

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

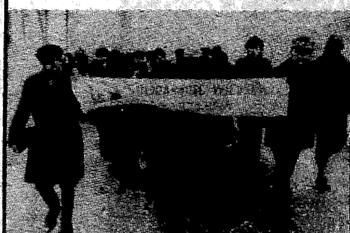


FEBRUARY 15-MARCH 14, 1981

VOLUME 8, NUMBER 2 / 25¢

Budget Cuts: Reagan's War on Working People

Poland at the Crossroads



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Which Way Forward for the Anti-Klan Movement?



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**SECCION
EN
ESPAÑOL**

By WILLIAM FALK

After a lavish inauguration and post-inaugural ball, Ronald Reagan has launched a campaign to build support for his administration's economic program. His opening shot was a February 5 television speech, the goal of which, according to the president, was "to give the blue-collar workers out there an economics lesson."

While our lesson in economics did not include an honest description of how the economy works, it did contain an important message: Inflation is caused by too much government spending, plus over-taxation and over-regulation of business; if it is to be lowered, everyone will have to tighten their belts.

But as the details of the proposed

cut in the government budget have been leaked (they won't be officially announced until after the *Torch/La Antorcha* goes to press), it is clear that only poor and working class people will be forced to belt-tighten.

Reagan slashes social programs

The heart of Reagan's economic program is to cut \$20 billion from the budget allocations for such programs as unemployment compensation, food stamps, Medicaid, Social Security, CETA jobs and the other programs that are usually called social service programs; and to cut another \$20 bil-

lion from things like aid to schools, aid to bus, subway and train systems, urban development and construction grants, the interstate highway system and the synthetic fuels development program.

If the proposed cutbacks are passed by Congress, the food stamp program will be one of those hit the hardest. The proposal is to cut food stamps by about 20 percent, or \$2.6 billion. Over 23 million people, one out of 10 people in the U.S., now use food stamps. The administration wants to kick seven million out of the program.

These huge cuts would be accomplished partly by tightening the rules for getting stamps in Puerto Rico. In addition, the administration wants to lower the top permitted income and

(Continued on page 3)

El Salvador

U.S. Increases Aid to Right-Wing Junta

The "final offensive" launched in January by national liberation forces in El Salvador against the military junta nominally led by President Jose Napoleon Duarte is developing into a military stalemate. The Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberacion Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front), a coalition of leftist groups and mass workers' and peasants' organizations, has been unable to broaden its offensive into a full-scale insurrection against the government. But the junta's military forces failed to inflict a decisive defeat against the FMLN.

The FMLN is currently carrying out what it calls a "tactical retreat" to consolidate its gains and train new recruits. Its forces remain in control of the countryside around northern Chalatenango province. They have been

(Continued on page 10)



FMLN rally in Salvadorean countryside.

**our
readers
write...**

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

'We went for jobs — and were treated like dogs'

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

We are writing to tell you of an experience we had the other day during our seemingly endless search for a decent job. We think this example shows just how bad the unemployment situation is here in the Chicago area.

We heard that on Wednes-

day, January 21, starting at 8:30 in the morning, Inland Steel, one of the largest steel mills still operating in the area, would be accepting applications. Since this is a pretty rare event (most of the mills are laying off workers, if not shutting down altogether), we arrived an hour early. We had expected to find a crowd but were not prepared for a line of people three and four abreast, half a mile long!

THERE WAS no parking left for miles around. People were just getting out of their cars and leaving them parked on the outside lanes of the highway that runs past the employment office. Some had camped out all night in the below freezing weather. Those who had were, of course, at the front of the line, but they weren't alone. The "front-of-the-line" was a squirming, pushing, struggling, fighting mass of some 300-500 people, jammed up against the employment office building. Two fences had been torn down and windows broken. Ambulances were continually leaving. We later heard the "official" injured count was seven, but we actually saw many more than that. People were packed in so deep and so tight in that mass at the front that some in the middle were freaking out. When that happened the rest would just pick them up and pass them out over their heads to the outer edges.

MOST OF THE 7,000 people there were young—18-, 19-, 20-year-olds. There were wo-

men and men, Blacks, Latinos and whites. A lot of them were unemployed steelworkers. Most people were determined to get an application but many gave up and went home when they saw that line.

About 8 a.m. we saw people walking by with applications, so we knew they had started handing them out early. But the line was hardly moving at all. Just a little later, the line suddenly surged forward. The company, concerned probably that the employment office would get torn down, sent someone out the door with boxes full of the application forms. And then, in total disregard for those who had been waiting all night and without the least concern for those who were about to be injured, they proceeded to throw the applications out by the handful over people's heads, as one would throw dog biscuits to a pack of hungry hounds. They were lucky that more people were not seriously injured or even killed in the resulting onrush of hundreds of people, each desperate to get an application. Some of the unscrupulous grabbed handfuls of the applications and came back along the line selling them. Others were returning limping and bruised, hiding their applications under their coats. But many went home empty-handed. We got our application forms through pure luck. A friend's brother was one of those who got a handful and he gave us one each.

WE READ LATER that there were shoes, blankets and jackets left all over the place. And all of this for what? Nobody even knew how many people were going to be hired. We heard estimates of from zero to 900. Nobody knew for sure, yet thousands turned up and fought just to get an application. That's how bad things are.

Yet that reactionary pig, Reagan, says he's going to "Put America back to work." That's a lie. He is just a flunky of the capitalists. And the capitalists can't afford to put everybody to work because their whole damn system is in crisis. Their whole damn system is crumbling and we are the ones who suffer. We cannot rely on the bosses any longer. We must take things into our own hands. All workers, employed and unemployed, must find a way to unite and take what's ours... the world.

**Comradely,
Judy Garson
Natasha Bell
Chicago**

Entire family beaten by Chicago cops

To whom this concerns:

I HAVE A STORY to tell in regards to police brutality. This nightmare began July 10, 1980. The time was about 11 p.m., the place our house in Chicago. Our three sons, Elias, 22 years old, Alberto, 17, and Juan, 16, were sitting on our front porch. All of a sudden this police car came screeching to a stop in front of the house. The cops turned on their spotlight, jumped out of their car, ran up to the porch and said they came to arrest our son Juan for threatening someone with a blue revolver.

Without one word to the police, Elias and Alberto walked into the house. One policeman had Juan already handcuffed on the porch. Right behind Elias and Alberto was the other policeman (Latino)—he was already calling for backup. Meantime, my husband, my daughter Linda and myself got up to find out what was going on. The Latin police officer pushed me out of the way and kept backing my son Elias into the bedroom. My husband (Pasqual) stepped in front of the Latin officer and asked what was wrong. The officer said he saw Juan pass a blue revolver to Alberto and Elias and they want it. My husband told him they have no guns, that Elias just got out of prison, is on parole and did not want any trouble with the police.

In the meantime the backup had arrived. The Latin officer kept telling Elias "let's go outside." Elias said "For what? I have not done anything." Elias' father turned to tell him it's ok. He had done nothing when the Latin officer hit him with a sharp object, a flashlight or a gun. My husband fell and lay unconscious until they dragged him out handcuffed like an animal!

In the meantime the cop who first handcuffed Juan on the porch had beaten him in

the car (seen by witness). He had hit Juan on the side of the head with a flashlight. There were 15 to 20 police officers and detectives in the house. Alberto was handcuffed for no reason. My husband was laying unconscious on the floor. The police were walking all over him into the bedroom where the Latin cop finally got a hold of Elias. Elias was hit by the Latin cop and when he fell backwards he knocked my 10-year-old daughter out of bed. She hit the wall and started screaming. A Black policewoman dragged her and my other daughter out of the room and told them to stay out of the way.

I DID NOT know what to do. My husband is a sick man—he has a weak heart, diabetes and arthritis in his toes. I just kept trying to get my husband out of the way. I kept telling the police he could die but they didn't care. There were about three or four cops who had my son Elias in one little corner of the bedroom handcuffed just beating him to death. When I saw him I yelled "Oh my God! You're killing him! He has epilepsy. He takes Dilantin two times a day!" The Latin cop said, "He should be dead!"

When I turned around I saw the detectives who had Alberto handcuffed hit him in the head with a flashlight. They mashed up my dining room table, one of my chairs and my ironing board, tore out the drawers, searching for the gun (they found no gun). They had no search warrant. We were told they didn't need a search warrant.

ABOUT A HALF hour later, when the police finished almost killing my husband and three sons, they dragged them out half dead. When I asked where they were taking them, I was called white trash, pushed out of the way and was told by one of the officers

to get into the house with the rest of the trash or they would arrest me too.

Well, my husband survived. His left knee was broken and bones shattered. He had bruises and cuts all over where the cop hit him in the back of the ear, lower part of the head and neck. He still gets pains. My son Elias had 26 stitches in three or four parts of his head. Alberto had to have five stitches put on his head.

Please tell us if there is any justice or are the police always right? They can kill you if they please, arrest you for no reason and they are never **WRONG!** Thank you for taking time to hear this. It is going to take a long time for my family to get over this NIGHTMARE!

**Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Pasqual Cordova
Chicago, Illinois**

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Reagan's War on Working People



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take away 35 cents of stamps for every dollar earned (instead of 30 cents as is now the case) as incomes approach the top limit. These steps would throw at least two million people out of the program and lower benefits for millions more.

Finally, the administration is proposing that stamps be issued on the basis of your past 90 days' income, instead of your estimated next 30 days' income, which is the current practice. This will accomplish a long-standing goal of big business to prevent striking workers from getting food stamps.

Various forms of compensation to unemployed workers are another target of Reagan's knife. First, the Trade Readjustment Act (TRA) benefits, which temporarily ran out last May and June, will be nearly entirely eliminated. Second, Reagan proposes to cut down on extended benefits (those past 26 weeks) in the regular unemployment compensation program by eliminating the national trigger for such benefits and only offering them on a state-by-state basis.

IN ONE OF the most drastic moves, Reagan and Co. are proposing to entirely eliminate the public service Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs in which nearly 300,000 people are currently employed. This is a cut of \$3.7 billion.

The administration also intends to cut the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG), a program offering low-cost loans for college tuition.

Reagan is also proposing to cut federal funds to Aid to Families with Dependent Children by \$671 million. And he wants to put a cap of \$17.2 billion on Medicaid spending for 1982, leaving the individual states to figure how and where to make up the expected shortfall of \$1 billion.

The administration would like to propose a revision of the cost-of-living clause in Social Security. But since they are afraid of alienating older people who will vote against anyone they believe will hurt the Social Security program, Reagan and Co. are not proposing big changes in the program. Instead they will nibble at its edges. The proposed cuts in Social Security are the elimination of payments to college students

whose parents are dead or disabled, and the end of the minimum benefit of \$122.

As of this writing, details on most of the cuts in the non-social service areas have not yet appeared in the press. But it is clear that most of them will also hit poor and working people the hardest. Reportedly, one of the Reagan proposals is that aid to education be cut by \$1 billion and that funds for specific programs, such as buying library books or offering Black or Latin oriented courses, will be merged together and given to school boards to do with as they wish.

It also seems sure that there will be proposals to cut aid to public transportation, which will quickly lead to fare hikes.

THE ADMINISTRATION is considering trying to find a way to eliminate the superfund for cleaning up toxic wastes. This fund was created in response to what happened in the Love Canal area of Buffalo, New York, where people discovered they were living on a site that had been used by chemical companies and the government to dump the most dangerous types of poisonous wastes.

Cuts in urban development and construction programs, which also seem to be in the works, will result in higher unemployment in the cities.

More subtly, there are several seemingly unimportant proposals which hurt working people indirectly. For instance, there is talk of forcing the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration to borrow money in the open market instead of from the Federal Financing Bank. This would mean higher electric costs for hundreds of thousands of working people in the Midwest and South.

Subsidies for capitalists

To get poor and working people to accept the cuts, the Reagan administration wants to convince them that everybody will have to sacrifice, including the corporations and banks and individual capitalists. As a result, they want some section of the capitalist class to

pretend to be outraged at these cuts, supposedly directed at them. "If the Business Roundtable isn't furious when this is over," a lobbyist close to the administration told the *Washington Post*, "it will have failed. Everybody has got to scream equally—a loud outcry. Then it might fly."

But it is unlikely that, when the screaming dies down, cuts that actually hurt business will be passed. Even the administration's proposed cuts aimed at the capitalists don't add up to much. One is a cut in the budget of the Import-Export Bank, an agency that makes low-cost loans to exporters. But this cut will not hurt exporters much in today's export boom. Another is the elimination of several regional development agencies that have been conduits for giveaways to business. Reagan and Co. propose to abolish most of them—a dramatic move until you look it up and see, as the *Washington Post* did, that "By Washington standards the Economic Development Administration and the Appalachian Regional Commission are small potatoes."

While the budget cuts that are directed at big business are really small potatoes, the potatoes Reagan proposes to give to the capitalists are considerably larger. For example, Reagan wants to increase military spending by \$25 billion in next year's budget and raise it \$165 billion more over the following three years. This includes money for a lot of new hardware and construction programs, most of which are paid for through the Pentagon's "cost plus" contracts, which guarantee extremely high profits to the defense contractors.

Beyond this, the administration's approach to regulations and the much talked about tax cut are also designed to subsidize corporations and the rich. The administration will propose eliminating regulations that limit the capitalists' ability to exploit workers both in the factory and in the market place. Prime targets for elimination or softening are regulations that require companies to stop polluting the air and water and dispose of wastes safely, and regulations that require safer workplaces.

Meanwhile, Reagan's major proposal on taxes, an "across the board" 10 percent cut in personal income taxes, will help the rich far more than it will help the average person. A 10 percent "across the board" cut will give a worker paying \$50 a week in federal income tax five more dollars, minus the increase in Social Security tax (about two dollars a week). But someone in the 50 percent tax bracket, paying \$750 a week in taxes, will get a more meaningful \$75 a week. In fact, administration spokesmen admit in private that the tax cut is designed for the top brackets. Its stated purpose is to increase savings, and in dollar terms most saving is done by people in the highest brackets. (The

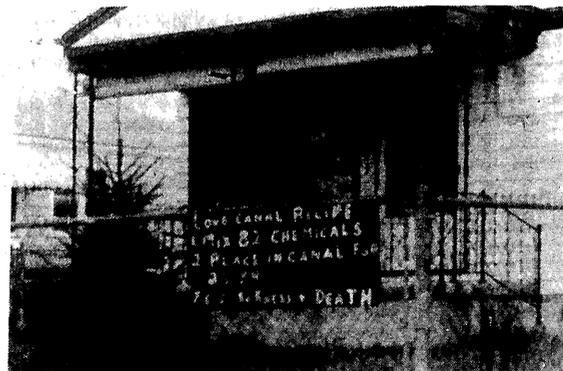
worker will clearly spend his or her extra three dollars, but the manager may save the \$75.)

Moreover, such business-as-usual legal frauds as the foreign tax credit, which enables the oil companies to pay less than one percent of their gross income in taxes, will be continued. This provision allows the oil companies to deduct from their U.S. taxes that portion of the crude oil purchase price that goes to the country that owns the oil. Repeat of this one law would result in \$17.5 billion in tax revenue per year.

Finally, the administration is proposing changes in the depreciation tax laws that will allow business to write off even more quickly their investments in plant and equipment.

In sum, "equality of sacrifice" between rich and poor (as if that were possible in the first place) is the furthest thing from Reagan's mind. It is merely a political slogan to convince poor and working people to accept cuts in their living standards and working conditions in order to boost the profits and income of the ruling class.

But even more than using "equality of sacrifice" as a cover, Reagan and Co. are banking on another strategy to implement his economic policies. This is to build a political bloc of the capitalists, the middle class and better-off workers to attack the least well-off sections of the working class, that is, poor whites in both rural and urban areas, and the majority of Black and Lat-



Reagan administration wants to eliminate superfund created to aid victims of toxic wastes in Love Canal (above) and other communities.

in people. Once a momentum for budget cutting and an atmosphere of austerity have been established, the capitalists will step up their attacks on other sections of the working class, along with people in the lower middle class.

REAGAN'S proposed budget cuts, along with the tax cuts and deregulation of business, are only the opening round of a broader campaign against the entire working class and all oppressed people. A hint of the scope of this campaign is revealed by the projected impact of the proposed budget cuts. The *Washington Post* estimates that they will push over a million people below the official poverty line of \$3,600 for single people and \$7,400 for a family of four. Millions more will be pressed down to cruel and demoralizing income levels just above this official line. But this is no matter to Reagan and his cohorts. "People," one official in the Department of Labor told the *Torch/La Antorcha*, "just don't enter into their figuring." □

Abortion Rights Under Attack



By PAT NELSON

This year, International Women's Day, March 8, comes at a time when women's rights are under increasing attack. After more than a decade of progress in the struggle for women's liberation, a highly organized and powerful right-wing movement is now threatening to halt that progress, and to take away gains already won. For this reason, International Women's Day this year must be a time to look carefully at where women stand and what we face in the months and years to come.

The struggles of the women's liberation movement of the '60s and early '70s won some very real victories for women. As a result of these struggles, women have been able to break many barriers to traditional "male domains." For example, there are few jobs which remain exclusively male. More women hold advanced positions in corporate management and public office. The level of self-respect has increased for many women, and society as a whole has more awareness of the oppression women face and is more accepting of strong women, working mothers and single women. Gains were also made in the areas of child-care, paid maternity leave and the right to knowledge of, and control over, our own bodies. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which had been introduced every year since 1923, was finally passed by Congress in 1972. A crucial victory was the Supreme Court ruling in 1973 that women had the constitutional right to have an abortion if they so choose:

Partial gains threatened

Despite the value of these gains, however, many of them remain unavailable in fact to the vast majority of women,

while some hardly exist except on paper. For example, women on average still earn only 59 cents for every dollar men earn. Childcare is still too expensive for, or totally unavailable to, most working mothers. The increased social freedom felt by women in the cities is still a dream to most women in small towns and rural areas.

Today, however, even these limited and partial gains are threatened. The right-wing movement, particularly its religious component, has made women's rights a key target of their reactionary offensive. Convinced that the crisis of U.S. capitalism is primarily the result of "moral decadence," groups such as Moral Majority are trying to bring back the racist, sexist and repressive social climate of the Cold War period of the 1950s. And since the white, middle class, heterosexual, male-dominated family was the centerpiece of the "morality" of that period, the New Right has targeted all measures that they feel were responsible for the breakdown of that institution. One of their first targets was the ERA. In the mid-'70s groups such as Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA were organized and began their well-financed campaign of distortions and

lies to deny women even the basic right to equality before the law. As a result of their activities, it appears highly unlikely that the necessary 38 states will ratify the ERA by the June 30, 1982, deadline.

New Right launches campaigns

In addition to going after the ERA, the various forces making up the New Right—such as the "electronic preachers" like Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority; the National Right to Life Committee; anti-union "right-to-work" groups and slick mail-order fundraisers like Richard Viguerie—have launched campaigns to take away rights women have already won, especially the right to abortion.

Ever since the 1973 Supreme Court ruling, the anti-abortionists have followed a two-pronged strategy. One prong was to attack the right to abortion in indirect ways. For example, in 1976 the U.S. Congress passed the Hyde Amendment, which restricted the use of Medicaid funds for abortions to those cases in which the mother's life was in danger. After four years of court actions, and the substantial growth of the right-wing movement, the Supreme Court ruled in June 1980 that the Hyde Amendment is constitutional and that the federal government and individual states are not obligated to pay for any abortions, even medically necessary ones. Since most women covered by Medicaid cannot afford to pay for safe, legal abortions, many women are forced to choose between having children they do not want and having illegal abortions which could seriously injure or kill them. The Court ruled that this is not a violation of the constitutional right to an abortion because it isn't the

government's fault that the women are too poor to exercise that right!

Along with this indirect tactic, anti-abortionists have also been pursuing a more straightforward approach. They have been pushing to amend the Constitution to make abortions illegal, under any and all circumstances. This proposed amendment—hypocritically called the Human Life Amendment—was introduced by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) and Representative Robert Dornan (R.-Cal.). It states, "The paramount right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization without regard to age, health or condition of dependency." If this ever becomes law, then abortion for any reason will be considered murder. In fact, from the moment she became pregnant, a woman will lose all rights to control her body, up to and including her very right to life. This is made more explicit by the most rabid anti-abortionists such as Nellie Gray, organizer of the annual March for Life. Gray opposes any explicit allowances for "medical procedures required" to prevent the death of the mother" since

cutting for murder when it is so difficult to prove (especially after the fact) that a woman's life is (was) in danger due to pregnancy.

In addition to this campaign, the attacks on abortion rights continue on other fronts. Based on the ruling that funds need not be provided for "non-therapeutic" abortions, many states have voluntarily cut off state funding under Medicaid. Other states, such as New York, have continued to pay for abortions, but now right-to-lifers are pressing for state laws that deny funds for abortions which federal Medicaid doesn't cover.

The hypocrisy of these folks who claim to care so much about life can be seen if one looks at their overall program. They bemoan the "innocent lives" that are destroyed by abortions but oppose all counseling and education programs in public schools that deal with birth control and help reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies, especially among teenage girls. They oppose welfare, food stamps, childcare programs, etc., which could improve the quality of life of many children who are born. Increased cutbacks in these programs,



these might include abortion. Some of the anti-abortion forces, such as the National Right to Life Committee, back a slightly different wording which would allow exceptions when the mother's life is in danger. Others would add exceptions in cases of rape or incest which were promptly reported. But these "exceptions" will have little meaning since few doctors would be willing to risk prose-

as proposed by the Reagan administration, will lead to more suffering by poor women and their children. They advocate increased military spending and "necessary" wars which kill countless numbers of people. And they support the death penalty—legal murder—because they don't consider its victims to be "innocent."

This anti-abortion offensive (Continued on page 16)



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Hoopla Over Hostage Return Covers Up U.S. Crimes Against Iran

The release of the U.S. hostages by Iran in January was accompanied by an avalanche

EDITORIAL

of government and media hype the likes of which has not been seen in quite some time. The capitalist press provided non-stop coverage of the hostages' return, complete with ceremonies, well-organized flag-waving demonstrations, parades and patriotic speeches. They tried to stir up racist, anti-Iranian hysteria by giving wide publicity to tales about how the hostages were brutally "tortured" by the Islamic militants in the U.S. embassy in Teheran. The hostages were portrayed as innocent victims of Iranian "terrorists" and "religious fanatics."

Underneath this propaganda barrage, the government and the press hoped to bury the real history of U.S. relations with Iran, which puts the embassy takeover in a very different light.

On August 19, 1953, the U.S. ruling class organized a coup against the elected moderate nationalist government of Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran that had dared to nationalize the Western-owned oil industry. This coup restored the shah, who had been forced to flee the country a few days earlier, to his throne. For the next 26 years the shah maintained his power through a systematic reign of terror against the Iranian people. In 1976, Amnesty International estimated that at least 100,000 people had been imprisoned, murdered or tortured by SAVAK, the shah's brutal security police.

Throughout this period successive U.S. governments collaborated with the shah's butchery of the Iranian people. He was their stooge, loyally protecting their interests, particularly oil, in the area. In return for his services, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) played an active role

organizing and training SAVAK. According to former CIA agent Jesse Leaf, senior CIA officials taught SAVAK agents interrogation methods which "were based on Nazi torture techniques from World War II." (New York Times, January 7, 1979.) As the mass struggle against the shah and



January 30 New York ticker tape parade for ex-hostages.

his U.S. imperialist allies gathered strength in the late 1970s, the CIA sent "dozens of specialists" into Iran in an unsuccessful effort to shore up the shah's regime.

Following the fall of the shah in January 1979, the U.S. embassy in Teheran continued to function as a center for CIA agents working to undermine the Iranian revolution. Documents captured during the embassy takeover implicate at least four of the hostages in these efforts. They include a letter from the embassy Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen requesting "cover" for two staff members, Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty. Thomas Ahern, Jr., another staff member described in press releases as a "political officer," was provided with false identification as a businessman from Belgium. It is more than likely that other "political officers" and "communications experts" among the hostages are also CIA agents.

The Carter administration provoked the takeover of the embassy itself by giving the exiled shah refuge in the U.S., despite demands from the Iranian government that he be

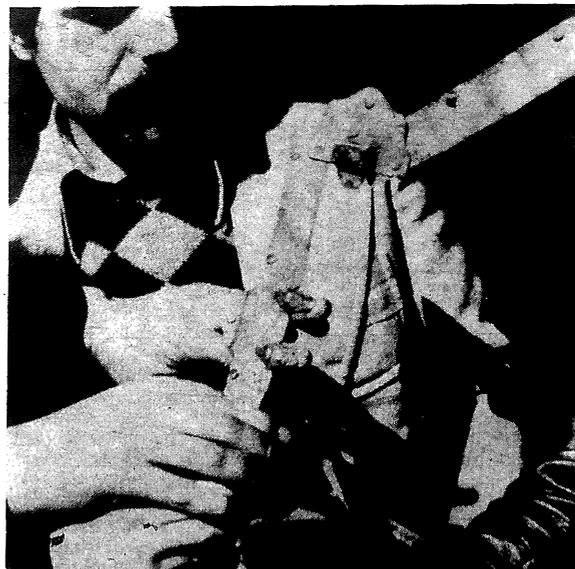
returned for trial and warnings from the embassy staff that such action would set off an explosion in Iran. The tortuous negotiations over the hostage crisis over the next 14 months are well-known. They reflect first of all the transience of the U.S. ruling class, which was unwilling to accept the just demands of the Iranian people for the return of the shah and for a U.S. apology for its past crimes against the Iranian people. At the same time, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's regime in Iran was forced to take a hard line in the negotiations both to maintain its own anti-imperialist credentials, and to deflect attention from its own oppressive policies inside Iran. Meanwhile, the hostages became pawns for the ambitions of political leaders in both countries: In the U.S., Carter manipulated the hostage crisis to get re-nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for the presidency. In Iran, religious nationalists used the hostages as a club against the more moderate and pro-Western supporters of president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr.

Settlement favors U.S. imperialists

The settlement that led to the release of the hostages was in most respects a victory for U.S. imperialism. In this settlement, the U.S. agreed to release \$7.9 billion in Iranian assets which were frozen after the embassy takeover. But only \$2.9 billion will go to the



Iranian militants display evidence of CIA activity captured during embassy takeover.



Torture machine used by SAVAK to pull out fingernails.

Iranian government. Over \$5 billion was transferred immediately to U.S. banks to cover loans they had given the shah's regime. In addition, the Iranian government pledged to set up a fund of up to \$1 billion to compensate U.S. corporations whose property in Iran was confiscated after the revolution. Most important, the U.S. obtained the return of the hostages without making any apology for its actions in Iran, or taking any effective steps to aid the Iranian government in regaining the enormous wealth of the shah's family.

Far from representing a "ransom" paid to "kidnappers," these terms testify to the long-term effectiveness of the diplomatic movements and economic blackmail carried out against Iran by the Carter administration. In addition to freezing Iranian assets in U.S. banks, the Carter government also pressured U.S. allies in Western Europe into participating in a trade boycott against Iran. Faced with a crumbling economy and a war with Iraq, the Iranian government needed a settlement of the hostage crisis in order to end this campaign and stabilize the Iranian economy. And it preferred to reach a deal while Carter was still in office,

rather than face the task of negotiating with President Ronald Reagan's more right-wing government after it took office.

Press distorts 'torture' tales

The capitalist press is substituting "torture" stories for the real truth behind the embassy takeover. While the hostages were undoubtedly kept in less than ideal quarters and might have been pushed around a bit, for the most part, the torture tales are turning out to be either distortions or outright lies. At a news conference on January 27 James Lopez, a guard at the embassy, said, "Were we subject to torture? No, sir." John Graves declared that he was "uncomfortable" with the "willful distortions" of the hostages' experience which he read in the press. At the end of the conference, Elizabeth Ann Swift took the mike to deny reports published in Newsweek that militants had put a gun to her head and pulled the trigger. While there appear to have been a few cases of beating or harassment of suspected CIA agents, the highly publicized "psychological torture" inflicted on the hostages comes down to their being confined in cramped quarters for extended periods of time and guarded by people who had good reason to distrust employees of the U.S. government.

The U.S. ruling class reveals only its own hypocrisy when it condemns the Iranian militants as "animals" or "barbarians" for their treatment of the hostages. The alleged "torture" of the hostages pales in comparison to the blindings, maimings and murders carried out by SAVAK for years with U.S. knowledge and often with the direct guid-

(Continued on page 16)



'White justice' in Miami

Three Black men were convicted and one was acquitted in Miami, February 6, on charges of killing three white motorists during the Black rebellion in that city last May. A jury of nine whites and three Blacks found Samuel Lightsey, 17, guilty of second-degree murder; Lawrence Capers, 24, and his brother Leonard, 20, guilty on three counts of third-degree murder; and Patrick Moore, 17, innocent.

The Miami rebellion started on May 17, hours after an all-white jury acquitted four cops of the brutal murder of Black insurance agent Arthur McDuffie. The three-day uprising resulted in 18 deaths and hundreds of injuries. There has been no attempt to investigate the deaths of eight Black people killed during the rebellion.

The Capers, Lightsey, and Moore were all arrested in a supermarket parking lot where a crowd of about 30 beat and stoned three white motorists. The state originally hoped to convict the four on the basis of the testimony of a "star witness," Doris Jones. But on the witness stand Jones testified that while she could say for sure that the men were on the scene, she couldn't say whether they hit anyone. As a result, the state's case relied on taped statements the defendants had made to the cops—statements the judge refused to bar, even though they were made before the arrests and therefore before the defendants were read the "Miranda" warning that anything they said could be used against them. The Miami Task Force has called for a march and rally on February 14 in front of the Dade County Justice Building to protest this "white justice."

Puerto Rican POWs convicted

The second trial of 10 Puerto Rican militants accused of belonging to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation) ended in a conviction February 11 in federal district court in Chicago. The jury took two hours to find them guilty of 13 counts of a federal indictment for auto theft, illegal possession and use of weapons, and seditious conspiracy. The charge of "seditious conspiracy" (conspiring to overthrow the government) has been used only three times before in U.S. history: against the leaders of the Confederacy after the Civil War, and against Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party in 1936 and 1954.

Because they consider themselves prisoners of war, and therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of U.S. courts, the prisoners refused to take part in their trial or present any defense. They are already serving sentences of up to 30 years on state charges stemming from their arrest April 4, 1980, in Evanston, Illinois, and now face a maximum of 80 years on the federal charges. Sentencing has been set for February 18.

Ruiz accuser admits perjury

Emiliano Figueroa, a Texas prisoner, testified before a federal judge last month that in 1978 he was promised his freedom if he would claim that David Ruiz tried to rape him at knifepoint. Ruiz is the prisoner who started the recently victorious Ruiz suit against the brutality of the Texas Department of Corrections (see last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*).

At a hearing in January on a Ruiz motion to drop the rape charge, Figueroa testified that in October 1978 he was approached at the Harris County Jail (where he was awaiting trial) by men wearing the uniform of the county sheriff's department. They told him David Ruiz would arrive in three days and be placed in his cell. If Figueroa claimed Ruiz tried to rape him, they said, he would be freed. Figueroa went along with this plan and, as a result, Ruiz was indicted for attempted aggravated sexual abuse, plus the added charge of being a habitual criminal, which carries a mandatory life sentence.

Figueroa was not freed, however. Instead he got 75 years on the first of several murder charges, and has now renounced his perjury. Last year, David Ruiz was refused parole because of the pending rape charge. Having it dropped would increase his chance of being released.

Marion Prisoners Continue Longest Strike

By MARY RIVERS

It's supposed to be over at Marion. The longest prisoner strike in federal prison history has supposedly ended.

Have the 549 strikers lost or given up? No. But there can't be a work stoppage if there's no work. So, after a strike of more than 20 weeks, prison officials are transferring the prison's printing plant and probably closing the metal furniture factory.

Now officials can say the strike is over—but they can't deny the struggle is still on.

The strike itself and the current resistance are quieter than in most similar situations, more passive. The thing that's happening is that nothing's happening. Prisoners just aren't carrying out their daily routines. Prison staff and authorities are being forced to serve food, clean up and do laundry—the prisoners won't touch it. So while it's quiet and controlled, the situation at Marion is nevertheless a confrontation between the strength of united prisoners who are fighting for their needs, rights and dignity, and an administration bent on keeping everyone under its control.

Drugs used for torture

Control is what Marion is all about. Opened in 1962 to replace Alcatraz, it was to be the maximum-maximum security prison for the U.S. With its infamous "Control Unit," a sealed prison within the prison, Marion was designed to control the "uncontrollable." Political prisoners, organizers, jailhouse lawyers who won't shut up, and other "hard to handle" dissidents from prisons all over the country often pass through Marion for some "training" or "rehabilitation," or end up here indefinitely.

Through such Nazi-style techniques as brainwashing, drug "therapy," psychosurgery, medical experimentation, aversion training, electroshock and sensory deprivation, the prison and its programs in general and the Control Unit in particular attempt to completely disorient, dull and dehumanize all who enter its walls.

Some of the standard drugs used are robot-makers in themselves. "Medications" such as the tranquilizer Thorazine reduce any spirited person to little more than a zombie (after prolonged use severe side-effects such as sex-

ual impotence are common). Prolixin, another tranquilizer used in aversion "therapy" because it causes extreme nausea, is also often used.

As Bectemba, a prisoner at Marion, put it:

"They've finally gotten around to forcing drugs on me because I won't submit and become passive. The drug is Prolixin or Thorazine I imagine. But I do know that for the last couple of days I've been crucially ill, feeling drained and voided of all mental and physical strength . . . my thoughts and mind wander off automatically and uncontrollably . . . I'm in a constant trance."

Anectine, a derivative of South American arrow-tip curare, is another favorite. This "drug blocks neural transmission to the skeletal muscles, including those of the diaphragm, vital to breathing. The 30- to 60-second interval in which a person is unable to breathe causes sensations of suffocation and drowning and deep feelings of terror and horror. While helpless, [the prisoner] is lectured about his violent and aggressive behavior, and it is suggested if such behavior persists he will have another 'treatment.'" (Behavior Mod and the Managed Society, Robert L. Geiser, 1976.)

There are also things like antitestosterone hormones, which chemically castrate the subject. These are usually used on "sex offenders"—which in prison could mean anyone they wanted to just label as such, or anyone caught in gay sex. Mellaril is another one in this line—it's a nervous system depressant which makes ejaculation impossible. Besides all the above there are the "regular" drugs, such as Seconal and Tuinal, which are dispensed freely, just to keep things generally more "quiet."

Along with the torture techniques and drugs goes the general atmosphere of confinement and isolation. Warehoused in various degrees of isolation, prisoners are forced to undergo most of the nightmare alone. First there are the "regular" segregation cells. Then there are the often-outlawed but still present boxcar cells (6' x 6' cells with only a metal bunk, sink-toilet, rationed sheet-by-sheet toilet paper, lightbulb, perhaps a

pencil stub and piece of paper and nothing else) in which some have done as much as six or eight years' time with no other human contact than with the guards. Plastic cells (cube-cells of clear plexiglass that allow guards to scrutinize the prisoner every second of every day for as long as he is cooped up) are also available.

Put these things together with other prison standard-operating-procedures—such as mail being read, "lost," or torn up in front of your face (if it even gets that close to you); strip searches (during which moronic guards always find your anus of great interest



when looking for something the size of a breadbox); no visits or restricted visits (that amount to seeing someone through a tiny window); inedible food (sometimes with glass or piss in it); no medical treatment (they say they have it, but often you're worse off after getting it, or you become an experiment for some crazed shrink or doctor); showers maybe once a week (if you are really lucky); endless counts, restrictions, beatings, and mind-games from the guards—and you have a totally controlled and tense situation, which is almost sure to break the spirit of even the toughest-willed person.

Prisoners resist dehumanization

Yet people resist. Loudly and strongly. The 20-week strike and continuing refusal by the majority of prisoners to carry out their "duties" is only the latest example. There were two other work stoppages in

Strike

and piece of paper (else) in which done as much as years' time with no contact than cards. Plastic cells of clear plexiglass cards to scrutinize every second of as long as he is are also available. things together prison standard-procedures — such g read, "lost," or ent of your face (if hat close to you); es (during which ards always find of great interest



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By RUSSELL SMITH

During the middle- to late-'60s, just prior to the time when the rise in consciousness among prisoners in the California prison system would be dramatically brought to light with the 1971 murder by prison guards of prison activist George Jackson, a group was being organized in San Quentin prison.

This group would be formed through a merger of all imprisoned white members of motorcycle gangs and would call itself the Aryan Brotherhood (AB). Later, this group would organize an outside support network known by the code name Clover.

From its beginning, the Aryan Brotherhood displayed a vicious approach to its ideal of controlling other prisoners. Formed in response to the rise in left-wing political consciousness among Latino and Black prisoners in San Quentin and other California prisons, the Aryan Brotherhood sought an ally in the so-called "Mexican Mafia" (MM), a group which formed in Chino prison and which would later grow into a huge network controlling the drug traffic and prostitution and gambling industries throughout the southwest United States, around parts of the Chicago area, and in northwestern Mexico. At the time that this alliance was made, the "Mexican Mafia" faced a formidable opponent with the Latino socialist organization known as La Familia. At the same time the Aryan Brotherhood wanted to break the organizing of the Black prisoners. Thus the alliance of the AB and the MM, an alliance that has continued to strengthen over the years. With the sealing of the alliance, the Aryan Brotherhood and "Mexican Mafia" began a campaign against

1980 as well. And within this continuing battle there are some escalating their fight-back.

Right now there are at least three prisoners on a hunger strike. Their struggle typifies the general fight of the Marion prisoners (and prisoners all over, for that matter) against the conditions they are forced to live under.

Bectemba (Anthony Paradise), Blood (Roosevelt F. Youngblood) and Mateen (Michael E. Garnett) have all refused food since January 18. As a statement on their fast said: "Inadequate medical care and improper diet for Bectemba [who has diabetes] was the catalyst that set the hunger strike in motion, but the scope of the issues involved concern every prisoner here."

A letter to the Torch/La Antorcha further explained: "During [Bectemba's] time here, he has not been given a proper diet or timely insulin injec-

Black prisoners and La Familia that was utterly savage. By 1973, the two groups were involved in over 80 murders and approximately 400 stabbings throughout the California prison system.

Black and Latino socialists were not by any means passive during this reign of terror. There is in fact some indica-

the left continued to organize against the Aryan Brotherhood and "Mexican Mafia."

Finally, following the deaths of 11 prison guards, most of whom were known to have had affiliations with the two groups, Commissioner Proconier of the California Department of Corrections issued a midnight decree in

ly within the realm of fascism, it can also be considered an organized crime group. That is, it portrays itself as the protector of "white racial purity" inside of prisons, opposing consensual sexual partnerships between persons of different races, but at the same time extorting and even sexually enslaving other white

institutions, all gay people and "turn-outs" (non-gay rape victims) are forced into a role of being the women of that environment. Thus, the Aryan Brotherhood portrays itself as the protector of gays and rape victims from sexual abuse by Blacks, while at the same time sexually abusing those same persons. The Brotherhood controls prostitution rings within the prisons, and in some institutions holds open slave auctions to sell gays and other rape victims to the highest bidders.

In addition to the "white" slavery operations, extortion is high on the list of AB activities. The extortion is usually of the type where other prisoners are required to pay tribute or else be brutally assaulted. Some Aryans receive as much as \$200-300 a week by this method. Other activities include rigged gambling and drug traffic, the drugs being obtained in quantity through highly sophisticated smuggling operations.

The Aryan Brotherhood has not gone unopposed in these

Aryan Brotherhood

Fascists in U.S. Prisons

tion that the Aryan Brotherhood and the "Mexican Mafia" would have been eventually wiped out had the prison bureaucracy not intervened. Blacks and Latinos of leftist persuasion were removed from the general prison population and confined in the infamous Adjustment Centers of the California prison system. Prison activists, notably George Jackson, were murdered by prison officials. Still,



Raymond Proconier, California prison commissioner.

November 1973 that on the following morning, doors in the five major prisons of the prison system would not open. The doors would remain closed, with all prisoners confined to their cells, for three years. It is notable that during this period of relative quiet, the left-wing elements were stifled but right-wing and organized crime elements continued to thrive and grow.

Today, the Aryan Brotherhood and the "Mexican Mafia" together control prisons in Arizona, Nevada, Oregon and Washington, and federal prisons as far east as Atlanta, Georgia, and Terre Haute, Indiana.

Brotherhood follows racist line

The political philosophy propagated by the Aryan Brotherhood is clearly right-wing. Depending upon its strength in any given prison, its members are more or less open about their hostile attitudes toward Black and Jewish peoples. Their propaganda is much less sophisticated than the propaganda of other fascist organizations, though. They publish very little, if any, literature of their own and those who read right-wing literature must obtain it from other organizations. Their own philosophy is based on three premises, without qualification of either: 1) Blacks evolved independently and are inferior to other races; 2) no Jewish people were ever killed in Hitler's Germany, and the "myth" that they had been was a conspiracy by "Jewish Communists" in the U.S. and USSR to restore the economy through a war drive; and 3) only white motorcyclists from southern California are in the elite class which can join the AB, although white motorcyclists from northern California may receive a favored status.

While the Aryan Brotherhood can be considered brother-

prisoners who are not members of the Brotherhood. It sets itself up as an elite class of rulers in the prison system and then forces all others to pay tribute to it. There is even a "uniform" of sorts whereby other prisoners may identify them, this being a pachuco-type moustache and large, flamboyant tattoos all over the body. This "uniform" might at first seem small, but it does indeed stand out in the prisoners' world where everyone wears the same drab clothing. It is noteworthy here that the "Mexican Mafia" wears the same "uniform."

The criminal activities of the Aryan Brotherhood and the "Mexican Mafia" are basically the same and are often participated in by the two groups together. The only real distinction between them is the fact that one group is Latino and the other is not. The Aryans side-step the questions raised in this alliance through promotion of the philosophy that Latinos are white people and must be included among the "beneficiaries" of the Brotherhood's "protection." In prisons where the ABs and MMs are seriously outnumbered by persons of other races, an agreement of non-aggression is often made with the understanding that whites and Latinos may be victimized by ABs and MMs only. On the other hand, where Aryan and "Mafia" strength is sufficient to take full control, they will use whatever means is necessary to eliminate all opponents.

Gay prisoners enslaved

The philosophy of the Aryan Brotherhood is vehemently sexist but with a facade of being pro-gay. This is confusing to the non-prisoner who does not understand the facts of rape and sexism inside of men's prisons, but is quickly understood through the realization that in all-male penal



George Jackson, murdered in 1971 by California prison officials.

activities. During the mid-1970s, for example, when Men Against Sexism (MAS) formed in the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, one of the cliques that MAS had to contend with was the Aryan Brotherhood—and MAS was able to do so successfully.

The Aryan Brotherhood is a criminal organization, but it is also an elitist, fascist organization specifically formed to work within the truly anti-social substratum of capitalist society. For this reason, it must be viewed and fought as what it is, a fascist group equal to the Klan and the Nazis. □

41% Vote 'No' on \$620 Million Concession to Chrysler

DETROIT—Over \$620 million in wages and benefits—that is the cost of the latest concessions made by the United Auto Workers union (UAW) to the Chrysler Corporation. The new agreement, ratified by Chrysler workers in a vote of 26,942 to 18,859 and announced on February 2, marks the third time in 18 months the company has forced wage cuts on its workers by claiming it would go bankrupt if it didn't get them.

The new agreement includes giving up all cost-of-living raises except for one due this March 1, and giving up a wage boost due last month for Canadian workers and next month for U.S. workers. Because of these provisions, Chrysler workers may well make three dollars an hour less than Ford and General Motors (GM) workers by the time all three contracts expire in September 1982.

The settlement also calls for workers to give up paid personal holidays (19 in Canada and three in the U.S.).

ALTHOUGH the pay cut was approved, there were significant things about the vote. First, a higher percentage of workers voted this year (38 percent) than in the similar

balloting in February 1980 (35 percent). This was true even though the over 50,000 people on layoff were not notified of the time and place of the balloting by the union leadership. Second, most of the new voters were production workers and most of them voted against ratification. In 1980 production workers voted 24,915 (yes) to 6,985 (no). This year it was 22,223 (yes) and 17,228 (no).

IN ALL, only 22.5 percent of the eligible workers voted yes on the latest agreement. Workers at plants that were not threatened with shut-down, particularly defense plants such as Warren Tank, were the mainstay of the "no" vote. Workers in the five plants in Windsor, Ontario, also rejected the give-back.

Not surprisingly, workers at plants threatened with shut-down tended to approve the agreement.

The deal was approved under pressure not only from Chrysler but from the Federal Loan Guarantee Board (FLGB). When Chrysler first ran into serious financial problems in 1979, it went to the federal government to ask for a bail-out, saying it was the only way to prevent the com-

pany from collapsing. The government agreed to guarantee re-payment of \$1.5 billion in loans to Chrysler, provided that the company raise some loans itself and force its workers (who had already accepted wages below workers at Ford and GM) to take a cut in pay. The FLGB was created to oversee Chrysler's meeting of these conditions.

Despite the government bail-out, Chrysler has continued to totter on the brink of bankruptcy and in December 1980 again went to the FLGB for help. (See last month's *Torch/La Antorcha* for details.) The FLGB agreed to guarantee more loans and again made forcing a pay cut

on Chrysler workers one of its conditions.

THE successive give-backs not only hurt Chrysler workers but threaten many others as well. They endorsed the idea that whenever a company pleads broke, it is the workers' responsibility to take wage cuts to make the company profitable. In the next few years, quite a number of companies will be pushing for roll-backs in wages, pointing to the precedent set by the Chrysler settlements. This has already happened at Uniroyal and Cooper Tire. And it has been raised by GM and Ford which, while having some financial problems, are not near bankruptcy.



UAW members at June 1980 convention demand action to save jobs.

Despite their impact, the UAW leadership, including its president, Doug Fraser, has accepted and even advocated the give-away. Fraser claims that by getting the workers to sacrifice to put Chrysler in the black, the union is saving jobs and laying the basis for wage gains and increased employment in the future.

But the past months of experience don't bear this out. Today over 48,600 hourly-paid Chrysler workers are on indefinite layoff and more are likely to lose their jobs in the future. An openly stated part of the Chrysler recovery plan is to make the company smaller and eliminate several plants. The money from the new concessions and loans is being used to finance automation and productivity drives that will lead to more job losses.

OPPOSITION to the UAW leadership's course is growing, but it lacks unity and a sense of direction. In order to begin a fightback, autoworkers in several Detroit area plants have been demanding that the UAW call an emergency convention to discuss what can be done about the Chrysler situation and widespread layoffs at the other companies. At such a convention militant autoworkers could fight for the union to press for the government to take over (nationalize) Chrysler without paying the stockholders. The plants could then be converted to produce the buses, subway trains, trolleys and other things the country so desperately needs. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

NIPSCO strike ends

On January 27, 4,200 steelworkers agreed to end their bitter 242-day strike against the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO), the longest strike against a utility company in U.S. history. By an 8-1 margin, members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) locals 12775 (maintenance) and 13796 (clerical) voted to accept a compromise settlement offered by federal mediator John Zancanero. In the settlement the NIPSCO workers were able to defend gains won in previous contracts, in particular an uncapped cost-of-living clause (COLA), and win a modest six percent wage increase. However, they were forced to accept some company takebacks, including weaker pension provisions and work rules and restrictions on job-bidding rights for clerical workers.

When NIPSCO workers walked out last June 1, they realized their struggle for a decent contract would be a long one. NIPSCO's new top management had just hired the notoriously anti-union law firm of Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson to lead company negotiations against the union. The same outfit had been hired by Tenneco in its unsuccessful attempt to keep workers at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard from joining the USWA in 1979. NIPSCO bargainers, led by the union-busting lawyers, refused to modify their takeaway demands and waited for the strike to enter its second month before presenting any economic package at all.

The company used a variety of tactics to break the strike in addition to its stonewalling strategy at the bargaining table. From the beginning they illegally cut strikers' medical and life insurance coverage, benefits covered by a separate agreement not expiring until the end of 1980. The company fired 17 workers (most of whom will get their jobs back under the compromise) for supposedly destroying company property. Meanwhile the local media tried to isolate the strikers by condemning their "violent" actions.

Throughout their struggle the NIPSCO workers were supported by steelworkers throughout USWA District 31, which includes the two NIPSCO locals. Tens of thousands of dollars were raised at rallies, benefits and plant gate collections to help strikers struggling to survive on the \$40 a week USWA strike benefit allowance. This aid enabled the NIPSCO workers to hold out for over six months and defeat the company's union-busting effort.

Coal contract talks open

The bargaining agreement between the United Mine Workers union (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), which represents most East Coast and Midwest coal companies, expires on March 27. As contract negotiations began on January 22, UMW president Sam Church, who replaced Arnold Miller as head of the union in November 1979, told a news conference: "I'm optimistic that we can get a good contract without a strike." But all indications are that the BCOA will use the

contract round to carry out a full-scale offensive against miners.

The major issue in the negotiations appears to be the BCOA's efforts to force changes in work rules that would allow coal companies to institute round-the-clock production seven days a week. Bobby Brown, president of the Consolidation Coal Company, the largest in the country, claims such changes are necessary to ensure efficient production. UMW officials maintain that round-the-clock operations would add to the industry's already miserable record of mining disasters, particularly since the mine owners are also demanding a cutback in company-paid union safety inspectors. The UMW is also seeking to eliminate compulsory Saturday work and institute voluntary overtime in order to create jobs for the 25,000 coal miners currently on layoff.

Coal industry representatives are offering to compromise on wage issues in return for a union retreat on work rules, saying: "We're willing to pay well for productivity." But they are opposing Church's demand for the first cost-of-living clause in UMW history.

The coal talks are the first major confrontation in this year's contract round, and the first to take place under the Reagan administration. Consequently the miners' contract fight may set the tone, at least in the short run, for the labor movement as a whole. Church is under heavy pressure from the mine owners and the capitalist class as a whole to avoid a repetition of the 111-day strike of 1978. But at the same time he must deliver some gains to rank and file miners in order to consolidate his hold over the union. As one district official declared: "It's his first contract and he's got a lot to prove."

—DS & PB

GLYDONS WORKERS WIN!

Four months after the bitter end of the Glydons garment strike in Los Angeles, 150 former strikers received an unexpected legal victory in the form of a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling January 12. The company must rehire the strikers within six months, give back pay compensation, and accept a union contract. "We'll be going back strong," said one striker. "And we'll be sticking together now, even more than before."

In September of last year, after six months of fierce struggle and many arrests, strikers were called into the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILG) hall to be told that a local NLRB ruling against the strike meant the struggle was over, and no more strike benefits would be paid. The strikers dispersed to other factories. Some, unable to find other work in the recession conditions of the garment industry, returned to their homes in Mexico.

BUT meanwhile, ILG lawyers kept the case legally alive by appealing the unfavorable local ruling. The union claimed that the strike was over "unfair labor practices" and had a series of charges, primarily unfair firings, to prove it. The boss and the local NLRB said the strike was strictly over "economic" issues; this meant Glydons did not have to rehire the fired workers or sign a contract. But months later, the



Glydons strikers greet scabs during last year's strike.

national NLRB in Washington, D.C., reversed this decision, ruling in favor of the ILG. The case then returned to Los Angeles for further hearings.

Although Glydons could have appealed this latest ruling, they chose to give up and accept a settlement. According to a company spokesperson, Glydons lost over one million dollars during last year's strike and production has never recovered to pre-strike levels. A prolonged appeal would have increased the risk that any final settlement might include huge back pay awards, which Glydons cannot afford.

UNDER the agreement, all strikers are to be rehired over a period of six months. They will work under a three-year ILG contract which includes an eight percent yearly wage increase, one new holiday, and medical insurance. In addition, \$50,000 will be divided among the strikers as back pay compensation.

While this is not a great contract, it does satisfy the main demand of the strike—union recognition—and provides some improvement in wages and benefits. Most of the former strikers are expected to return to

work at Glydons. One militant strike leader, Tony Orea, who was singled out by the company for special harassment before and during the strike, was not included in the settlement. A separate hearing was held on his case and a separate settlement is expected. The company has indicated a willingness to pay a money settlement to Orea, but says it will appeal any order to rehire him.

HOW do we explain the legal victory after all this time? In part it represents a direct concession from the NLRB—a concession not so much to the specific Glydons strike which was effectively broken months ago, but a concession, in general, to a whole layer of unorganized, volatile, potentially rebellious garment workers in Los Angeles. The capitalist ruling class maintains its control through a sophisticated system of repression and concession. At Glydons, the arrests, scab vio-

lence and local NLRB represented the repressive face. The national NLRB and its legal ruling show the other side. The capitalists know that if they don't provide at least limited legal and peaceful ways for people to organize for their rights, people will resort to illegal and non-peaceful means. This the capitalists would like to avoid.

BUT BOTH repression and concession function as a means of control. Glydons workers should have no illusions in the fairness of any system where they remain on bottom and the bosses remain on top.

According to Tony Orea, the real heroes of this unexpected victory are the workers themselves. "After all," he said, "if we hadn't fought inside in the first place, there wouldn't have been any charges for us to win on in court. Things are going to be better inside from now on." □



Pickets demonstrate during April 1980 Week of Solidarity for Glydons strikers.

Cops Attack L.A. Strikers

Sixty-five workers at the LeBeau Emblem Company near Los Angeles have been on strike for over a month, demanding union recognition and improved working conditions. So far, LeBeau has refused to negotiate with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union but only about a dozen scabs are working inside. Twenty-six people, including strikers, relatives and union officials, were arrested February 6 when police attacked the afternoon picket line. Most of those arrested were held in jail overnight after being charged with "failure to disperse." One is charged with a felony assault.

A woman striker who was picketing with her four-year-old son had the child snatched away from her by police, who then left him on the sidewalk as they took his mother to jail. Luckily, nearby witnesses

came to the child's aid. A woman union official complained to the Torch/La Antorcha of the sexual harassment she received from the cops, and says she is planning to sue. During an earlier confrontation at the plant gate, one striker received leg injuries after being hit by a scab's car. Police made no arrests in that case.

Despite the violence and arrests, the strikers say they have no choice but to keep on. "We're tired of the old way," said one man. "No vacations, no insurance, minimum wage. Maybe we'll win, maybe no, but we're not going back to that." According to a union spokesperson, the strike stands a good chance to win. Negotiations are currently underway to settle a similar strike in another emblem company in the area and LeBeau is expected to follow that settlement. □

Supreme Court Upholds 'English Only' Ruling

On January 19, the Supreme Court let stand two earlier lower court rulings that said a boss did not discriminate against Mexican-Americans who worked for him when he required them to speak only English on the job, even among themselves.

The case started in 1974 when Gloor Lumber and Supply in Brownsville, Texas, ordered workers to speak only English except when Spanish was needed to speak to a customer. Most of the company's workers are Mexican-Americans, as are most Brownsville-area residents.

When Hector Garcia was fired as a result of this policy, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) district director found that there was "reasonable cause" to believe Garcia was fired due to discrimination.

But the U.S. District Court overturned that decision in late 1976. The court said: "This requirement [that only English be spoken] was made a policy for valid business reasons, namely to improve customer

relations, to aid an employee in improving his English so that he would be a more valuable member of the business community and to improve interoffice relationships, and was not made to discriminate against their employees." In 1979, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld this decision, leading to an appeal to the Supreme Court, which also upheld the 1976 decision.

The U.S. government and the ruling class are trying to get everyone to speak only English as part of their attack on all working class and oppressed people. On the job, the "English only" rule is designed to make it easier for the bosses to learn what workers are thinking and to prevent them from organizing. In the country at large, such rules make it easier for the capitalist class to build the lie that this is a country for English-speaking people only. But the truth is that the United States is a multi-language country. Everyone must have the right to speak his or her language anywhere he or she wants.

U.S. Increases Aid to Junta in El Salvador

(Continued from page 1)
able to cut off telegraph and telephone communications between the capital, San Salvador, and some 35 towns around the country. FMLN leaders also claim control of roads leading into Santa Ana, a provincial capital in western El Salvador, which they briefly captured in the early days of the offensive.

AS PART OF their tactical retreat, the FMLN is temporarily abandoning efforts to mobilize the Salvadorean working class against the junta. In a January 15 report an FMLN leader, Ferman Cienfuegos, claimed that the general strike which accompanied the offensive was 70 percent effective in San Salvador and had brought a "total halt to industry" in several other cities. However, he admitted that support for the strike was only "partial and uneven." The FMLN claimed the strikes would grow as the offensive advanced. But in late January they ordered the strikes suspended indefinitely.

As the offensive ebbed, government troops began a counter-attack in the Chalatenango region on January 25. There is considerable evidence that the Salvadorean military is being assisted by troops from neighboring Guatemala, as well as by former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard who fled into Honduras after the fall of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979. The *Latin America Weekly Report* (January 16, 1981) cited eyewitness accounts that 1,000 Guatemalan troops entered El

Salvador on January 12. FMLN sources reported encountering the Nicaraguan guardsmen during an attack on an army barracks at El Paraiso, near the Honduran border.

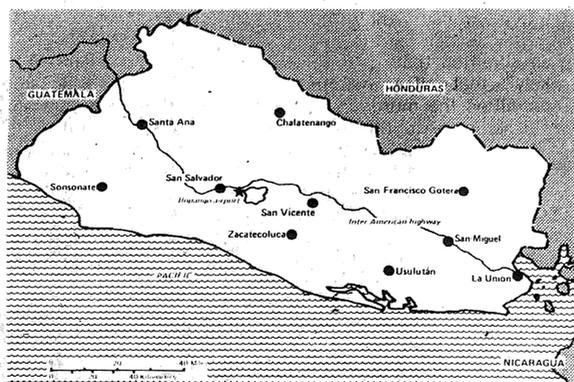
While the offensive was still underway, leaders of the Salvadorean left were seeking a political settlement with former President Carter's administration. Guillermo Ungo, the leader of the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR—Revolutionary Democratic Front, the political arm of the liberation movement), asked the U.S. government to enter negotiations for a settlement on January 14. Ungo rejected negotiations with the junta itself, saying: "We want to talk to the owners of the circus, not the acrobats."

However, in its last days in office, the Carter administration not only rejected these overtures, but stepped up its material aid to the junta. On January 17 the U.S. government renewed arms shipments to the Salvadorean

military, including helicopter gunships, rifles and grenade launchers. At least 20 U.S. advisors are training Salvadorean troops in using these arms, while seven other advisors are helping Salvadorean military officers coordinate their counter-offensive against the FMLN.

GOVERNMENT officials claim such aid is a response to "outside intervention" in El Salvador by Cuba, Russia, Vietnam and other state-capitalist regimes. For instance, on February 5 the State Department claimed that "captured documents" revealed that the "highest levels of the Communist leadership in Eastern Europe approved collaboration with the Salvadorean guerrillas."

In reality, it can hardly surprise the State Department that anti-U.S. guerrillas in El Salvador are getting some aid from the state-capitalist bloc. The government is blowing up tales of such aid now to justify its own support for the



Salvadorean government troops burn bodies of FMLN militants killed during recent offensive.

junta, and perhaps to lay the basis for more direct U.S. intervention in the future. Moreover, it is nothing but hypocrisy for the U.S. government, which has interfered in Salvadorean affairs for years, to self-righteously condemn its imperialist rivals for "outside intervention" in El Salvador.

There is every reason to believe that President Ronald Reagan's administration will give enthusiastic support to the junta's efforts to suppress the left opposition in El Salvador. One of Secretary of State Alexander Haig's first actions was to fire Robert White, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, on February 2. White was a loyal servant of U.S. imperialism who himself had urged the necessity of increased military aid to the junta. But he represents a faction within the State Department that believes the U.S. must pressure the junta to carry out economic and social reforms in order to isolate the left and stabilize capitalist rule in El Salvador. This policy

is opposed by many of Reagan's foreign policy advisors.

White was replaced by FredERIC Chapin, a career diplomat who was working in the International Security office of the Defense Department at the time of his appointment and has a long history of ties to the Pentagon. Haig also chose James Cheek, a State Department official under the Carter administration, to conduct a review of U.S. policy in El Salvador. Last year Cheek called for a "clean counter-insurgency war" against the Salvadorean left.

MEANWHILE, on February 5 Reagan appointed Ernest W. Lefever, an ultra-conservative foreign policy specialist notorious for his support to dictators like Somoza and the shah of Iran, as assistant secretary of state for human rights (!). All these appointments indicate that the Reagan government will step up its support to the junta while ignoring the reign of terror the military and ultra-right-wing groups in El Salvador are

'Gang of Four' Convicted in China

By LEE RAMIE

After more than a month of "deliberations," the special court responsible for the show trials of the so-called "Gang of Four" and the six associates of the late former Defense Minister Lin Biao handed down the expected verdicts of guilty and sentenced all 10 defendants. The "guilty" verdicts were a foregone conclusion; the delay in sentencing was caused by extensive debate in the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) over the fate of Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's widow, who is considered the "Gang's" ring-leader.

JIANG, ALONG with Zhang Chunqiao, another of the "Gang" and former mayor of Shanghai, received a death

sentence suspended for two years, which means they will probably do life in prison. The other two members of the "Gang," Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, were sentenced to life imprisonment and 20 years respectively. The other six defendants, five former People's Liberation Army (PLA) generals and Chen Boda, Mao's former personal secretary, received prison terms of 16 to 18 years each. They have all been in jail since 1971, and the time served will be taken off their sentences.

Jiang and Zhang provided the only surprises in the trial, which was otherwise well-orchestrated. The result having been predetermined, the purpose of the trial was to get the defendants to "confess" their crimes. But Zhang main-

tained complete silence throughout the trial, while Jiang was openly defiant, defending her actions and shouting slogans from the Cultural Revolution. This got her ejected from the courtroom several times. She dared the court to execute her publicly in Tiananmen Square, and claimed that everything she did was at Mao's direction. "I was Mao's dog," she said. "Whomever he told me to bite, I bit."

THERE WAS real pressure inside the CPC Politburo to execute Jiang and Zhang, which Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the CPC and the real ruler of China, opposed in light of some serious political problems he is now facing.

For one thing, a number of leading PLA marshals, old

veterans of the civil war who are still loyal to Mao, felt that executing Jiang would really be executing Mao in absentia. This would have hardened the divisions already existing between Deng and this group, who oppose Deng's plans for depoliticizing the PLA. The extent of the opposition to Deng in the PLA was made clear by Deng's recent threat to purge two-thirds of the officer corps.

Second, about 60 trials of middle-level "ultra-leftists" are planned for the coming year. These trials might blow up in Deng's face, since some 15 million of the CPC's 38 million members joined in the Cultural Revolution. Executing Jiang could have been the issue that galvanized active opposition to Deng among at

least a sizable number of these cadres. Since the trials' close last December there have been official reports of "terror bombings" by "ultra-leftists" in Peking and Shanghai.

FINALLY, Hua Guofeng, removed last year as state premier and apparently on his way out as CPC chairman, is fighting to keep his post. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that Hua's absence from the official New Year's reception, generally taken as a sign of Hua's "disgrace," was in fact a boycott by Hua along with several senior PLA officers. Hua was to have "resigned" at the 6th plenary session of the CPC central committee scheduled for late January, but this meeting has now been put back until sometime in the summer. □

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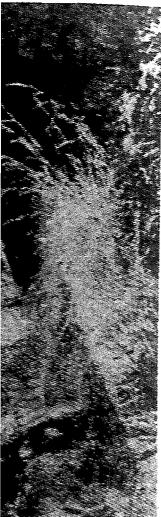
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inflicting on the Salvadorean people, which has resulted in over 6,000 political murders in 1980 alone.

According to the *Washington Post* (January 29, 1981), Salvadorean rightists such as Roberto d'Aubuisson and his supporters believe the Reagan administration will eventually support their efforts to bring down the "moderate" Duarte regime, roll back its partial reforms and carry out a war of extermination against the left. Such groups represent the interests of the most reactionary landlords and capitalists—the so-called "14 Families"—who have ruled the country for

decades and who oppose even the slightest limitations on their wealth and political power. They already have some supporters within the conservative wing of the Republican Party, including Jesse Helms, who chairs the Senate foreign affairs subcommittee on Latin American affairs, and Michael Deaver, one of Reagan's White House aides.

HOWEVER, at this time it appears likely that the Reagan administration will continue to support the junta, while easing or dropping completely any demands for reforms, rather than throwing its sup-

port behind the extreme right. A story in *Newsweek* indicated that Reagan "may well adopt a Latin American policy that looks remarkably like Carter's, at least at the beginning," while the *Wall Street Journal* predicted, "the new administration is not likely to sharply alter U.S. policy in El Salvador." Regardless of what policy it ultimately adopts, the virtual civil war in El Salvador is likely to become the first major test of the Reagan administration's avowed aim of protecting U.S. imperialism by backing pro-U.S. right-wing governments to the hilt. □

Irish Liberation Struggle Intensifies

By CASS MAYHEW

On February 6, Irish nationalist prisoners announced plans for a hunger strike on March 1. This would be a renewal of the fast that ended on December 18, 1980, with a claim of victory by the strikers. (See "H-Block Prisoners End Hunger Strike" in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*.)

The previous fast was called off because the strikers believed private assurances by the British government that their demands would be met. When the British issued a statement at the end of the strike, however, they insisted that the protesters do prison work and wear clothing provided by their keepers. The demands of the H-Block prisoners had included an insistence that they not work and that they be allowed to wear their own clothes.

Beginning the strike anew, in addition to placing great strains on the participants, would present many difficulties in mobilizing the kind of international mass support the strikers enjoyed through December 18. Some supporters are undoubtedly confused and demoralized by that defeat.

The leadership of the prisoners' support group, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, further eroded the mass struggle by holding what they called "peaceful, legal" demonstrations, appealing to the anti-nationalist bourgeoisie in the 26 counties (the Irish "republic"), and to the "humanitarian" British imperialists with slogans like "Don't Let Them Die." They did this rather than press the prisoners' own demands for political status for themselves and their organizations, chiefly the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), in the armed struggle for national unification. The committee's strategy will make mass mobilization very difficult, if the strike

indeed takes place. Working people who rebelled in support of the fasters want national liberation, and not only better treatment for the prisoners.

Meanwhile, British imperialist terror continues. On January 16, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her husband



Bernadette Devlin McAliskey.

Michael were shot and seriously wounded in front of their children by members of the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), a pro-imperialist, terrorist organization with many ties to European fascists. Three UDA men were captured immediately after the shooting by the British army. It seems likely that the presence of the army at the scene of the shooting means that the British and the UDA set the McAliskeys up for an execution, which failed.

Bernadette McAliskey, better known in the U.S. as Bernadette Devlin, is a former member of the British Parliament, and a leader of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee. She is also a supporter of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). McAliskey has

been prominent in the civil rights and national unification movements in the six counties (northern Ireland) since 1968. She has spoken often in the U.S. in support of Irish political prisoners.

While the McAliskeys have survived this attack and are recovering, five other well-known supporters of the hunger strikers were murdered during the fast. Andy Tyrrie, military leader of the UDA, has admitted that "it's quite likely" that UDA members committed the murders.

In response to these murders and to the attack on the McAliskeys, the Provisional IRA killed Norman and James Stronge on January 21 and blew up their house. The Stronges were big landowners and prominent pro-British politicians. These killings are a new departure for the Provisional IRA, which previously took reprisals only against members of the British army or the police in their armed actions within the six counties.

While such attacks up the ante for the British collaborators in the six counties, it is not a strategy that can attain national unification, let alone liberation from U.S., German and British economic domination. Irish nationalists have been assassinating imperialists and their allies for more than 100 years without bringing national liberation one day closer. Only a program to unite workers and small farmers in both sections of the country can kick out the imperialists and their agents, the local capitalists and landlords.

But while the Provisional IRA fights for an imperialist defeat and an end to British occupation, even while limiting themselves to fasts, pickets, and killing imperialists, revolutionaries can and will support the struggle they and the Irish masses wage for a united and free Ireland. □



South Africa elections spur repression

Pieter Botha, the prime minister of the racist white minority government in South Africa (Azania), suddenly announced on January 28 that he would dissolve parliament and call new elections in April. Botha's action came in the midst of a new campaign by his regime against Black militants in South Africa and neighboring countries. On the same day that he made his announcement, the apartheid regime closed the *Post Transvaal*, the largest Black newspaper in the country. It also "banned" Phiso Mtshali and Joe Tholoe, two leaders of a Black newspaper workers' union, the Media Workers Association. "Banning" denies them the right to practice their profession, participate in trade union activities, or even receive visitors at their homes. On January 30, commandos invaded Mozambique and murdered 11 members of the African National Congress, which plays a leading role in the anti-apartheid struggle. Earlier, government troops raided Angola from bases in occupied Namibia (South-West Africa) on January 12.

These actions are aimed not only at suppressing the Black liberation struggle, but also at strengthening Botha's election campaign. Botha came to power in 1979 with a plan for heading off a Black revolution by reforming some of the worst excesses of the apartheid system. But his program has failed to pacify the majority of Black people, while it has angered diehard supporters of apartheid in his own National Party (NP). Over the past year Black and mixed-race workers and students have organized a series of militant strikes and demonstrations against the apartheid system. Meanwhile, extreme right-wingers such as Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the NP in Transvaal province, are attacking Botha for endangering white rule through his reforms.

By launching a campaign against Black militants, Botha hopes to force the Black liberation movement into retreat. At the same time, he hopes such attacks will firmly establish his reputation as a defender of white rule, weaken his right-wing opposition, and provide him with a substantial victory in the coming elections.

Power struggle escalates in Iran

On February 11, the second anniversary of the Iranian Revolution, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued a statement blasting the Muslim clergy for "interfering in executive affairs" and warning that such actions were undermining their popular support. On the same day President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, leader of the pro-Western moderates in the government, charged that his opponents in the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), dominated by the clergy, were leading the country into tyranny, and blamed them for Iran's deteriorating economy.

The factional struggle between Bani-Sadr and the IRP has escalated since the release of the U.S. hostages in January. Bani-Sadr labelled the hostage settlement a defeat for the Iranian people. IRP leaders replied by calling it "the greatest political fruits in the social history of mankind," and condemning Bani-Sadr for his "official support of counter-revolutionary groups." Khomeini has attacked both factions for "biting at each other like scorpions," and destroying the country.

Some months ago it appeared that the IRP, with Khomeini's apparent support, had achieved almost total victory over the Bani-Sadr faction. Although the IRP still controls the parliament, the courts, and the press, it now appears to be on the defensive. One reason for this shift is the changing political allegiance of Iran's powerful bazaari, or merchants. The bazaari allied with the clergy in the struggle against the shah, and helped propel Khomeini into power following the revolution. But since then they have become angry over the clergy's failure to set up a stable government and a functioning economy. Last December 16, the bazaari organized mass demonstrations against the clergy in a half-dozen cities in which protesters tore up pictures of Khomeini. Recognizing that reprisals would only erode his support among the bazaari even further, Khomeini ordered the IRP to cancel proposed rallies to condemn "insults against the supreme religious authority." Meanwhile Bani-Sadr has taken advantage of the Iran-Iraq war to increase his popularity by establishing himself as the leader of the army and defender of Iranian independence.

—PB

More than 400 anti-Klan activists gathered at Howard University in Washington, D.C., on January 30-31 for the second National Anti-Klan Network Conference, sponsored by the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN). The NAKN was the principal organizer of the February 2, 1980, march in Greensboro, North Carolina, to protest the Klan/Nazi murders of five Communist Workers Party supporters in Greensboro on November 3, 1979.

Conference participants adopted a proposal for a "Spring Offensive" submitted by the NAKN Executive Committee. The proposal put forward two political demands for the spring campaign: "That the Reagan administration and all levels of government declare a national state of emergency concerning the rise of the Klan and racist violence;" and "That all federal, state and local governments enforce existing laws and especially enforce and strengthen 'anti-Klan statutes' which have been on the books since Reconstruction and strengthened in the 1960s."

Plans were made to organize a "mass people's lobby" in Washington, D.C., to press for these demands. The lobby would be followed by a week of protests and activities throughout the country. The NAKN also decided to campaign for the holding of congressional hearings to investigate Klan and Nazi activities.

The RSL submitted an alternative proposal to the one introduced by the NAKN Executive Committee. These two proposals were debated in several workshops and at a full plenary session devoted to discussing the nature of the Spring Offensive.

The RSL strongly disagreed with the executive committee proposal's emphasis on calling for government action to halt racist terror. We believe this represents a mistaken strategy for the anti-Klan movement. The RSL urged the NAKN to focus on building a militant, mass movement of working and oppressed people to fight the Klan and other racists. This movement should be based on the firm understanding that the government is an enemy, not an ally, of the struggle to halt the racist attacks. RSL supporters argued that rather than focusing on lobbying, legal action and governmental investigations, the anti-Klan movement should: 1) carry out an extensive educational campaign to explain to people the growing danger the Klan and Nazis represent and the complicity of the government in this racist offensive; 2) call for and organize mass mobilizations to drive the Nazis and Klan off the streets wherever they appear; and, 3) call for and organize community self-defense guards to defend oppressed people against racist attacks.

The RSL proposal was rejected by a majority of people at the conference and the proposal emphasizing lobbying and legal action was passed. Despite this, it was good that these important issues were discussed and debated inside the NAKN. As the government steps up its attacks—already the Reagan administration has announced plans to cut programs such as food stamps, hot meals for school children, job training, welfare and others (see article on page 1)—more and more people will come to see the importance of rejecting strategies which look to the government, Congress or the courts to halt the racist offensive. In the meantime, the NAKN's Spring Offensive, despite its serious weaknesses, will allow important educational work and organizing activities around Klan and racist violence to be carried out on a national scale in the coming months. New forces will be drawn into the anti-Klan struggle and there will be further opportunities to discuss and debate the important questions of strategy which face our movement.

As part of this discussion, we are reprinting below the RSL "Proposal to the NAKN for a Spring Offensive."

Today, we are witnessing a dramatic rise in Ku Klux Klan and Nazi activity. From coast to coast, the Klan, Nazis and similar groups have been growing in size, boldness and political importance. They have marched in scores of cities. Each Klan meeting, organizing rally and Klan-sponsored racist attack brings the Klan's racist, reactionary message to thousands more people. Accompanying this Klan/Nazi resurgence has been a wave of racist murders: 16 young Black people have been kidnapped in Atlanta—13 have been found murdered; 11 Black people have been assaulted in Buffalo in less than four months—two victims were found with their hearts cut out. These are but the most well-publicized instances of a deadly epidemic of racist terror that is sweeping the country.

In response, a broad anti-Klan movement has been taking shape. White-sheeted Klansmen have been met by militant counter-demonstrations in scores of cities. Mass marches, conferences and teach-ins, communication networks, self-defense organizations and other forms of anti-racist, anti-Klan activity have all been helping to build a national anti-Klan movement. On the local level, hundreds, if not thousands, of anti-Klan activists are working to combat the racist poison being spread by the Klan, Nazis and other extreme racists.

In this context, this weekend's conference of the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN) occurs at a critical time. We have the opportunity to take major steps forward in our struggle to build a mass movement of working and oppressed people against the racist Ku

Klux Klan and Nazis. The NAKN is in a position to begin to unify and strengthen the growing movement. We can help give political direction and support to thousands of local anti-racist activists. And we can take steps to draw in tens of thousands of fresh forces into the anti-Klan, anti-Nazi movement. It is urgent that we make the most of the opportunity before us.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is presenting the proposals in this paper to help accomplish this goal. The following is a motivation for them.

Why a nationally-coordinated plan of action?

The National Anti-Klan Network should issue a call for a weekend of educational and organizing activities against the Klan on May 23-24, 1981. These activities should be organized in as many cities as possible and should include teach-ins, conferences and other educational forums. Where possible, these activities could be supplemented by rallies and/or demonstrations.

We believe that a weekend of nationally-coordinated anti-Klan activities, backed by the full resources and influence of the NAKN, can significantly aid the development of local and regional organizations that are the potential base and power of the anti-Klan movement. A plan of action such as that proposed here combines national impact and publicity with an ability to

NAKN Conference Debates Strategy

Which Way Forward the Anti-Klan Movement

tailor activities to specific local situations. It provides focus and direction for the anti-Klan movement, that is, a common project that thousands of anti-Klan activists can work on over the next several months, aided by the resources of the NAKN. In particular, we believe that this proposal would greatly help local anti-Klan activists and organizations to reach out to community organizations, trade unions, student groups, etc., in order to educate working and oppressed people about the Klan and draw new forces into the anti-Klan

people do not know the extent to which the Klan is gaining an important foothold in local city governments, police departments, courts and other political institutions. And many people are not yet aware of the urgent need to build a mass anti-Klan movement. We need a massive educational campaign which brings to light the actual numbers of Klan and Nazi members and supporters, their growth, strength and influence and shows how Blacks, Latins and other specially oppressed people can organize themselves to combat Nazi/Klan racist terror.

Klan racist terror.

Equally important, we need to carry out extensive education among white people, particularly white workers, about the nature of the Klan. The pervasive influence of racism in U.S. society means that many white people are hardcore racists. But this is by no means the case with all whites. Rather, the majority of white people are confused by the decline in their own living standards, the deterioration of their own lives, the growth of



Police protect Klan during September 1979 march in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

movement. We can use leaflets, movie and slide showings, speaking engagements at union and community meetings, radio talk shows and other organizing techniques to build for the weekend of anti-Klan activities. The NAKN can provide literature, speakers, a national communications network and valuable organizing experience. In this way, our movement can build for a series of well-organized and publicized anti-Klan activities in dozens of cities on one nationally-coordinated date.

In addition to the above, we believe that a plan such as this one addresses one of our most pressing tasks: **the need for education.** The sudden resurgence of the Klan, its rapid growth in numbers and, equally important, the development of a political climate in the country conducive to the spread of white-supremacist ideas, has meant that many people are unaware of the nature of the Klan and the deadly threat which it poses. Most Black people, as well as most Latins, Asians, Native Americans, Jews, gays and other specially oppressed people, are certainly aware that the Klan is no friend of theirs. But few are aware of just how extensive Klan organizing is. Many

crime, and the extent to which the society is literally falling apart around them. Such confusion and demoralization, in a society shot through and through with racism, often leads whites to an openness to Klan ideas out of sheer ignorance. We need to take the offensive against this. The fact is that the Klan and Nazis are the enemy of all working people—Black, Latin, Asian and white, women, gays, young people, undocumented workers, Native Americans, etc. The Klan promotes the lie that the problems in the country are due to oppressed people "demanding too much." We need to combat this lie, pointing out that it is the government along with the big corporations and the banks which is throwing tens of thousands of people out of work, attacking their living standards, cutting social services, polluting the environment and taking the society toward depression and war. We need to explain how the Klan and Nazis aid these attacks by trying to intimidate people from fighting back and by dividing people.

In our view, the proposal for nationally-coordinated anti-Klan activities on May 23-24 offers a way to mobilize across the country in the coming

months to carry out a much educational campaign among workers of the working class and oppressed people.

What should the themes of the Spring Offensive be?

Unite to fight racist terror! Stop Nazis and the Klan!

This first point does not need explanation. However, it is important to stress that we must actively promote the need for **unity.** Fighting the Klan and the growth of racist terror is not just the task of oppressed people. It is the task of all working and oppressed people. The Nazis and the Klan do not just stand for racism against Black people. As we have seen, they are also the deadly enemy of Latins, Asians, Native Americans, Jews, women and gays. They are driving women out of jobs and babies from the homes, persecuting gay people, weakening the trade unions, the undocumented workers out of the country and establishing a repressive and regimented order in which people's democratic rights, including their right to sexual and cultural freedom, will be trampled on. We must make clear the need for all working and oppressed people to **unite** in a common struggle to fight the Nazis and the Klan.

Fight for jobs, justice and freedom for all working and oppressed people!

The Nazis and the Klan are only part of a much broader attack being waged against the entire working class and oppressed people. In fact, the Klan and the Nazis are growing so rapidly because they breed off the class which the ruling class as a whole is creating in order to carry out its offensive. This means that in order to effectively oppose the growing racist terror, we must directly address the mounting attacks on people's needs. We must make it clear that we are committed to fighting for job security, better schools, for decent health care, for an end to police terror in communities, and for an end to the attack on affirmative action programs, equal education and housing, and the assaults on living standards and wages, which millions of people, particularly Black, Latin and other specially oppressed people, are facing today. We can build a strong and powerful movement which captures the imagination and determination of thousands of working people across the country. We must make it clear that ours is a movement dedicated to fighting for people's real needs. It is particularly impor

Way Forward for -Klan Movement?

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Equally impor-
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workers, about the
nature of the Klan.
The pervasive in-
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in U.S. society
means that many
white people are
hardcore racists.
But this is by no
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with all whites.
Rather, the majori-
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that we not allow the racists and
fascists to appeal to white people,
especially white youth, by claiming that
it is the Nazis and the Klan who are
fighting for them. This claim is a lie and
we must expose it. To help do this, our
movement should openly take up the
demands for jobs, justice and freedom
for all! We should make this clear in all
our anti-Klan organizing.

Expose government collaboration with the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis!

Most of those here at the NAKN
conference are aware that the govern-
ment collaborates with the Klan in
countless ways. The police are regularly
brought out in large numbers to protect
Klan and Nazi marches. Local police
forces, sheriff's offices, city govern-
ments and courts and prison admini-
strations and personnel are often
heavily infiltrated and influenced by
Klan supporters. The "justice" handed
out to the Klan and anti-Klan move-
ments is consistently pro-Klan. The
Klan and Nazi murderers in Greensboro,
North Carolina, for example, were ac-

quitted. Armed Klansmen attacked a
civil rights march in Decatur, Alabama,
wounding two marchers. Curtis Robin-
son, a Black man, defended himself and
his family and two Klansmen were
wounded. Curtis Robinson has been
convicted of assault with intent to
murder; the Klansmen got off free. The
list is endless.

But more is involved here than just
government "collaboration." The fact is
that the government is our enemy. The
capitalist class—the industrialists and
bankers who run this country—are
launching an assault on working and
oppressed people to make them should-
er the burden of the economic crisis.
And they are using the government as a
key weapon in this campaign. They are
closing plants and laying off tens of
thousands of workers (while speeding
up those who still have jobs). They are
attacking the unions to weaken them or
bust them altogether. They are cutting
social services and trying to take away
the gains won in struggle in the last 25
years. They are bringing back the death
penalty and the draft.

The main strategy of the ruling class
is to attack the worst off sections of the
working class first and hardest. They
believe that Black people, Latins,
women, gays and young people will be
least able to fight back. And they
believe that if they can "soften up"
these sections of the population, they
will then be better able to attack the
entire working class. Reagan is fully
committed to carrying out this strategy.
Far from opposing these attacks, the
government will be coordinating and
leading them.

Our movement should tell the truth
about the nature of the government and
its plans. Some sections of the leader-
ship of the NAKN are proposing that
our "spring offensive" should be fo-
cused on a call for an "intensive, mass
campaign to see that congressional

hearings are held around Klan vio-
lence." This is a serious mistake. As we
have said, the government is not and
will not be our ally in this struggle.
However, some in the NAKN argue that
by making demands on the government
to "investigate" or "ban the Klan," we
can expose the government when it fails
to act. We believe this is wrong for
several reasons:

First, rather than exposing the gov-
ernment, such a strategy actually
spreads dangerous illusions about the
nature of the government and what it
will do. A movement which spends
much of its time calling for a "con-
gressional investigation of the Klan" or
for the government to "ban the Klan,"
will lead many people to believe that the
government will really take meaningful
measures to end Klan/Nazi racist
terror. This is false and simply misleads
people. It does not "expose" the gov-
ernment; it confuses people and builds
up illusions about the real nature of the
government. Moreover, when such cam-
paigns fail to halt the Klan, many
people will become demoralized, draw
the lesson that "nothing works," and
drop out of the movement altogether.

Another reason why such a strategy
is mistaken is that it leads people away
from building up a movement of
working and oppressed people that is
strong, self-reliant and independent of
the capitalists, their government and
their political parties. An orientation
toward pressuring the government only
makes it harder to convince people of
the need to organize a strong mass
movement. If we can get the govern-
ment to protect us, why go through the
difficult—and often dangerous—work
of building up our own movement, or-
ganizing self-defense guards in the
communities, confronting the Klan and
Nazis in the streets, etc.?

Most mistaken of all is the proposal
(Continued on next page)

Buffalo Rally Draws 1,000

In Buffalo, New York, recently the
scene of a series of brutal murders of
Black men, 1,000 anti-racist protesters
rallied on January 15 at the site of a
planned Nazi demonstration. Only two
Nazis showed up for the fascist rally.
The two Nazis gave speeches and talked
to reporters, with only the massive
protection provided by the police pre-
venting the anti-racist demonstrators
from driving the fascists off the streets.

The anti-racist rally was organized by
the Martin Luther King Day Coalition.
The coalition successfully defeated a
concerted campaign by Buffalo officials
to keep the militant anti-racist demon-
stration from taking place. Buffalo
Mayor James Griffen, the media and
police launched a red-baiting campaign
against the coalition and its initiator,
the Workers World Party. As part of this
campaign, UAW President Doug Fraser
telegraphed many UAW locals demand-
ing that they not support the anti-
racist rally. Mayor Griffen announced a
ban on all demonstrations in Niagara
Square (the site at which the Nazis had
called for "100 White Men With Guns"
to show up) and threatened to arrest
all protesters. He claimed that this was
an "even-handed" ban on all "hate
rallies." But Griffen had said nothing
about banning the Nazi rally for weeks
until the coalition's counter-demon-
stration was publicized!

On January 5, when Griffen realized



that he would not be able to prevent the
anti-fascist rally from taking place (he
eventually dropped his "ban" on demon-
strations at Niagara Square), the
mayor called his own rally to honor
Martin Luther King. Griffen, who had
received Klan endorsement for his
mayoral race, cynically used King's
name and a supposed new-found
"concern" for civil rights, to try to split
support away from the militant anti-
racist rally. Griffen's rally drew 2,000
people and was dominated by liberal
and moderate speakers. It even had the

support of Reagan ally and hero of the
New Right, Congressman Jack Kemp.

The fact that 1,000 people from many
cities showed up for the Martin Luther
King Day Coalition's rally, despite the
intensive campaign waged against it,
was an important victory for the anti-
racist, anti-fascist movement. The Buf-
falo events also show that the govern-
ment, far from being an ally in the
struggle against the Klan and Nazis,
will consistently protect the fascists
and attack militant anti-fascist move-
ments. □

Thousands March on Martin Luther King's Birthday



Thousands of people rallied in cities across the country on January 15—Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, birthday. In Washington, D.C., tens of thousands turned out for a march to demand that King's birthday be made a national holiday (see picture above). The Washington demonstration was initiated by musician Stevie Wonder. The RSL participated in King Day demonstrations in Buffalo, N.Y., and Washington, D.C. A leaflet handed out at both rallies was printed in last month's Torch/La Antorcha.

(Continued from previous page)
for our movement to call on the government to "ban the Klan." This is an even more dangerous proposal than the call for a congressional investigation. Why? As we have argued above, the government has no intention of bringing racist activity to an end. We should not create illusions about this. But even more importantly, under no circumstances should we be calling on the government to ban political organizations. To call on the capitalist government to "ban the Klan" or any other political organization is to set the stage for the government to attack the left. Can anyone seriously argue that the Reagan administration would actually "ban" the Klan—and let radical organizations alone? This is not a matter of mere speculation. Already, Reagan advisors are advocating a massive step-up of FBI and CIA spying activities. The January 17, 1981, *Nation* reports that members of Reagan's "transition team" have issued a 3,000-page report which states: "The threat to the internal security of the Republic is far greater today than at any time since World War II." The report calls for a revival of standing internal-security committees in Congress to "investigate and hold hearings on the present danger." Who does the report include as "enemies"? It provides a list which includes immigrants, "radical and New Left groups," and even "anti-defense and anti-nuclear lobbies." The report also recommends that the government target "clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists and government workers who may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purposes, or control of their activities." In this context, for our movement to call on the government to ban any political organizations is nothing short of suicidal.

In the 1950s, in a climate not so different from that which the Reagan administration and its right-wing allies are trying to create today, this is precisely what happened. The infamous House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigations led to the jailings and persecution of thousands of left-wing militants. But HUAC's anti-

communist witch-hunt began under the guise of an investigation of the Klan!!! When the red-baiters in the labor movement drove tens of thousands of left-wingers out of the CIO union movement, they did it by passing motions barring "communists and fascists" from holding union office. In the 1960s, when the radical movement was considerably stronger than it is today, what did the government do? The FBI infiltrated both the left and the Klan. Its agents disrupted left-wing organizations and railroaded militants to jail on

CALIFORNIA BILL SHOWS DANGER OF 'BAN THE KLAN' DEMAND

A new bill about to be introduced into the California State Legislature would make it unlawful "for any group to exist in this state if it can be shown in a court of law that such a group knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches or encourages the commission of acts of violence which may result in death or great bodily injury to another person."

The proposed legislation would allow the state of California to outlaw left organizations, groups supporting national liberation struggles in other countries and, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), "any groups that are out of political or social favor."

The bill reads like a piece of McCarthy-era legislation, aimed at a broad suppression of civil liberties. But the most alarming aspect of this bill is that its sponsors are not members of the Moral Majority or the New Right, but are civil rights activists who claim they are fighting the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

The bill's sponsor, State Senator Diane Watson, is a Black woman who has been active in civil rights causes. The bill is also supported by the California Association of Black Lawyers. The group says it is "fed up with the constitutional nonsense that nothing can be done to deal with racial violence."

According to the ACLU of Northern California, which opposes the bill, the bill would "give law-enforcement officials the power to violate constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly and would allow scrutiny of every single group in the state." The ACLU pointed out that such groups might include not only the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis but also organizations such as the Black Panther Party or supporters of the Irish Republican Army.

trumped-up charges. The FBI and the cops led a campaign to wipe out the Black Panther Party, including assassinating Fred Hampton and many other Panther leaders and members. What, on the other hand, did the FBI agents in the Klan do? Agent Gary Thomas Rowe beat freedom riders bloody and participated in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo! And can there be much question that the FBI, which conducted a massive campaign against Martin Luther King, Jr., had a hand in his assassination?

To fight the Nazis and the Klan by calling on the government to ban these organizations (which would still function anyway on an underground basis) is, as we have said, nothing short of suicide for our movement. The NAKN should firmly reject any proposal to call on the government to "ban the Klan." Our perspective should be to build an independent movement of working and oppressed people to stop the Nazis and the Klan and fight for jobs, justice and freedom!

No red-baiting or bureaucratic suppression!

To build a strong movement, we need unity in action against the racist forces while welcoming and encouraging a diversity of points of view within the anti-racist ranks. A strong movement is one which is united in action, but internally democratic, that openly discusses and debates differing points of view, strategies and proposals. A truly united movement is one which allows full freedom for all anti-racist and anti-fascist points of view within its activities. Bureaucratic suppression of points of view differing from one's own can only lead to a fragmented and weaker movement, not a strong and united one. The way to effectively build a coalition as broad as the National Anti-Klan

Network, one which encompasses a wide range of divergent groups and individuals who are united in a common opposition to the Klan and Nazis, is by ensuring that all differing points of view, within an overall anti-racist framework, are welcome.

Unfortunately, all too often in the past, there have been those inside the NAKN who have sought to restrict or eliminate points of view differing with their own. The leaders of the February 2 [1980—Ed.] march in Greensboro prohibited the organizations which joined together in the February 2nd Coalition from distributing their own leaflets in their own names to build for the march. There were march marshals who tried to stop radical chants. And the march leadership, under anti-communist pressure from the government, went so far as to try to expel the Communist Workers Party—the group whose members had been gunned down by the Klan and the Nazis in Greensboro—from the February 2nd Coalition. These policies have been repeated elsewhere. The NAKN-sponsored Uniontown, Pennsylvania, rally of October 25 began with the Pledge of Allegiance. The mayor of Uniontown spoke. But when some of the participants attempted to carry signs and sell newspapers which attacked the government and the cops, the rally organizers tried to prevent these signs from being carried and banned the sales of radical newspapers. In other words, only pro-government and non-radical points of view were allowed within the NAKN-sponsored rally.

This conference should firmly reject all such divisive and undemocratic policies. Our movement can build the strongest unity by encouraging all anti-racist and anti-fascist militants to put forward their own views, which can be debated and discussed as our movement grows. We should resolutely condemn all forms of red-baiting and any attempts to split our movement by suppressing radical politics. □

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Poland at the Crossroads

AS WE GO TO PRESS, February 12—The latest reports out of Poland indicate that the government of Stanislaw Kania may have bought another period of time in which to try to curb the increasingly militant workers' and farmers' movement and stabilize state-capitalist rule over the country.

As of late last week, events in Poland had gotten beyond the control of both the government and the national leadership of the 10-million-strong Solidarnosc (Solidarity—the trade union federation formed out of the workers' rebellion last August). The authority of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) had all but disintegrated. Some quarter-million of its members have quit since August, while one million of the remaining three million members also belong

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to Solidarnosc. Meanwhile, pleas by Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarnosc for the workers to stay at their jobs fell on deaf ears; the country was swept by a new wave of strikes and sit-ins.

A general strike by 200,000 workers in Bielsko-Biala, near the Czechoslovak border, shut down some 120 factories in the area, including the Polish Fiat auto plant. The workers demanded that all corrupt local officials be removed.

In Lodz, thousands of students (reports vary from 4,000 to 10,000) at three colleges occupied school buildings to press their demands for more self-government and an end to compulsory classes in Russian and the state-capitalist rulers' version of Marxism.

And a nationwide show-down was in the making over the attempt by private farmers to have their union, Rural Solidarnosc, registered by the Polish courts.

Meanwhile, the Russian press and that of other Warsaw Pact nations were making increasingly strident attacks on Solidarnosc in general, and the workers' strikes and the farmers' request for union status in particular.

In this situation, a Russian invasion of Poland appeared imminent.

However, in the last several days, the threat of such an invasion seems to have subsided—at least temporarily. The general strike in Bielsko-Biala was settled on February 6, and a strike over similar charges of corruption in Jelenia Gora, also in the southern part of Poland, was settled on February 10, albeit almost

entirely on the workers' terms in both cases.

Also on February 10, the Polish Supreme Court ruled that Polish law did not allow for registration of the farmers' union, but that the farmers could apply for association status. Walesa, who earlier had said that the union would stage a nationwide strike if the court refused to register the farmers' union, called the ruling a "draw" and urged the farmers to accept it with "peace, calm and reason."

Head of army becomes new prime minister

Moreover, in a move that may temporarily shore up the Kania regime, the head of the Polish army and the country's defense minister since 1968, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, has been brought in as prime minister, replacing Jozef Plnkowski, whose tenure in that job lasted all of seven months.

Jaruzelski received his military training in the Soviet Union and is believed to have the confidence of the Russians. Bringing in a career military officer at the very top of the party hierarchy is an unprecedented move in the state-capitalist Eastern bloc, and is widely seen as an indication that the PUWP is, in the words of the *New York Times*, "too weak to rule in its own name and that it must buttress its waning authority by reaching out to the military as an institution able to enforce law and order."

The appointment of Jaruzelski signals an attempt by the Kania regime to put some muscle behind some of its recent tough talk. On February 2 it accused Solidarnosc of moving into "political opposition" and sowing "anarchy and chaos." and on February 7 it announced that it

would investigate the main opposition group known as the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). Up until now, however, the government has consistently proved unable to stop the strikes and has been forced to grant concessions time and again.

Since taking office, Jaruzelski has quickly made it clear that his number one task will be to end the strikes, which are bringing Poland's already weak economy near collapse. In one of his first official messages, Jaruzelski called for a 90-day moratorium on all strike activity, warning that otherwise, "fratricidal war" was on the agenda. In return, he pledged that the union and the Polish people would be consulted on national policy.

As of this writing, Walesa, apparently speaking on behalf of the national leadership of Solidarnosc, has said that the union could accept the moratorium "in principle." And for the first time since it was formed, Solidarnosc leaders have publicly refused to endorse a work stoppage—a nationwide printers' strike set for February 13.

Consensus for 'internal' solution

The willingness of the Solidarnosc national leadership to go along with the moratorium highlights the emergence of an unusual consensus among another unusual array of political forces—the Polish state-capitalist ruling class, its Russian overlords, the Catholic Church, the Reagan administration, U.S. bankers and a section of the Solidarnosc and KOR leaderships.

While these distinct elements certainly differ on some very basic questions, for the moment they all agree that the escalating struggles, demands and expectations of

the Polish people have gotten out of hand, that the stability of Polish state capitalism has been perilously threatened, and that the Polish people must be brought under control.

They further agree that the most preferable way for this to happen would be through an "internal" solution—in other words, without a Russian invasion. With the exception of hardline elements within Polish and Russian ruling circles, they all believe that the Polish government must convince the workers and farmers of the need for sacrifice and discipline to stabilize Poland's economy, while allowing certain reforms, or as Jaruzelski put it, "dialogue," that give the people some stake in the system.

Unfortunately for these leaders—all of whom profess to have the best interests of the Polish people at heart—the workers, farmers and students of Poland have shown little inclination to be "brought under control." Each new concession from the government seems to increase their confidence and combativity, while government threats are met with derision. As a result, whatever small breathing space has been created for the regime in the immediate period, it is unlikely to last for long.

It is impossible to predict exactly what will happen in Poland. The most likely scenario, however, is for the Polish government to begin a systematic crackdown on the workers' and farmers' movement. A first step in this direction would be the institution of curfews and other martial measures. If this doesn't succeed, the Polish army may be used to break up strikes and run strike-ridden industries. But the problem with this is the same one the regime has faced for some time: the ties between Polish soldiers and

the rest of the Polish people are so strong that, as Jaruzelski himself warned in 1976, "Polish soldiers will not fire on Polish workers."

If the Polish government cannot restore some measure of stability to the country, or if it looks like workers in other Eastern European countries are following the Polish workers' lead, a Russian invasion, whatever its drawbacks from the point of view of the Russian state capitalists, would then be the only solution.

Workers must prepare for revolution

The tragedy in the present situation is that none of it points in the direction of victory for Poland's workers. A continuation or escalation of confrontation with the government will surely lead to a squashing of the workers' movement, whether by Polish or Russian and other Warsaw Pact nation troops. On the other hand, the strategy of Walesa and KOR—to work with the government to stabilize Poland's economy—will just as certainly lead to a more or less gradual stripping away of the gains won by the workers and farmers in the months since August.

The answer, however, does not lie in abstract calls for revolution. This is not what our differences with Walesa and Co. are. But if Polish workers are ultimately to win victory over their state-capitalist masters, preparations for such a revolution must begin now. Polish revolutionaries should be using the present struggles, and the resulting weaknesses of the Polish regime, to begin organizing a revolutionary party, based in the working class and, for obvious reasons, underground. It is crucial that this revolutionary party have a nationwide perspective, seeking to build ties to dissidents and workers in other countries in Eastern Europe. The crisis now racking the Polish economy is just the beginning of a broader crisis hitting the entire state-capitalist bloc. Sooner or later, workers in other countries—Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc., and even Russia itself—will also begin to move. This raises the possibility, and opportunity, of building a united workers' movement throughout Eastern Europe and Russia. Such a movement would be able to take on the Russian army in a way that the Polish workers alone would never be able to.

—By SUSAN EDMUNDS

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Hostages

(Continued from page 5)

ance of U.S. agents. SAVAK agents would cut off the arms of children before the parents' eyes in order to extract confessions. They strapped prisoners to an iron "hot table" which was then heated until it became red-hot. Prisoners were routinely hung upside down, beaten and raped. Their fingernails, toenails and teeth were pulled out by interrogators. Furthermore, the U.S. ruling class itself inflicts far worse conditions on hundreds of thousands of prisoners in police stations, jails and prisons throughout the U.S., where U.S. jailers have no qualms about beating and killing their captives. All these practices are systematically covered up by the same capitalist press that is now screaming bloody murder over the treatment of the hostages.

While Reagan was one of the leading anti-Iranian phrasemongers, his administration is trying to keep the anti-Iranian campaign from going too far. The Reagan government has announced that it will abide by the terms of the settlement. Reagan himself stated that he would not try to exact "revenge" for the embassy takeover. Moreover, the White House is dis-

couraging a congressional in-quiry into the hostage crisis.

It appears that Secretary of State Alexander Haig and other foreign policy experts in the Reagan administration recognize that an imperialist offensive against Iran at this time could actually damage long-term U.S. interests in Iran and the Middle East. A policy of reprisals at this time would only strengthen the hand of the most anti-U.S. factions within the Iranian ruling class, while weakening moderates like Bani-Sadr. The Reagan administration does not want a full-scale offensive against Khomeini's regime unless it is reasonably sure that a pro-Western government would follow it. Otherwise, a hard campaign against Iran could lead to the collapse of Khomeini's govern-ment; followed by a break-up of Iran. If this happened, the Russian state capitalists, who share a long common border with Iran, would reap the spoils.

Instead of whipping up war fever against Iran in particular, the Reagan administration is exploiting the release of the hostages to spur a "national unity" campaign for a more aggressive foreign policy in general. Its propaganda bar-

rage is intended not only to wipe the slate clean of past U.S. intervention in Iran, but also to cover the bloody role of U.S. imperialism in general and to create a climate for a renewed assertion of U.S. power, a new Cold War against Russia, increased arms spending and economic austerity.

In their first press conference, Reagan and Haig laid out the main themes of their foreign policy. They revived the old Cold War myths of the 1950s which labelled the Russian ruling class as the evil genius behind every struggle against U.S. imperialism around the world. They announced a campaign against "terrorists"—in other words, national liberation movements fighting against U.S. imperialism—as their first priority in foreign policy. And they rejected the Carter administration's "human rights" policy

aimed at disarming such movements by pressuring dictatorial regimes in El Salvador and other countries into granting reforms. Instead, they indicated their unflinching support for such regimes by arranging an elaborate welcome for Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, whose government killed thousands of people in crushing a nation-wide rebellion last year.

The return of the hostages on the very day of Reagan's inauguration was a political windfall for his administration. It ended a crisis which had become the paramount symbol of the weakness of U.S. imperialism. It enabled Reagan to declare that a new day was dawning in U.S. foreign policy. And it allowed him to claim the existence of a national consensus in support of his administration.

But as the euphoria over the release of the hostages wears

off, it will soon become apparent that very little has changed. Reagan's rhetoric will not be able to disguise the real dilemmas facing U.S. imperialism for long. The oppressed peoples of the world will continue their struggles for freedom. The Reagan administration, like the Carter administration before it, will be forced to stumble from crisis to crisis in its efforts to defend what remains of the U.S. world order. And it will demand that U.S. workers sacrifice their living standards, and perhaps their lives, to maintain the U.S. empire. The "national unity" which the administration is trying to build up in the wake of the release of the hostages will unravel as U.S. workers begin to realize that they will be expected to pay the price for Reagan's imperialist offensive.

—By PAUL BENJAMIN

Abortion Rights

(Continued from page 4)

has not gone unanswered. After the Supreme Court ruling in June 1980 there were demonstrations of outrage. Organized groups are taking up the fight against the Human Life Amendment also. Starting before the November elections, Planned Parenthood of New York City, Inc., ran an advertising campaign against the "right-to-life" movement. Roberta Thumim, a spokeswoman for that group, told a Torch/La Antorcha reporter that her group "opposes any legislation at the state or federal level that interferes with an individual's right to decide when or whether to have children." The National Organization for Women (NOW) has been running advertisements that emphasize that the Human Life Amendment will even outlaw certain forms of birth control which interfere with the development of the fertilized egg. Other groups which have dealt primarily with abortion rights are also organizing workshops, meetings, demonstrations, etc.

But to defeat the right-wing's reactionary campaign, women cannot simply fight a series of single-issue defensive battles. The attacks are not coming in a vacuum and it is not only women who are under attack.

The right wing is also launching campaigns against labor unions, poor people, social security recipients, as well as the more violent attacks against Blacks, Latins, gay people, undocumented workers, etc.

Meanwhile, the majority of the ruling class—corporate leaders, politicians and their house intellectuals—are increasingly in agreement with much of the right wing's program. And they are stepping up their campaign on the same fronts.

If we can come to see these attacks as coming from a common enemy—the capitalist class, its agents, the cops, the courts, etc., and its political allies in the right-wing movement—then we can begin to build a unified militant movement to fight back against all the attacks when-

ever and wherever they occur. If we continue to fight separately, they will be able to pick us off one at a time and we will all lose. Together, we are the true majority and are strong enough to free ourselves and the world from oppression. □

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