
votes for Reagan than any other
promise, and it is the performance of

Reagan's top economic officials more
than any others that will determine
whether Reagan retains the popularity
he had on November 4.

The leading economic official, the
Secretary of the Treasury, is going to be
Donald T. Regan. Regan is most
recently chairman of Merrill Lynch and
Co. He has spent
most of his adult
life with Merrill
Lynch and its larg-
est subsidiary,
Merrill Lynch,
Pierce, Fenner and
Smith, the nation's
largest stockbroker
—the one that ad-
vertises that it is
"bullish on Amer-
ica."



Donald Regan is
known for having aggressively expand-
ed Merrill Lynch from the nation's
largest broker to one of the nation's
largest financial firms, competing head-
to-head with the large banks and
money management companies. He did
this by searching out the loopholes in
laws intended to keep brokers out of the
banking business, and then stretching
them as far as he could.

Regan, like many of Reagan's ap-
pointees, is taking a large salary cut to
go into the cabinet. Cabinet officers
now earn \$69,000 a year. Yet, this is so
far below what the heads of private cor-
porations are used to that the *Wall*
Street Journal (which often complains
that autoworkers' wages are too high)
was moved to say that "inflation has
made it a joke." In fact, *Time* maga-
zine has estimated that the average
salary (to say nothing of money accrued
through investments, interest, etc.) of
Reagan's cabinet appointees last year
was \$285,000. In Donald Regan's case,
he is coming down from \$503,000 a year
in salary and incentives, plus earnings
on a large amount of stock in Merrill
Lynch and Co.

Regan, a graduate of Harvard, is a
trustee of the University of Pennsyl-
vania, a member of the Business
Roundtable, and served as vice-chair-
man of the New York Stock Exchange
from 1972-75 (the same period that
Casey headed the SEC).

David Stockman is Reagan's pick for
**Director of the Office of Management
and Budget (OMB)**, the agency with
primary responsibility for distributing
money to the various government de-
partments along the guidelines set by
Congress. Until his appointment, Stock-
man was a con-
gressman from
Michigan, and the
darling of the "sup-
ply-side econom-
ics" group in the
Republican Party.
This group believes
in cutting taxes to
stimulate the econ-
omy, while cutting the budget and re-
stricting monetary growth to fight infla-
tion. Stockman, who was active in the
anti-war movement in the '60s, is one
of the few Reagan appointees with links to
the New Right, which is probably why
he was appointed.

Completing the economic junta are
the secretaries of labor and commerce.
Both these positions have been given to
men useful in the Reagan campaign, as
rewards for services rendered.

Raymond Donovan, the new **Secre-
tary of Labor**, was Reagan's campaign
manager for New Jersey and raised
\$600,000 for the New Jersey primary
effort. He is currently executive vice-
president of Schlavone Construction

Company, a northern New Jersey firm
that builds roads and tunnels. Although
much has been made in the press of his
being a "man of both labor and manage-
ment," Donovan's union experience is
confined to membership in several craft
unions during summer vacations from
college.

As Secretary of Labor, Donovan will
have authority over the Occupational
Safety and Health Administration
(OSHA), the enforcer of most job safety
laws and one of the agencies Reagan
has said he wants to enfeeble. Dono-
van's own company has been cited for
135 OSHA violations in the last six
years, 57 of them considered serious.
The company is currently under investi-
gation for 12 unfair labor practices, 10
of them discrimination against women.

Donovan's appointment was sup-
ported by the ra-
bidly anti-union
National Right to
Work Committee
and was intended
as a slap at the la-
bor bureaucrats
and an announce-
ment that the de-
partment will bend
regulations as far
as they can to help
management.

Donovan's appointment is another
statement that the Reagan adminis-
tration is not worried about scandal. The
New Jersey construction industry, in-
cluding Donovan's company, has well
documented ties to organized crime.

Malcolm Baldrige, the new **Secre-
tary of Commerce**, was chairman of
Vice-President George Bush's Con-
necticut presidential primary campaign,
one of the few primaries that Bush won.
During the general election, Baldrige
was national vice-chairman of Busi-
nessmen for Reagan/Bush.

Baldrige is currently chairman of
Scoville, Inc., a Connecticut manu-
facturing firm with total revenues of
\$1 billion, whose best known products
are Yale Locks and Hamilton Beach
appliances. Baldrige, a Yale graduate
who is on the boards of six corpora-
tions, including AMF, Bendix and Uni-
Royal, presently "earns" a salary of
\$342,431.

Social policy secretaries

The federally-sponsored social ser-
vices that Reagan has vowed to cut are
for the most part administered through
three departments: Health and Human
Services (HHS—formerly HEW), the De-
partment of Housing and Urban Devel-
opment (HUD) and the Department of
Education.

At the **Department of Health and
Human Services**, Reagan has chosen
Richard Schweiker. The appointment of
Schweiker, who has been a senator
from Pennsylvania, is another payment
for services ren-
dered. In 1976,
Schweiker, then
considered a liber-
al Republican, ac-
cepted an offer to
run for vice-presi-
dent with Reagan if
Reagan got the
nomination. This
agreement was a
ploy to get liberal

Republicans to switch from Ford to
Reagan. The maneuver failed, but it
changed Schweiker's life. Since then he

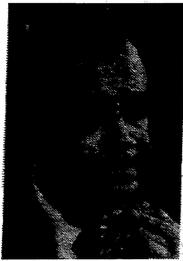
(Continued on next page)



Torchphoto/Eugene V. Lee

h Bronx in New York City (above) during the campaign and
ing his promises to rebuild the area. Now Reagan is planning to
ment compensation, the food stamp program and urban aid

(Continued from previous page)
has moved steadily to the right, and is now opposed to many of HHS's programs, some of which he himself wrote into law. Schweiker is against women's right to abortion and national health insurance. Last year he led an effort to reduce the number of safety inspections at job sites and to prevent any increases in unemployment compensation.



The only Black person in the cabinet is the new **Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Samuel Pierce, Jr.** While Pierce is in the cabinet mostly because Reagan had to appoint someone Black, he does have the qualifications to fit in with the rest of the

crowd. A graduate of Cornell University, Pierce is now a Park Avenue lawyer. He served in both the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations, and was the first Black to be a partner of a major New York law firm and to be on the board of directors of a major corporation. Pierce currently serves on the boards of Prudential Insurance Company of America, First National Boston Corp. (and First National Bank of Boston), General Electric, International Paper Corp., and U.S. Industries, Inc., and is a governor of the American Stock Exchange.

Reagan repeated many times in the campaign that he wanted to eliminate the Department of Education. This caused him problems when he went out looking for someone to take the job of **Secretary of Education.** After turn-downs from several people, he got **Terrel H. Bell,** a former commissioner of education during the Nixon administration (when the department was part of HEW) and currently secretary of higher education in Utah, to take the job. Bell may be commissioner of education again very soon, since Reagan may take the department out of the cabinet and set it up as an independent agency similar to NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration).

Domestic affairs departments

The last five cabinet positions, those for domestic policy, are Attorney General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Energy, Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Transportation.

To fill the slot of **Attorney General,** Reagan has followed the example of every president since Eisenhower and appointed a close personal friend, **William French Smith.** Smith is currently Reagan's personal attorney as well as a partner in the Los Angeles law firm of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher since 1946.

Smith is part of the group of a half-dozen rich California businessmen who approached then washed-up actor Reagan in 1964 and suggested he take on a new role—that of politician. After Reagan was elected governor, he appointed Smith a Regent of the University of California. Smith has also



served as president of the California Chamber of Commerce. A Harvard graduate, Smith is on the boards of six corporations, including Crocker National Bank, Pullman, Inc., and Pacific Telephone.

James Watt, the new **Secretary of the Interior,** has spent the last several years



as president and chief legal officer of the Mountain States Legal Foundation. The foundation, which is financially supported by right-wing beer baron Joseph Coors, has waged legal battles for the right of private companies to plunder the natural resources of public lands. It has also brought suits challenging Native American sovereignty on reservations and special utility rates for low-income and handicapped people.

Before his appointment to the cabinet, former North Carolina Governor **James Edwards** said he'd like to go to Washington, close down the **Department of Energy,** and then go back to his practice of oral surgery. Edwards is getting the chance to run the department now, although it is unlikely that it will be shut down. Edwards is a strong advocate of nuclear



power, and his approach to social issues can be judged from his statement after returning from a trip to South Africa three years ago: **"The Black influence in American politics has prevented the white South African government from getting its fair share of sympathy and understanding."**

John Block, Reagan's **Secretary of Agriculture,** is currently Secretary of Agriculture in Illinois. He owns a large highly-mechanized soy bean and hog farm in the northern part of the state. He is expected to try to curtail Department of Agriculture programs dealing with nutrition and other consumer/urban dweller-oriented programs, and turn the department back to being merely a service department for the agriculture industry. The Department of Agriculture runs the food stamp programs and Block will be in charge of carrying out several food stamp cutbacks that Reagan favors.

The **Department of Transportation** is going to **Draw Lewis,** a business consultant whose previous transportation experience comes from his tenure as a trustee of the assets of the bankrupt Reading Railroad. Lewis is currently president of his own firm, Lewis and Associates, but spends much of his time in Pennsylvania Republican politics. In 1976, he was chairman of Gerald Ford's campaign organization in Pennsylvania during both the primary and the general election, and this year was chairman of the equivalent Reagan committees.

Lewis is a graduate of Harvard Business School and is on the boards of nine corporations, including Allan Wood Steel, Coleman, Inc., Providence Bank, Comcast and Optical Scanning Corp.

Top capitalists at the helm

What this list adds up to is a collection of mainstream conservatives, near-

ly every one of them personally a member of the top layers of the capitalist class. They are not some wacky right-wing fringe group that has seized control of the government. In fact, there is a noticeable absence of New Right representatives in the Reagan administration. **"These are Fortune 500 people. We've been closed out,"** complained Richard Viguere, whose direct mail service has been crucial in organizing and unifying the New Right.

For a time, Reagan's transition team put out the word that hard right-wing Reagan people—who are now calling themselves Reaganauts—would be given many of the sub-cabinet posts to act as watchdogs over the many Eastern Ford/Bush Republicans who were being given the top spots.

But it hasn't worked out that way. Casper Weinberger, for instance, told the heavily Reaganaut Defense Department transition team to wind up their business, put a set of recommendations on his desk and disband by January 1. Weinberger then insisted on full control over appointing his subordinates or he would leave the cabinet. Casper got what he wanted and proceeded, over the loud objections of the Reaganauts, to appoint his long-time sidekick Frank Carlucci, who has most recently been deputy director of the CIA, as Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Similarly, Alexander Haig told the State Department transition team to get out of his way quickly, and leaked word to the press that he didn't want to be stuck with Reagan's good-buddy, California State Supreme Court Justice William Clark, as Deputy Secretary of State. Soon afterward, Clark indicated he had changed his mind and didn't want the job. Haig has proceeded to fill other State Department positions with career diplomats and veterans from the staff of the man the New Right loves to hate, Henry Kissinger. Even those few top people who do have ties to the New Right, such as Stockman, have been appointed to positions where their scope is limited and other more mainstream conservatives are in charge of overall policy.

The main reason why there are so few representatives of the New Right in Reagan's cabinet, is that the ruling class does not fully accept the New Right's program. Although it has shifted considerably to the right and is more than willing to use the New Right as an organizing machine to carry out attacks on the working class, the ruling class considers some of the proposals of the New Right to be more than a bit questionable.

The capitalists are well aware that U.S. and world capitalism is facing a serious economic crisis. Yet aside from the need to squeeze more surplus value out of the mass of working people, the ruling class doesn't really know what to do. In particular they can't figure out how to end stagflation, the combination of economic stagnation and inflation that has plagued the economy for the last 10 years.

Keynesianism is clearly out since, to a considerable degree, its methods are what is responsible for the stagflation.

Monetarism—particularly its notion that simply by restricting the supply of money inflation can be brought under control—doesn't look as promising as some of the bourgeois economists had hoped. The U.S. ruling class has been watching with dismay as Margaret Thatcher's Tory government in Britain has tried to implement a relatively pure monetarist policy for the past year and a

half with the results being a deepening of the economic crisis, more people out of work, and an actual dismantling of British industry.

Finally, the big capitalists have no firm faith in the New Right's extreme version of "supply-side" economics, particularly the idea that if tax cuts are drastic enough, all economic woes will be solved. Specifically, they fear that the actual result of such a policy will be to send inflation skyrocketing while most of the funds released by the cuts will go into speculation rather than economic modernization.

The result of all this is that the ruling class, while quite firm about the need to attack the working class, does not want to be pinned down to any specific economic strategy, let alone the simplistic clichés of the New Right.

Reagan and his advisors, despite their ties to the New Right, know this. This is why the individuals they selected for the cabinet-level positions are primarily drawn from the ranks of mainstream sections of the ruling class, not the New Right. Reagan figures that in this time of crisis for U.S. capitalism, big capitalists themselves, rather than ideologues of the New Right, which is based more on smaller businessmen and middle class people, should be entrusted to pilot the ship of state. And it is why Reagan's appointees are predominantly administrators, managers and politicians—pragmatists who are prepared to do whatever appears to work at any given time.

'Pruning economic excesses'

But the heavily pragmatic nature of the cabinet has some representatives of the ruling class worried. This concern was expressed in two remarkably frank editorials in the **Wall Street Journal,** one of the earliest and most influential advocates of a ruling class shift to the right. In an editorial on December 22 entitled "Good Management of What?" the **Wall Street Journal** wrote about the Reagan appointees. **"We have no particular quarrel with any of the names but at the same time we find it hard to divine any coherent pattern to them, any plan for taking control of the government and moving it forcefully in definite policy directions. . . . So far the appointments have provided the necessary management abilities, but the task will also require an ideological coherence that remains more in doubt,"** the editorial concludes.

Whatever the uneasiness or disagreements within the ruling class, however, there is a fundamental unity, expressed by the **Wall Street Journal** one week later.

"It is perhaps the pretensions of an intellectual to expect a grand and cohesive plan from a new conservative administration, as comforting as that would be. Clearly its instincts are sound, and it has a few very good people in the right jobs. At the very least we can expect some pruning of the economic and isolationist excesses of the last few years, and perhaps that will be enough."

"Pruning economic and isolationist excesses" in everyday language means brutally attacking the working class and the poor, beefing up the military and unleashing it against the people of the world. These are the policies the ruling class does agree on and is ready to implement. These are the policies the Reagan administration is committed to. □

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Protests Greet 1st Day of Draft Registration; 32 Arrested in NYC

By MARY ROBINSON

On January 5, demonstrations against the draft were held in a number of cities around the country to protest the first day of registration for the 1.9 million men born in 1962. Last summer, men who were born in 1960 and '61 were ordered to report to post offices to register with the Selective Service System. This year, beginning January 5, men were ordered to report for registration as they passed their 19th birthday.

Demonstrations have been reported in New York City, Washington, D.C., Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Louisville and Phoenix. Despite cold weather throughout the North—where temperatures ranged from -8 degrees in Detroit to 11 degrees in New York—most of the demonstrations were well attended.

In New York City, nearly 500 people gathered in front of the General Post Office chanting "Hell, no, we won't go! We won't die for Texaco!" and "No draft, no war! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

After picketing the post office, there was a short rally. A few speakers connected the draft

registration to the whole system which keeps working and poor people down. The young crowd—including students from a number of high schools throughout the city—then marched to the Times Square Army recruiting station. Here 32 people were arrested when they sat in front of the recruiting station and refused to leave. Of those arrested, 27 still face charges of resisting arrest and disorderly conduct and must appear in criminal court February 26.

The New York demonstration was organized by a number of groups, including the Mobilization for Survival, the New York Committee Against Registration and the Draft, the War Resisters League and groups from Stuyvesant, Music and Art, and Hunter high schools.

In Boston, 24 people were arrested when protesters tried to occupy the draft registration offices in the McCormack Federal Building.

In Los Angeles, demonstrators stuffed toothpicks into post office door locks to jam registration procedures. The day before, over 500 people marched from Los Angeles' MacArthur Park to protest the draft and U.S. intervention in El



New York cops drag off anti-draft militant during January 5 demonstration at recruiting station.

Salvador. (See box on page 10.)

In Atlanta, 100 protesters marched in front of the main post office. In Louisville, 100 demonstrators marched outside the federal office building.

The exact future of this draft sign-up plan is unclear. It was developed by the Carter administration following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During the election campaign, Reagan opposed the peacetime sign-up as a "meaningless gesture" that would save little time. However, he has since stated that he "hopes" he won't "have to" institute a peacetime draft.

our readers write...

Murder at Leavenworth

Dear Comrades,

With honor I write to you in hope that these most divine pieces of me will be taken under serious consideration at your earliest convenience. Reading your most magnificent and desirable paper was an inspiration and at my request will you please give me the opportunity of receiving my subscription.

I would like to know whether or not you will publish a letter for me because myself and three other IFA (Inmates

for Action) members were transferred from the state of Alabama prison system for engaging in a peaceful protest against the brutality and the inhumane and horrendous conditions that are within the Alabama prison system. Consequently the four of us were transferred to the federal system to be assassinated, and on the last part of October at Leavenworth prison my comrade Anthony "Bectemba" Paradise was brutally stabbed because of his continuous trying to organize the comrades

to protest against the administration.

I have been incarcerated since 1961, when I was only 17 years of age at that particular time. Therefore, my long struggle must not be in vain—so in our hearts, struggle as one!

My comrade, I leave you with this: Without a struggle there is no progress. We must unite! Unite! Unite! Now! **Struggling for justice for all!**
Yorch Brother,
RFY

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Chrysler on the Brink

(Continued from page 3)
against workers in weaker unions or those with no union protection at all.

UAW tops support attacks on workers

Far from defending its membership against this campaign, the UAW leadership is joining forces with Chrysler to enforce the ruling class ultimatum. On December 22, the union's Chrysler Council voted to renegotiate the Chrysler contract. After the meeting, UAW spokesperson Don Stillman denied reports that the council had rejected Iacocca's demand for a wage freeze. The resolution passed at the meeting actually sidestepped any direct response to Chrysler management. Instead it stated that: "While it may be necessary for extraordinary steps to be taken regarding the Chrysler-UAW collective bargaining agreements, these are a response to the requirements of the government decision makers rather than the demands of management." In other words, UAW leaders are waiting for the FLGB or Congress to demand a wage freeze as an excuse for caving in to Chrysler's demands.

On the related issue of COLA, Fraser stated that it was a "tough decision" and that he wanted to "maintain the principle of COLA" by accepting a reduction in COLA payments rather than their total elimination.

Nevertheless, the council meeting also demonstrated that resistance to Chrysler's demands may be stronger than it was last year. In January 1980 the Chrysler Council voted 251-5 in favor of reopening the contract. But after the December meeting, Marc Stepp, head of the union's Chrysler division, admitted: "There was considerable opposition to reopening the contract but it passed by a majority." This would indicate that the lower-level union officials who sit on the Chrysler

Council are under some pressure from the ranks to oppose any further concessions.

Chrysler workers have nothing to gain by surrendering to Chrysler management's demands. Concessions like the wage freeze will not save their jobs, because Chrysler is likely to collapse no matter how much the workers give up. And if the company does survive, it will only be at the cost of devastating plant closings, production cutbacks and productivity drives which will permanently eliminate thousands of jobs.

Consequently, Chrysler

workers should reject any renegotiation of their contract. But Chrysler workers will also need to develop an alternative to whatever plans Chrysler management and the FLGB may come up with to save the company. They should call on the UAW leadership to mobilize the entire UAW membership in a campaign to force the federal government to nationalize Chrysler without compensation to its stockholders or management. Such a step would protect autoworkers and other working-class taxpayers from having to pay off Chrysler owners for their man-

agement's mishandling of the company.

But nationalization of Chrysler is at best only a partial and temporary solution to the crisis faced by Chrysler workers. If the government is forced to take over the company, it will demand that Chrysler workers submit to sweatshop conditions in the "public interest." To protect themselves from such attacks Chrysler workers should demand and organize strong stewards' committees or similar shop-floor organizations in order to guard themselves from ruling class efforts to speed up production or lower safety standards. They must reject proposals for "worker-management boards" or similar schemes which the UAW

leadership is likely to support. Such proposals are designed to trick the workers into enforcing shop-floor discipline and increasing production for the government and generally taking responsibility for Chrysler's survival. Autoworkers can make their own opposition to any such proposals clear by demanding that Fraser resign the seat on Chrysler's Board of Directors which he received after the last contract renegotiation.

If workers secure the necessary safeguards, a federal takeover of Chrysler will enable them to keep their jobs while remaining in a good position to protect their living standards and working conditions. □

Polovchak Case

(Continued from page 4)

the Polovchaks' right to due process because they didn't know enough English to state their case. The ACLU is also arguing that the government's action violated the Polovchaks' right to privacy, meaning they interfered illegally in what was a family matter.

In taking custody of Walter and granting him asylum, the government in fact violated its own sacred principles. Legally and in principle the government agrees with the Polovchaks' case. According to U.S. law, parents' rights over their children are nearly absolute and what the child wants is totally irrelevant. Even when a child's life is in danger, police and social workers usually look the other way rather than infringe on "parents' rights."

In 1972, for example, a six-year-old boy named Johnny Lindquist, who had been put in a foster home three years earlier because his parents beat him, was returned to his natural parents against his wishes. He wanted to stay with his foster parents, who were willing to adopt him. But Catholic Charities, the agency that had placed him, decided

that his natural parents knew what he needed better than he did. He died five months later because of a beating from his father. The flap that followed caused the state of Illinois to add a little more red tape to the custody transfer process, but what a young person wants or needs still carries no legal weight.

What this means for the Polovchak case is that legally Walter's parents are right, the government is wrong and Walter has no right to stay in the country even if he wants to. This was why Judge Mooney took Walter and Natalie into custody on the grounds that they were delinquent; in the U.S. there is no legal mechanism for a young person to leave his or her parents because he or she wants to.

As a result of all this, the Polovchak case has the U.S. ruling class in a dilemma. On the one hand, they are committed to "parents' rights" and the "sanctity of the family" and don't want to set any precedents to increase the legal rights of young people. On the other hand, they would like to keep Walter here since this would be a handy swipe at the Soviet Union.

At the moment, with the

case bogged down in the State of Illinois Court of Appeals, the ruling class, realizing what it might mean for young people already in the U.S. if they grant Walter the right to leave his parents, appears to be backing off its original position. Specifically, Judge Mooney now says he wants to work out a compromise where Walter and Natalie go back to their parents and their parents stay in the U.S., but he expects the children to end up back in their parents' custody either way. Meanwhile, the INS says that if Walter is returned to his

parents, he will have to go back with them unless they decide to let him stay.

In our view, the entire case misses the point. The real issue is whether Walter or young people in general should have any say over their own lives, even when this goes against their parents' wishes. If Walter were 18, there wouldn't be a case. As a result, we support Walter Polovchak's right to remain in the U.S. And if he wanted to return to the Ukraine, but his parents wanted to stay here, we would defend his right to go. □

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