

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE



APRIL 15-MAY 14, 1981

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Opposition Grows to U.S. Intervention in El Salvador

Rebels Hold Their Ground

In the face of a major military campaign to crush them, the armed liberation forces of El Salvador are holding their ground. In early March, government troops failed to sweep the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) out of its strongholds in the mountainous northern Morazan region, despite a weeklong campaign. In the same period, heavy fighting broke out in other areas of the country as well. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (March 16, 1981), the FMLN forces are "everywhere," and have forced the army onto the defensive in some areas.

On March 24, the FMLN observed a

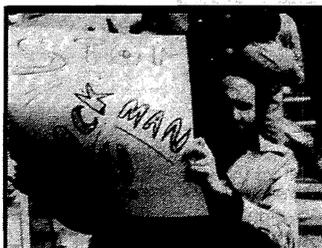


Salvadorean troops guard captured FMLN militants. Despite some losses the FMLN is maintaining its struggle against U.S. imperialism.

NEW YORK, April 11—Hundreds of organizations and individuals from the anti-draft, anti-war, civil rights, trade union, women, lesbian and gay and other movements have come together in an umbrella coalition called the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM) to build a mass march on the Pentagon on May 3. The demonstration will demand: **Stop the U.S. War Build-up; No U.S. Intervention in El Salvador; Money for Jobs and Human Needs, Not for the Pentagon; End Racism, Repression, and All Forms of Bigotry; Stop the Draft.**

Endorsers of the May 3 mobilization include: the Coalition in Support of the People of El Salvador; the National Anti-Klan Network; the Black United Front; many chapters of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD); the Mobilization for Survival; the American Friends Service Committee; the War Resisters League; Women

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Reagan's Program: Welfare for the Rich

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Miners Strike to Defend Union

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Atlanta: Killings Continue, Protests Mount

APRIL 13—The number of missing and murdered Black youths in Atlanta is growing at an alarming pace. In the past month alone, the bodies of three more young people have been found, bringing the official total of murdered or missing youths to 25.

The body of Timothy Hill, 13, was found in the Chattahoochee River on March 30; the body of Eddie Duncan, 21, was recovered the next day from the river; and the body of Larry Rogers, also 21, was discovered in an abandoned apartment building, April 9. Darlen Glass, 10, and Joseph Bell, 13, are still missing.

In cities across the country, thousands of people have marched and demonstrated in response to the Atlanta killings. On March 13, 10,000 people participated in a candlelight vigil in New York City's Harlem community, and on March 22, over 1,500 marched in Miami.

On April 4, the Black United Front held demonstrations in several cities to commemorate the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and to protest the growing racist terror. The murders in Atlanta were the number one concern of these demonstrations.



Harlem vigil for the Black children of Atlanta.

Some 1,500 people marched in New York, over 2,000 people attended a rally in Chicago, 1,300 people marched in Oakland, California, (Continued on page 4)

**our
readers
write...**

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

Prisoners denounce Judy execution

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

As you know by now, today's killing of Steven Judy went off without any problems —unfortunate. [Steven Judy, age 24, was executed in the Indiana State Penitentiary at Michigan City on March 9—Editor.] Most of us on the lock-up units (IDU and NSB) have refused food from the state today as our gesture of awareness and opposition to the death penalty. Enclosed is a note we floated around the units:

"We (those of us on NSB) have just learned the death penalty (via the electric chair) has been carried out against a white prisoner in this very prison. As Black prisoners, we are not deluded; we realize the execution creates the climate and further reinforces the already growing backdrop for the poor and oppressed,

rebels, etc., to be legally murdered. And we are also very much aware how the death penalty and prisons have historically been used by the state and extra-legal appendages of the state, i.e., racist terror groups, to murder, terrorize and stifle the growth of the Black population. In considering all of this, we see the reinstatement of the imposition of the death penalty in Indiana as a supplement to the U.S. government and KKK's reign of genocidal colonial violence throughout U.S. borders. Who will be next? The Pontiac 16???"

Oppose the Death Penalty!
Support the Pontiac Brothers!

Defend the Michigan City 8!
Beat Back the U.S. War Effort Against El Salvador!
AHL
Michigan City, Indiana

Postal worker describes stepped-up harassment

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

In the Cathedral Station of the Post Office in New York there is a steady harassment of the worker by Mr. Blumen and Mr. Nolan. We are being treated like we're in a concentration camp, or mentally tortured like the hostages in Iran. Each day it's a new thing. First it was the closing of the door to the work floor. Next, it was the coffee break, not being allowed a piece of cake

or Danish with the coffee. Next it was no talking. Next it was no music. Then they didn't want you to step off the case. Now if you speak to your delegate, you're leaving your assignment. If you step from side to side to throw the mail you're stepping away from the case.

The mail is being delayed by managers' inefficient way to communicate with the workers. The mail in Cathedral Station is delayed sometimes three and four days. We had a heating problem where we were told to put on three or four sweaters. There was no burner in the boiler yet management said there was heat!

It is a crime because we the workers want to come and do our jobs. We are being pressured to quit for whatever reason. We the workers would like to know why we are persecuted and mentally tortured every day. We would like a reply.

**A Postal Worker
Cathedral Station**

A postal worker correspondent replies:

When we're looking for the causes of the harassment at Cathedral Station, we should realize that workers and oppressed people are under attack everywhere. Right now millions of us are out of work, and those who still have jobs are being speeded up and harassed just as at Cathedral Station. Inflation has us pushed against the wall. Both the government and right-wing groups like the Moral

Majority and the Klan and Nazis are trying to take away what rights we have to control our lives.

The reason for all these attacks is profits. The economic system is in a serious crisis, and the ruling class that runs it is trying to save it out of the sweat, toil and nerves of working class and oppressed people. For more profits is why we have the unemployment, inflation and attacks on our rights. And although the Post Office is technically "non-profit," it is to save money for the ruling class that the workers are getting more harassment and speedup on the one hand, and the customers are getting service cutbacks and rate increases on the other. In addition, in this period before our contract expires, management is trying to demoralize us to keep us from fighting back.

The managers at Cathedral may have their own peculiar style of oppressing people, but in reality their harassment is part of a general attack on all of us.

If we are going to stop these attacks, all workers and oppressed must unite to fight back. All of us must support each other, from struggles against harassment at Cathedral Station to racist murders in Atlanta. We must resurrect the old slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Finally, for those at Cathedral, it means beginning by uniting those who want to fight back now against the harassment.

SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

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

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

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

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

RSL to Hold Fifth National Convention in June

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be holding its Fifth National Convention this June 19-21. Members, sympathizers and friends of the RSL from around the country will be gathering for a weekend of political discussion and an informal exchange of experiences and ideas.

One of the highlights of the convention will be the fusion of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, West Indies (RML) and the RSL into a single international tendency. A delegation of RML comrades will be attending the convention and will be making a presentation on the current political situation in Jamaica. The RML talk will focus on the development of the class struggle following the election victory of Edward Seaga's right-wing Jamaica Labour Party and the work of the RML in this new situation.

The convention will also be discussing the tasks and perspectives of the RSL. We are entering a time of deepening economic, political and social crisis in the U.S. and throughout the world. In this context, the need to build a genuinely revolutionary socialist alternative to the barbarism which world

capitalism has in store for working and oppressed people is greater than ever. The discussion of the tasks and perspectives of the RSL will be further elaborated by two additional convention discussions: one on Black Liberation and a second on Mexican/Chicano Liberation. The convention agenda also includes workshops and a Saturday evening slide show and party.

All RSL branches will be involved in pre-convention discussion in the two-month period leading up to the convention. Due to the extensive resources needed to organize and carry out a successful convention, we plan to skip publication of the July 15-August 14 issue of the Torch/La Antorcha. Publication will resume with the August 15-September 14 issue.

Friends of the RSL who are interested in attending our Fifth National Convention should contact: Rod Miller, RSL National Office, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116. Those who cannot attend the convention, in particular our friends in prison, are invited to send solidarity messages.

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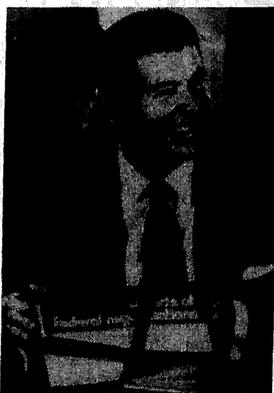
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Reagan's Economic Program — Welfare for the Rich

By WILLIAM FALK

Ronald Reagan claims that the way to restore the economic, political and moral health of the United States is to reaffirm the traditional values of independence, self-reliance and individual initiative among the people of the country. And he claims that the biggest enemy of those values is "big government," particularly its regulation of private industry and its numerous social programs.

As a result, Reagan sees his proposed budget cuts not just



as a way to, say, fight inflation, but also as part of a crusade to force people to "stand on their own two feet." Of all the programs that Reagan is attacking, the ones that he is most hostile to are those that he and his wealthy backers call "welfare"—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, Medicaid, Social Security Disability, school lunch programs and unemployment compensation. Welfare, Reagan claims, destroys the incentive to work and creates a class of freeloaders and cheats without self-respect or moral fiber.

But for all his sermonizing, Reagan is not really opposed to welfare. In fact, his economic policies add up to one big welfare program—for the capitalist class. As the liberal Washington Post put it, the Reagan effort is: "The most extraordinary attempt by any president in modern times to re-allocate the resour-

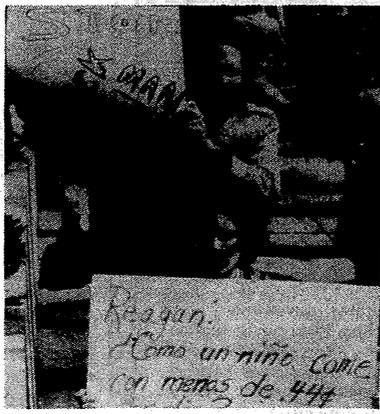
ces of the federal government
.... The money would go
from the poor to the rich."

Oil companies get billions

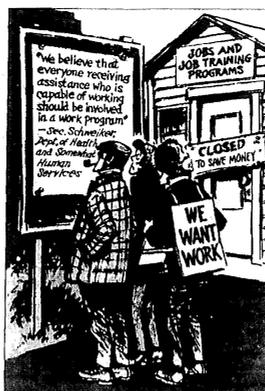
When Reagan announced his economic agenda in February he said the cuts in various programs would affect both rich and poor "equally." But only six weeks later, the proposed cuts in programs benefiting the capitalists were but memories: The administration had withdrawn plans to shut down the Synthetic Fuels project and the Economic Development Administration, and did not utter a peep when a group of senators restored most of the funding for the Import-Export Bank, an institution that pays businesses for selling their products in other countries.

But even more telling are Reagan's big giveaways to big business. For example, Reagan deregulated oil prices in January, claiming that the energy crisis will be solved by the unfettered workings of the market. The oil companies, who now account for one-third of all corporate profits, will get billions more in the future because of decontrol, which, we suppose, Reagan will say they worked for. Moreover, Reagan's philosophical dedication to the free market did not lead him to propose the elimination of the oil depletion allowance, which amounts to a government handout of \$1.7 billion a year to the oil industry.

And as an extra gift to the oil companies, Reagan is calling off attempts to collect the fines they owe for violations of the now dead oil price control laws. This means that the oil companies that illegal-



Protesters in Washington, D.C.; oppose budget cuts.



ly overcharged for gasoline will be given \$11 billion more.

But the oil companies are not the only part of the energy industry to be rewarded for their "initiative." While elderly people who currently receive a few pennies to help with high fuel bills are being told to "stand on their own two feet," the nuclear power industry is getting an increase in government subsidies. These monies fund everything from basic research to liability insurance for the power plants. The increase includes the restoration of the once cut-off \$500 million a year subsidy for the Clinch River breeder reactor in Tennessee, the home state of Senate Republican Majority Leader Howard Baker.

As additional therapy for the moral fiber of the country, the Reagan administration has decided to continue paying out the \$63 million a year that goes to ensure fat profits for the tobacco growers. Meanwhile, nearly every medical care program the federal government is involved in is being pruned.

The food stamp program has been singled out by Reagan for some rather pious denunciations and significant cuts. Yet the president and his fellow protectors of the public morality have no intention of touching the government's largest food program: the \$13 billion a year tax expenditure that pays for business executives' expense account meals. While the food stamp program pays 50 cents per meal to people who need it, the government routinely subsidizes half the cost of \$100 lunches that are deducted from corporate income as a business expense.

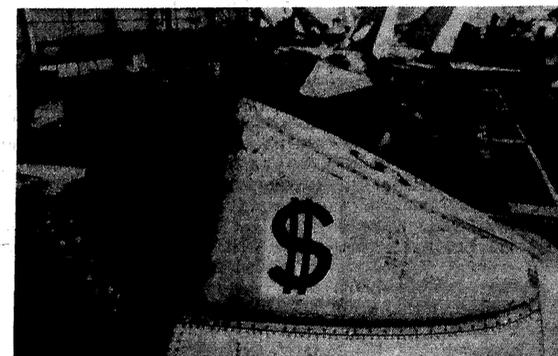
Perhaps the biggest welfare program for the rich in the Reagan budget is the \$222.8 billion in military spending. This involves a \$34 billion increase over Carter's pro-

posed budget and will soak up 70 percent of the money Reagan is cutting out of the social service programs. Nearly all the new money is going into military hardware and nearly all of the latter is bought from the highly profitable top 10 defense contractors—some of the biggest corporations in the country—such as General Electric, General Dynamics, etc. "Defense" spending is one big boondoggle. The defense contractors sign "cost-plus" contracts with the government, which guarantee profits to the corporations. All cost increases, whether the result of inflation, inefficiency, fraud or waste, are paid for by the government. Moreover, in general, the greater the costs, the greater the profits, since the profits are calculated as a percentage of "allowable costs."

spendable income.

When you add in the effects of inflation (which push lower income people into higher tax brackets) and the effect of Social Security tax increases, the reality of the tax cut plan is even clearer. Using the administration's own 9 percent annual inflation figure, several separate studies have shown that the net effect of the three year plan is **no tax reduction at all** for anyone earning under \$30,000 a year.

Harder to figure in terms of dollars and cents are Reagan's plans to give the country's land, air and water to the capitalists. The oil and minerals underneath public land are being given to the oil companies to exploit for their private profit. Environmental and anti-pollution regulations that require corporations to



Workers assemble Grumman Corporation's "money plane," the F-14 fighter. Capitalists will reap vast profits from defense budget increases.

It is therefore in the interests of the defense firm to increase these costs. All the defense contractor has to do is land the contract, stretch out the work and collect the checks. Looks like welfare chiseling to us.

Tax cut favors wealthy

Reagan's big claim to be the champion of the average citizen is based on his "across the board" 10 percent tax cut. But the truth is that nearly 30 percent of the tax cut benefits will go to the richest five percent of the taxpayers. In the first year of the cut, a family of four earning \$15,000 would see their spendable income rise by 2.4 percent. Meanwhile, a family of four that takes in \$100,000 would get a 6.7 percent increase in

clean up after themselves—that is, pay the purchase price of clean air and water—are being relaxed. All of this means billions of dollars in the hands of the big capitalist concerns. Finally, as if to teach us the true meaning of free enterprise, Reagan is considering selling the urban-area national parks to private developers, and turning other national parks over to the corporations that now run the parks' hotels and restaurants.

"Well, you know we can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath," Reagan has said in various speeches, "or we can cure their extravagance simply by reducing their allowance." But Reagan has no intention of reducing the allowance of his "children" in the ruling class. Quite the contrary. They're getting a substantial raise, while the workers and poor people are being put on rations to pay for it. □

Atlanta: Killings Continue, Protests Mount



Atlanta police arrest Gene Ferguson for participating in self-defense patrol.

(Continued from page 1)
1,500 in Portland, Oregon, and 2,000 in Pittsburgh.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has been actively involved in organizing efforts around the Atlanta murders. "The identity of the killer (or killers) may be unknown, but the cause of the deaths is clear," read a leaflet distributed by the Los Angeles branch of the RSL. "It is the wave of racist reaction spreading across the country that is to blame." The RSL has stressed the need for a united fightback by labor, civil rights and other organizations and has supported organizing for self-defense.

RSL supporters in several cities have introduced motions about Atlanta at local union meetings. At United Steelworkers union Local 1010, Inland Steel, in East

Chicago, Indiana, for example, the RSL introduced a motion calling on the local to encourage 1010 members to wear green ribbons and to form a committee to organize against the racist killings. This motion was adopted and the committee has been set up.

In Atlanta itself there is increasing friction between the Black Establishment and people in the communities affected by the murders. Mayor Maynard Jackson and officials of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) have attempted to discredit the organizing efforts of mothers of the victims. The Mothers' Committee to STOP Children's Murders was responsible in the first place for pushing the

city (which wanted to ignore and hush up the murders) to establish a special task force last fall and more recently has been the spark for most of the marches around the country. The committee has been collecting money, both for the families of victims and for a program to send Black children out of Atlanta this summer.

At a news conference on March 24, and in conversations with the press since, the established Black leaders, including Julian Bond, Benjamin Hooks and Joseph Lowery, have insinuated that the founders of the Mothers' Committee, Camille Bell, Willie Mae Mathis and Venus Taylor, have been embezzling the money they are collecting and are out for personal gain. In an apparent attempt to add weight to this smear campaign, the Atlanta police arrested Reverend Earl Carroll on April 8 on a series of fund raising fraud charges. Carroll was an early critic of the city's handling of the murder cases and at one time was connected to the Mothers' Committee. Meanwhile, the city has decided, without consulting those involved, to turn over money it receives for the families to the SCLC.

The conflict has been even sharper between the city government and about 50 residents of Techwood Homes, one of Atlanta's many public housing projects, who have organized self-defense squads. On March 20, the first day of the self-defense pa-

trols, police arrested Chimurenga Jenga and Gene Ferguson for carrying unloaded weapons. A third participant in the patrols, Jerome Gibbs, was arrested the next day on similar charges.

Plans for a national march to protest the racist murders are now in the works. The Mothers' Committee to STOP Children's Murders called for a May 25 march on Washington, D.C., which is likely to bring thousands of people to the nation's capital. Extensive local organizing is continuing as well. It is crucial that the climate of racist violence which is growing throughout the country be met by massive protests, educational campaigns and other activities which can be organized by anti-racist forces. □



Joseph Lowery (seated) and Benjamin Hooks. Both have criticized militant mothers of Atlanta victims.

Black Man Lynched in Mobile, Ala.

Early Saturday morning, March 21, the body of Michael Donald was found hanging from a tree in Mobile, Alabama. Donald, a 19-year-old Black man, had left his aunt's home the night before to buy some cigarettes. He never returned. Marks on his body indicate he was severely beaten and then strangled to death before being hanged.

Donald is the first known lynching victim since 1959.

On March 25, three white men, Ralph Hayes, 23, Jimmy Edgar, 22, and his brother Johnny Edgar, 26, were arrested and charged with killing Donald. There is no evidence that the three men knew Donald. Yet Mobile officials insist there is no indication that the murder was racially motivated.

Black people in Mobile feel differently. Many agree with Stanley Donald, who believes his brother was killed because the white men thought he was seeing a white woman. Other young Black men, fearful of a wave of racist violence, are reported to be taking "extra precautions" when out late at night.

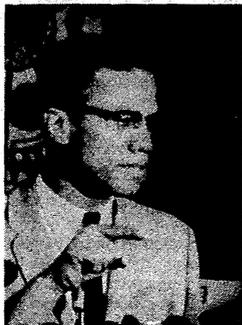
While there is no evidence that the three men in Mobile are part of an organized plot to carry out racist terror, it does not follow that the lynching is an isolated incident. "In a society where racism has become socially acceptable again, it is inevitable that lynching will also become socially acceptable," the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice correctly noted in a statement on the Mobile killing.

The last big wave of lynchings occurred in the 1930s, when nearly 100 Black people were lynched each year. To stop the growing number of racist attacks, and to prevent a wave of lynchings before it starts, will take an aggressive counter-offensive by anti-racist forces.

Malcolm X on Self-Defense

The Atlanta killings and other recent incidents of racist violence have raised a decades-old question of what tactics the Black and anti-racist movements should use in combatting the attacks. Nearly 20 years ago, when non-violence was the approach advocated by most Black leaders of the civil rights movement, one voice—that of Malcolm X—spoke out loudly and clearly for a different approach: armed self-defense. Today, Malcolm X's words on the subject ring as true as if he were saying them now. Below are two excerpts: one from the Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives, the other from the Basic Unity Program, of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the organization Malcolm X formed after splitting with the Nation of Islam in March 1964, just one year before he was assassinated.

"Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right of self-defense."



"The Constitution of the U.S.A. clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of the unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

"We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club.

"Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with basically moral people or a moral system. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. . . .

"In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, the Organization of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done—whatever the price and by any means necessary."

Klan members duck t slogans while waiting

Meriden,

THE

By RICK ALLEN

On March 21, several hundred militant counter-demonstrators ran the Ku Klux Klan from the streets of Meriden, Connecticut. Shouting "to the Klan!" and "Co-Klan work hand in hand" counter-demonstrators beat the Klan with rocks, bricks and pieces of coal. Twenty-two people were injured, all of them cops and members, and seven were taken to the hospital. This was a stunning defeat for the Klan and a major victory for the anti-Klan movement.

Residents defend their community

The Klan march and was a provocation to people of Meriden. Organized by the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux and led by their Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson, the march was called to support Eugene Hale, a white man, who, while off duty, shot and killed George Rakestraw, a year-old Black man suspected of shoplifting. People in Meriden were outraged at the racist shooting. By marching in support of the police, the Klan was advocating "right" of police to terrorize Black, Latin and working class communities. The people came out to oppose the Klan. There were there to defend communities from racist police terror.

Meriden has a history of militant struggle. It is a city of 60,000 people in central Connecticut, caught between



Klan members duck to escape rock barrage as they leave Meriden courthouse. Earlier, counter-demonstrators gathered at the courthouse shouted anti-Klan slogans while waiting for them to come out.

Meriden, Connecticut

ANGRY RESIDENTS DRIVE THE KLAN OFF THEIR STREETS

By RICK ALLEN

On March 21, several hundred militant counter-demonstrators ran the Ku Klux Klan from the streets of Meriden, Connecticut. Shouting "Death to the Klan!" and "Cops and Klan work hand in hand!" the counter-demonstrators pelted the Klan with rocks, bottles, bricks and pieces of concrete. Twenty-two people were injured, all of them cops or Klan members, and seven were sent to the hospital. This action was a stunning defeat for the Klan and a major victory for the anti-Klan movement.

Residents defend their community

The Klan march and rally was a provocation to the people of Meriden. Organized by the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and led by their Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson, the march was called to support Eugene Hale, a white cop who, while off duty, shot and killed George Rakestraw, a 24-year-old Black man suspected of shoplifting. People in Meriden were outraged at this racist shooting. By marching in support of the police, the Klan was advocating the "right" of police to terrorize Black, Latin and working class communities. The people who came out to oppose the Klan were there to defend their communities from racist and police terror.

Meriden has a history of militant struggle. It is a city of 60,000 people in central Connecticut, caught between a

declining industrial base and the suburban spread of nearby Hartford. Residents of the community surrounding "The Mills" housing projects rioted for two weeks in 1979. That time, too, people were reacting to police violence; a cop had hit a young Puerto Rican boy while trying to break up a fight between two brothers. Many of the people who came out to fight the Klan had been involved in this riot.

Three different marches were set for that Saturday in Meriden. The Klan planned to march to the City Hall and hold a rally there. The Inner City Exchange (ICE), a Hartford civil rights group, planned a march to the police station seeking to get Hale suspended but intentionally "ignoring" the Klan and their actions. The Progressive Labor Party and their front group, the International Committee Against Racism (PLP/InCAR), planned a march to City Hall to confront the Klan rally. In addition, hundreds of Latin, Black and white residents of Meriden and nearby towns in Connecticut, angered at the cop killing and the presence of the Klan on their streets, turned out to oppose the Klan. Many came armed with golf clubs, bats or sticks. Several supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League also participated in the day's anti-Klan activities.

The Klan was able to hold its march and was joined by as many as 200 racist supporters for the rally in front of the Meriden City Hall. About 15 minutes after the Klan rally began, PLP/InCAR arrived at City Hall, shouting and throwing a few rocks and bottles at

the Klan. The Klan retreated inside City Hall and the cops pushed back PLP/InCAR. No one was injured at this point. For some reason, PLP/InCAR then left the scene, with the fascists still inside the building and about 150 anti-Klan demonstrators waiting outside.

After staying inside City Hall for over an hour, the 23 robed Klan members left from the side of the building. Guarded by a formation of 40 cops they tried to march back to their cars. But the anti-Klan demonstrators, enraged at the sight of the robed Klan members, surged forward to surround the Klan. People shouted "Death to the Klan" and began scrambling up a nearby hill to find material to throw at the Klan; soon, the debris started raining down on the Klan and their cop protectors. The Klan members gathered up their robes and started running for their lives back along the half-mile route to their cars. One woman Klan member was knocked unconscious with serious head injuries and had to be carried out. Fights broke out in the crowd between racists and anti-Klan demonstrators. The fighting stopped soon after the bloodied Klan members got back to their cars and left. The cops arrested two anti-Klan demonstrators, charging both with breach of peace and one with an additional charge of assault on a police officer.

Political lessons

There are several important political lessons that can and

should be learned from these events. The most immediate lesson is that militant direct counter-demonstrations can be an effective tactic in the struggle against the Klan. The Klan suffered serious injuries and will probably think carefully before having another public demonstration in Connecticut. When the Klan is defeated like they were in Meriden, they look weak in the eyes of their potential base and have a more difficult time attracting and recruiting new members; in times of struggle, people in the middle are often won to the side that appears strongest. The victory over the Klan should be a tremendous boost to the anti-Klan organizing in Connecticut.

Another important lesson is that many working class people, especially Blacks and Latins, are ready and willing to militantly fight the Klan. The anti-Klan action was basically spontaneous and lacking in overall organization: PLP/InCAR had left over an hour before, the ICE would have nothing to do with the people who fought the Klan and the few supporters of the RSL who were present were in no position to lead or organize the effort to drive the Klan out of Meriden. It was mostly working class residents of Meriden and nearby cities, acting from their own class instincts, who drove the Klan from the streets of Meriden. These people knew that the Klan represents a mortal threat to their lives and rights and they were prepared to defend themselves by any means available.

Most important, the anti-

Klan demonstration, combined with the racial situation in Connecticut and around the country, points out the need for a strong anti-Klan movement and the value of an organized network of anti-Klan activists. Racist violence is reaching near-epidemic proportions throughout the country. The Klan has been actively organizing in Connecticut; they held a rally of over 300 people in Scotland last September (see *Torch/La Antorcha*, Vol. 7, No. 10) and received significant support in Meriden. There is every reason to expect continued racist activity in Connecticut, as well as every reason to expect that there will be militant opposition to this activity.

Strong movement needed

The victory over the Klan in Meriden should not become just an isolated incident. It is necessary to build a strong movement against the Klan. This movement should educate people about the threat the Klan and Nazis represent in this period of capitalist crisis and it should unite and organize anti-Klan activists. And the anti-Klan movement should seek to unite with other struggles against capitalist oppression to build a united movement against the entire capitalist system from which the threat of fascism arises. Only when we get rid of the whole rotten capitalist system can we do away with the threat of fascism once and for all. □



Johnny 'Imani' Harris back in court

Johnny "Imani" Harris, a Black man whose double frame-up by Alabama police has received international attention, was back in court April 8. Lawyers for Harris argued that his 1971 guilty pleas to charges of robbery and rape were involuntary and should be set aside.

In 1970, Johnny Harris and his family moved into a previously all-white neighborhood in Birmingham. Racists vandalized and painted racist slogans on the Harris house, but failed to scare the family out. Then the Birmingham cops moved in. They arrested both Harris and his father-in-law, charging Harris with the rape of a white woman (who had two relatives on the police force) and with four counts of robbery.

The cops pressured Harris to sign a confession, but he refused. He was innocent and wanted his day in court. But instead of preparing a defense, Harris's court-appointed attorneys told him a conviction was inevitable. They pressured him to accept a deal in which a guilty plea on the rape charges would be exchanged for the dismissal of the robbery charges and assurance that he would not receive the death sentence. Harris reluctantly agreed. The lawyers then entered guilty pleas on all five charges and Harris got five life sentences.

At Atmore-Holman prison Harris became a supporter of inmates for Action, which led a strike in October 1972 against the brutal conditions at the prison. This made him a target again, and in 1974 Harris was framed for the death of a guard. He was convicted of murder by an all-white jury in 1975. An 1867 Alabama law mandates the death penalty for any life convicted of murder, and Harris was sentenced to die.

The appeal on April 8 was to the federal Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta. It challenged both the validity of the original pleas, and a later ruling by a federal district court to hear an appeal of Harris's conviction without holding new hearings on the facts. A successful reversal of Harris's 1971 guilty pleas would lay the basis for a challenge to his 1975 death sentence, since it was imposed as a result of his lifer status. A decision is expected in four or five months.

Rita Silk-Nauni appeal bond revoked

After only a week of freedom, Rita Silk-Nauni is again behind bars. Silk-Nauni, a 31-year-old Native American woman, was convicted last August of manslaughter and the use of a deadly weapon with intent to kill. The charges stemmed from the September 19, 1979, shooting death of one Oklahoma airport cop and the wounding of another. The shooting occurred in a struggle between Silk-Nauni and the cops when they physically abused her and her 11-year-old son over a littering charge.

The state of Oklahoma tried its best to send Silk-Nauni to the gas chamber. It did not win its demand for a murder conviction and the death penalty, but Silk-Nauni was given the maximum sentences on the manslaughter and weapon charges—a total of 150 years. In addition, an outrageous appeal bond of \$120,000 was set. Throughout the case, the judge, Joseph Cannon, has shown a personal eagerness to obstruct Silk-Nauni's defense. After the trial, Cannon ruled that only those transcripts which he had personally edited would be released. When the defense team won an appeal against this ruling, Judge Cannon defied the order of the higher court to release the transcripts.

On March 27 Silk-Nauni's supporters succeeded in raising her appeal bond and, while Judge Cannon was out of town, she was released. But on April 1, Cannon returned from vacation and overruled another district judge's acceptance of the money. As a result, Silk-Nauni became the target of a massive "manhunt" by Oklahoma police and, on April 4, she turned herself in. Defense appeals of this latest maneuver will take at least three months to be heard, and the full appeal process is expected to take two and a half years. Silk-Nauni's defense team has been financially drained by the previous appeal work and desperately needs funds to fight Cannon's latest rulings. Letters of support and contributions may be sent to: **Rita Silk-Nauni Defense Committee, c/o Native American Center, 2830 South Robinson St., Oklahoma City, OK 73109.**

—WF & LD

State Buys Witnesses in Pontiac Trial

By DARRYL CLARK

CHICAGO, April 7 — The Pontiac trial has now been under way for about a month. Ten prisoners are on trial for their lives, charged in the deaths of three prison guards during a rebellion in Illinois' Pontiac Correctional Center on July 22, 1978. Six more are to go on trial in June. Together, the death penalty trials of 16 Black men represent the largest civilian death penalty trial in U.S. history.

THE TRIAL so far has shown how flimsy the state's manufactured case is. The great majority of the prosecution's witnesses are other prisoners and ex-prisoners. They have been paid off with cash, transfers, and time off their sentences, and even deals to get their relatives out of jail time.

In one spectacular day of cross-examination, Danny Dill, the state's only guard witness, admitted that he never accused three of the defendants—Kevin Tolbert, Steven Mars, and Ronnie Newby—of anything until the day he testified to the grand jury. He now says he was lying when he named other prisoners for the first seven months after the riot, and the state has given him a job he wanted, has relocated him, and has hired his father.

In case after case, prisoners testifying for the prosecution have admitted to pay-offs from the state for their cooperation. This reporter watched some of the cross-examination of George Conners on April 4. The defense showed

that Conners got time off, transfers, and cash for his cooperation. He admitted that he will lie when it is in his interest. He admitted that he has changed his story several times. As recently as this January he was arrested for auto burglary in Mississippi and got off very lightly for a man with a long record—apparently with the help of Illinois prosecutors.

The prosecutor then defended Conners by implying that the defense had pres-

many months to get their stories straight.

Moreover, in our view, no crimes were committed by any prisoners on July 22, 1978. The rebellion was completely predictable—in fact, predicted—under the rotten conditions at Pontiac. Prisoners had every right to rebel. Those responsible for the deaths of the guards are the same ones to blame for the dreadful conditions in the prisons—the governor, the flunkies in his administration, and the capi-



Supporters of Pontiac Brothers demonstrate, September 1978.

sured him to give false testimony. But it is obvious that the state can exert more pressure than the defense can.

THE state's case is a frame-up. The state investigators made no real attempt to find out who did what in the riot—they set out to make examples out of prisoners they regarded as troublemakers. There is no reason whatever to think that the indicted prisoners did any of the things they are charged with, under the weight of testimony from a bought crew of admitted liars who took

talist class whom they serve.

ALTHOUGH the flimsy nature of the state's case is coming out pretty clearly in court, there is still danger for the defendants. If the defense does not convince the jury that conditions at Pontiac were criminal and made the rebellion inevitable, the jury may decide that it has to convict someone. So it might pick one or more of the defendants who face the least flimsy evidence and convict them as scapegoats, even though there is no solid proof of anything. □

And They Call This Justice?

On March 26, Dade County Judge Mario Goderich threw the book at the three Black men convicted in February of killing three whites during last May's rebellion in Miami, Florida. Samuel Lightsey, 17, convicted on three counts of second degree murder, received three life sentences, while Lawrence Capers, 24, and his brother Leonard, 20, both convicted on three counts of third degree murder, each received three 15-year sentences. These are the maximum sentences allowed by law.

The Dade County district attorney's office has made no effort to investigate who killed the eight Black people who died during the rebellion. But prosecutors have gone all out to scapegoat Black youths for the deaths of 10 whites, bringing charges against eight men. Four of the eight have already been convicted. This includes Lightsey and the Capers brothers, as well as James McCullough, now serving 15 years after being convicted in December for manslaughter. Three others—Patrick Moore, Lonnie Bradley and Sam Williams—were acquitted of the charges or had

the charges against them dropped. The trial of Nathaniel Lane, 17, opened April 13. Judge Goderich is presiding in that trial as well.

The district attorney's own witnesses have exposed the frame-up nature of the cases. A woman the prosecution claimed had witnessed assaults by Lightsey and the Capers merely identified them as being in the area in her testimony. In the cases of Bradley and Williams, a person identified as an eyewitness to the "crimes" turned out to be legally blind. The others "are just as innocent as I am," Bradley said when he was cleared. "They just pick people out of the mob and say they did it."

Currently the Lightsey-Capers Defense Committee is concentrating on trying to get appeal bond set for the defendants. "I know it's going to be hard," Betty Lightsey, Samuel's mother, told the Torch/La Antorcha, "but we're trying." A group working closely with the Lightsey-Capers Defense Committee, the Citizens Coalition for Racial Justice, held a small demonstration in front of the courthouse the day Nathaniel Lane's trial opened. □

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MAY DAY, 1981

'A better world, a socialist world, is possible. It won't happen automatically. People have to want it and they have to fight for it. But it is possible.'



MAY 1 is May Day—the hol-iday of working class people everywhere. This day is celebrated by many working class and oppressed people all over the world. May Day grew out of the struggles of working class people for a decent life. This capitalist system has always meant misery, inequality and injustice for most working class and oppressed people. And May Day has always represented our struggle for equality, justice and control of our own lives and all of society. More than ever, May Day means this in 1981.

TODAY, capitalism is enter-ing a worldwide economic crisis that could very well turn out far worse than the Great Depression. We are just beginning to feel the effects of this crisis in the U.S. And "just the beginning" has meant massive layoffs, plant closings, inflation and the Reagan attacks on social programs such as food stamps, welfare and CETA. Yet the government and the people who run the country have no real answers to the crisis. All they know how to do is try to attack our rights, lower our living standards, and make fewer people produce more in order to boost the profits of big business. The attacks we have seen so far are nothing compared to what the capitalists will need to get their system going again.

This isn't the half of it, though. As the economy falls apart, different sections of the population are going for each other's throats. Some white people think things are bad because Black, Latin and other oppressed people are getting too much and that the solution is to attack Blacks and Latins. As a result of this climate, the Ku Klux Klan is growing, based on a program of taking everything away from Black and Latin people—including their lives. Right-wing terrorism is on the rise; Blacks have been attacked and killed from Buffalo to Salt Lake City. In Atlanta, 23 young Black people have been kidnapped and murdered.

The same thing's happening around the world. The world

economy is heading for a crash and the rulers in all countries are attacking the workers and small farmers to increase their profits. Meanwhile, they too are at each other's throats. Whether they call themselves "democratic" or "communist," they are fighting with each other for markets, investment opportunities and access to strategic raw materials. Already many "local" wars have broken out. Military spending in the U.S. and virtually every other country is being beefed up. The threat of world war is increasing.

WHERE WILL this end?

There are really only two possibilities. The first is that

the tiny ruling class and to defend its rule. Instead of people deciding what to do with the economy and society, millions of people are excluded from making any decisions about anything. And a tremendous state, including the bureaucracy, police, courts, prisons and the army, is built up to keep things this way.

Once you have this—a society that runs only for profit—you really have a society that nobody can control. The mad drive for profits pits one section of the ruling class against the others and the ruling class of each country against the ruling classes of the others. When times are



Millions of oranges lie rotting on the ground in California. Growers dumped them to keep prices up. Instead of meeting people's needs, capitalists often destroy resources that already exist.

things keep going like they're going. The world capitalist system is on the road to hell. And it is dragging us all down with it. We are in for mass unemployment, starvation of millions of people, mass fascist movements like the Nazis, plagues like we haven't seen in years, and nuclear holocaust. If things continue on their present course there is a chance the human race may be wiped out.

The capitalists and their governments can't stop this from happening. This is because of the way the whole system is set up. Instead of running it for the benefit of the majority of people, the whole society runs to profit

good, this competition can be kept to a reasonable level. When times are bad, it gets out of control and the capitalists can't even control their own system.

THERE IS a way out, how-ever. The other possibility is that we—working class and oppressed people—take control of the economy, the society and our own lives. This means rising up, kicking out the capitalists and taking over the factories, mills, oil refineries, offices, buses, trains and planes. In short, the entire economy. It means dismantling the bloated government and replacing it with a network of democratic committees, councils and organi-

zations. Through these organizations in the workplaces and communities, and built up on a regional, national and eventually world scale, we could run the economy and the entire society. We could decide what to produce, how to produce it and how to transport it. We could decide what we need in terms of schools, housing, health care and other necessities. Together we, the great majority of the people of the world, could work together and build a decent and free society in which nobody would starve, and everybody could live decently.

SOME people say that work-ing class and poor people could never run society, or could never run it better than the capitalists. But the capitalists are not doing such a great job as it is. And when things get really bad, it'll be clear that almost anything will be better than them running things. In addition, workers can run society. As it is, we do all the work right now. But we are deprived of the information, the structures through which we could communicate with each other and discuss how to approach things, and a degree of technical education. If we took over society, we could get the information we need, set up committees, cooperatives and other organizations to decide policy and learn what we don't now know. In the meantime, we could hire the technicians and other experts we may need. Many of them are workers anyway.

Some people also say that we could never build a humane society because there aren't enough resources, so therefore some have to be poor and starve if others are to live well. But the resources to produce a decent life for everyone do exist. The resources are there. In the U.S. alone, modern agriculture is already capable of producing food that can feed millions of people. Today, millions of dollars worth of milk, butter,

grains and other food are literally thrown away to keep prices to the farmers high. And this is simply the result of the way the system is set up. These resources could be used productively to feed people.

Also, think of the billions of dollars and all the resources, the people, the raw materials, the factories, etc., that go to build the missiles, planes, tanks, ships, bombs and guns—just in the U.S. Then think of all the resources in Russia, France, England and other countries. This is all productive capacity used to produce absolutely wasteful things. If all these resources were devoted to producing the things people need, there would be enough for everybody. At first, until we develop our skills, nobody would live in luxury, but nobody would have to starve either.

IF THE working people around the world took over society, we could do away with social classes, the state, wars and the entire capitalist mess. We could build a world based on equality, respect and trust, because at bottom, inequality, disrespect and lack of trust come from the competitive, dog-eat-dog nature of the system where one person only gets by, or gets ahead, by stepping on somebody else. And this determines how almost everybody relates to everybody else, among strangers and even among friends and family.

A better world, a socialist world, is possible. We do not say it is inevitable. It won't happen automatically. People have to want it and they have to fight for it. But we do say that it is possible. We believe it is possible that working people, faced with depression, world war and total destruction, will decide that a humane and cooperative society is really necessary and make the supreme effort to form such a society and make sure it really works. □

Rebels Hold Their Ground in El Salvador

(Continued from page 1)
24-hour ceasefire to mark the first anniversary of the murder of Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero, a critic of military rule who was killed by right-wing gangsters. The next day leftists attacked the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, the nation's capital. Since then, fighting has resumed in Morazan and in the foothills of the San Jacinto mountains just three miles from the capital.

The military government, nominally led by President Jose Napoleon Duarte, is issuing falsified "body counts" to justify its claim that the left "has lost on all fronts." Specifically, the government reports that 2,200 leftists have been killed since January—a figure that can have little basis in reality, since most sources agree that the FMLN has only 3,500 full-time fighters, and scarcely 10,000 troops overall.

The army is doing more than its share of killing, but most of its victims are unarmed civilians. For instance, on April 7 the army announced it had killed 30 "guerrillas" who opened fire on a security patrol in San Salvador. But eyewitnesses reported that the victims were simply dragged out of their homes, bound and shot. Meanwhile, thugs in the ORDEN, a right-wing paramilitary organization funded by the reactionary capitalists and landowners, the treasury police and the army itself, are torturing and murdering suspected "oppositonists"—workers and peasants—every day.

Duarte regime isolated

As the struggle in El Salvador goes on, Duarte is increasingly squeezed between the warring class forces in the country. He faces a popular rebellion by the workers, peasants and sections of the middle class for land, democracy, and an end to U.S. imperialist domination of the country. In response, he has carried out minimal reforms aimed at defusing this revolt. But these measures have failed to win support for his regime.

Meanwhile, extreme rightist capitalists and landlords, many of whom are now based outside the country, make no secret of their ambition to overthrow his government, crush the popular rebellion, and roll back the reforms. More recently even "moderate" capitalists who previously supported Duarte have begun to desert him. These businessmen, who are being ruined by the war, oppose



The covered bodies of 30 people murdered by police on April 7 lie in the streets of a San Salvador suburb.

Duarte's plan to revive the economy by relying on large-scale state intervention rather than on "private enterprise." According to the *Latin America Weekly Report* (March 27, 1981), the business community would "cheerfully ditch his government for a hard-line regime headed by Colonels Guillermo Garcia and Jaime Gutierrez [two leaders of the ruling military junta—Editor]." In the meantime they are denying Duarte any political or economic support.

Reagan steps up U.S. intervention

The Reagan administration is pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into El Salvador to prop up the Duarte regime. On March 24, the State Department announced that it was granting \$63.5 million in "emergency economic assistance" to El Salvador. This brings the aid program up to \$126.5 million in economic grants, and \$35.4 million in military aid. The U.S. is also supplying \$254 million through international agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In addition, it is pressuring its allies to provide some \$200 million through these agencies.

In the past several weeks the Reagan administration has been stumbling in its efforts to justify U.S. intervention in El Salvador. In January, Secretary of State Alexander Haig orchestrated a strident propaganda campaign against what he called a "textbook case" of Russian-Cuban "subversion" in the country. The campaign not only failed to encourage support for U.S. intervention, but also aroused widespread fears that the administration was set to plunge the U.S. into a war. On March 12, John Bushnell, Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, gave a background briefing to reporters in which he

admitted that Haig "opened the jar and didn't, perhaps, realize how many genies were in it." At the same time, Bushnell accused the press of playing up the story "about five times as big as it really is" and suggested they turn their attention elsewhere. But a week later Haig appeared at a Senate hearing and repeated his charges that El Salvador was the first target on a Russian-Cuban "hit list for Central America."

Similar contradictions are plaguing the administration's efforts to explain away the right-wing reign of terror in El Salvador. During the Senate hearing, Haig suggested that the three U.S. nuns and one lay worker murdered in El Salvador last December were killed because they tried to run a military roadblock. The next day he retreated somewhat, saying the roadblock suggestion was merely "one of the most prominent theories" about the case. But a Salvadorean diplomat told reporters that such a theory was never even considered. Finally on April 9, as the Senate listened to testimony from friends and relatives of the murdered nuns, the administration issued its first criticism of the right-wing terrorists.

Public fears new Vietnam

These clumsy maneuvers are clearly aimed at softening the impact of the administration's El Salvador policy within the U.S. A recent Gallup Poll indicated that most of the U.S. public opposes U.S. intervention. Only two percent of those questioned supported sending U.S. troops to El Salvador. Less than 20 percent favored sending military aid or advisers. Of "informed" people participating in the poll, two out of three were afraid of a "new Vietnam" in El Salvador.

Reagan advisers are concerned that such suspicions might erode overall support for the administration. In particular, they are anxious to get Reagan's domestic program through Congress before mass opposition to it can be mobilized. The public controversy over El Salvador was taking attention away from the economic program and thus endangering its early passage through Congress.

The administration is also reacting to growing attacks on its strategy from liberal newspapers and members of Congress. The *New York Times* came out against military aid for El Salvador in a February 20 editorial. The House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs voted \$5 million in military aid by only an 8-7 margin in the first congressional test of the administration's policy. The measure passed only because the Democratic and Republican heads of the full Appropriations Committee sat in on the hearing and voted for the bill, saying that a "no" vote would "send the wrong signal to Cuba and the Soviet Union." Several members of Congress, including senators Ted Ken-

nedy (Dem.-Massachusetts), Christopher Dodd (Dem.-Connecticut) and Paul Tsongas (Dem.-Massachusetts), as well as representatives Steven Solarz (Dem.-New York), Gerry Studds (Dem.-Massachusetts) and others, have announced plans to introduce legislation limiting aid to El Salvador unless the administration certifies "economic and social progress" by the Duarte government.

These liberals are hardly concerned with improving the lot of the Salvadorean people. On the contrary, their opposition is tinged with a racist arrogance toward El Salvador, implying that the country and its people are insignificant. The *New York Times* editorial opposing military aid opened by calling El Salvador a "coffee-bean republic." Carl Rowan devoted his March 14 column in the *Amsterdam News* to dismissing the FMLN as a "ragtag group of guerrillas" in a "country of little economic or strategic consequence."

Like Reagan, the liberals want to preserve U.S. imperialist control of El Salvador. But they believe this can better be accomplished by

Opposition Grows

(Continued from page 1)
en Strike for Peace; *Gay Community News*; many union locals and trade unionists; the Workers World Party (which initiated PAM); the *Guardian*; the Communist Workers Party; the Revolutionary Socialist League and dozens of others.

The march is taking place at a time when the U.S. ruling class is sharply increasing the

military budget and stepping up its support to the right-wing junta in El Salvador, heightening the dangers of a "new Vietnam" in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Reagan administration is slashing funds for essential services and programs, driving down the standard of living of millions of people in the U.S. In addition, there is an alarming increase in racist violence

MARCH ON THE PENTAGON MAY 3

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador

Stop the U.S. War Build-up

Money for Jobs, Human Needs, Not for the Pentagon

End Racism, Repression, and All Forms of Bigotry

Stop the Draft

The war preparations by the Reagan administration and the military-industrial complex pose the gravest danger to the people of the United States and the entire world. In particular, Reagan and Haig are bent on provoking a Vietnam type war in El Salvador. Join the tens of thousands of people who want to demonstrate to the anti-people, racist budget cuts, which are a direct result of the increased human suffering planned by Reagan for millions. Protest the bloated \$190 billion Pentagon war budget.

The time to organize is now! JOIN US!

People's Anti-War Mobilization

SUNDAY MAY 3

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Seattle demonstration was part of March

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Noticeably absent endorsers of the May zation is one of t forces in the anti- war movement, the Workers Party (SWI its influence in CAR larily the Detroit CA ter, the SWP tried f weeks to sabotage t Pentagon march. T opposed the May 3 stration on two p objected to the propo tagon site and, less e to the inclusion of racist demand. Acco the SWP, importan union bureaucrats w support the march f reasons.

Writing in the M issue of its newspa Militant, the SWP terr Pentagon march "sec "too radical" and "li result in a confrontati the police or army." In e of its efforts in the 1

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pressuring the Duarte regime to enact reforms which can defuse the popular rebellion, instead of simply relying on military force to crush it.

More broadly, the liberals oppose the administration's campaign to return to a Cold War foreign policy. Reagan and Haig tend to view the national liberation struggles breaking out around the world solely in terms of the U.S.-Russian imperialist rivalry. Consequently, they are enthusiastic supporters of any pro-U.S. government which claims to be fighting "Russian subversion," regardless of how many crimes such a regime commits against its own peo-



Seattle demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador was part of March 24 nationwide protest.

ple. In contrast, the liberals want to maintain an approach similar to former President Carter's "human rights" policy, which was based on seeking deals with nationalist forces in so-called Third World countries, such as Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, and pressing right-wing dictatorships to appear less repressive, while maintaining detente with Russia.

In the case of El Salvador, the Reagan administration has been unable to win support either in the U.S. or among its European allies for backing an openly right-wing dictatorship to suppress the popular revolt. As a result, it has been forced,

at least for the present, to continue Carter's strategy of strengthening the Duarte regime, staying at arm's length from the ultra-right, and supporting minimal economic reforms. While doing this, it is trying to set the stage for a more hardline policy in the future.

Marchers condemn U.S. imperialism

As the public debate over El Salvador continues, the mass movement in support of the Salvadorean liberation struggle is gathering strength. Anti-imperialist meetings and demonstrations took place around the country on or around March 24. Over 6,000 demonstrators marched in Boston, 500 marched in Cincinnati, while 1,500 attended a conference in New York. On the West Coast, 800 people demonstrated in Oakland, California, while hundreds joined marches, vigils and meetings in San Francisco and other cities. Similar actions are planned for the week of April 18. They will be followed by the May 3 march on Washington, D.C., which is likely to be the largest protest so far in the mass campaign against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador. □

to U.S. Intervention . . .

throughout the country. The May 3 Pentagon march addresses all these issues and can therefore be an important step in building a militant, mass fightback against the growing ruling class offensive.

Noticeably absent from the endorsers of the May 3 mobilization is one of the larger forces in the anti-draft/anti-war movement, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Using its influence in CARD, particularly the Detroit CARD chapter, the SWP tried for several weeks to sabotage the May 3 Pentagon march. The SWP opposed the May 3 demonstration on two points: It objected to the proposed Pentagon site and, less explicitly, to the inclusion of an anti-racist demand. According to the SWP, important trade union bureaucrats would not support the march for these reasons.

Writing in the March 27 issue of its newspaper, the *Militant*, the SWP termed the Pentagon march "sectarian," "too radical" and "likely to result in a confrontation with the police or army." In a replay of its efforts in the 1960s to

keep the anti-Vietnam War movement tied to liberal politicians and confined to narrow demands, the SWP not only refused to support the May 3 march, but organized for a separate mobilization on May 9, with the White House as the site and no anti-racist demands included in the slogans. This, they claimed, would win the support of trade union leaders.

Fortunately, this attempt to split the movement fell apart. At a meeting called by Detroit CARD on the afternoon of the March 28 anti-nuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, it became clear to the 300 anti-draft activists present that the May 3 mobilization had gained broad support, including from many trade unionists and civil rights organizations, while the call for a separate May 9 demonstration had little real support outside of the SWP. As a result, after extensive discussion, the meeting voted to cancel plans for a separate national mobilization on May 9, though the door was left open to organizing local demonstrations on that date. In addition, no decision was made to endorse the May 3 march.

However, at a membership

meeting of Detroit CARD held on April 6 and attended by about 40 people, an RSL-introduced motion to endorse and build the May 3 Pentagon march was adopted by a better than two-to-one vote. This vote helped to heal the split in the anti-war/anti-draft movement and was a further rebuff to the SWP's attempt to limit the movement to what liberal politicians and trade union bureaucrats would find acceptable. □

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WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Blacks & whites battle police in Britain

For four nights beginning April 10, thousands of Black and white youths fought street battles with British police in Brixton, a working class London district. The fighting began after police tried to arrest a Black youth for allegedly stoning a patrol car. During the rebellion, militants armed with bricks, iron bars and Molotov cocktails sent 30 police to the hospital and wounded over 150 others. They also destroyed two dozen police cars and vans. Nearly 200 youths were arrested, while 18 were reported injured.

The main cause of the revolt was racism. Around two million people of African, Asian and West Indian descent now live in Britain. The neo-fascist National Front and other groups are demanding that the government ship these people out of the country: In February, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government introduced legislation to ban further immigration, and to withhold British citizenship from children of "temporary" and undocumented workers for 10 years. Meanwhile, Black and Brown people face constant police harassment on the streets.

About one-third of Brixton's residents are Black, mainly West Indians, whose families emigrated to Britain after World War II to find work. Conflicts between Blacks and police have erupted in Brixton three times over the past two years.

Another cause of the uprising is unemployment. Thatcher's government is carrying out an austerity program that has left 2.4 million workers unemployed. While Black unemployment is two or three times higher than white, young white workers are also unable to find work. This has led to a degree of unity between Black and white working class youth in Brixton.

Polish parliament orders strike ban

APRIL 13—After three turbulent weeks in Poland, the government of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski appears to be gaining the initiative over the country's workers' and farmers' movement, organized into the 10-million-strong independent trade union federation, Solidarnosc (Solidarity), and its rural counterpart. On April 10, the Polish parliament, in a near-unanimous vote, declared a two-month ban on all strikes, an action demanded by Jaruzelski, who warned of the "abyss"—an invasion of the country by Russian and Eastern bloc troops—if the strikes continued. While the union's leadership has formally denounced the ban, it has openly stated that it, too, seeks an end to the strikes.

The backdrop to the strike ban was the brutal beating of activists from the Bydgoszcz chapter of Solidarnosc by 200 police, March 19. The beatings provoked protest strikes throughout Poland, and forced the union to hold a four-hour "warning" strike in preparation for a general strike on March 30. The latter was averted after negotiations between Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa and the government produced an 11th-hour settlement. Meanwhile, Russian anti-union propaganda reached fever pitch in this period, and Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Poland were greatly escalated.

The aftermath of the Bydgoszcz incident brought into the open a rift between union moderates, grouped around Walesa, and militants, who denounced both the terms of the settlement and the secretive way it was negotiated. To date, Walesa's conciliatory approach appears to be holding sway; several prominent militants have recently lost their posts and large numbers of workers appear to be "strike-weary."

To a large extent, the Polish crisis has now moved into the country's Communist Party, where there is a split between "hardliners" and "moderates" in the leadership. The hardliners, whose base is the repressive apparatus (secret police, etc.), and who have the backing of the Russians, may be winning out; it is reported that moderate party boss Stanislaw Kania may soon be out of a job. But, the party rank and file, one-third of whom belong to Solidarnosc, are increasingly insistent on the need for party democracy, threatening to block hardline policies. Earlier, the party's Politburo agreed to allow relatively open elections for delegates to the July 20 party congress, a move that could now upset the plans of all sections of the leadership and particularly angers the Russians, who are believed to fear an out-of-control Communist Party more than anything else.

—PB & SE

Steelworkers Face Important Election in USWA's Largest District

By SALLY DURAN

On May 28, elections will take place for director of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31, whose Chicago-Gary membership of 120,000 makes it the largest district in the union. In the elections, steelworkers will have to choose between the current district director, James Balanoff, who is a leading oppositionist in the International union, and Jack Parton, the conservative president of the 12,000-member Local 1014 (U.S. Steel-Gary Works). Parton is a strong supporter of International President Lloyd McBride and has McBride's backing.

The outcome of the elections will affect more than the district. In the steelworkers' union, district directors serve a four-year term and make up the voting membership of the International's 30-member Executive Board. For the past four-year term, Balanoff has been one of only two voices of opposition to McBride's sell-out policies on the Board.

What is at stake in this election, then, is the ability of steelworkers in the district and the International as a whole to organize against



District 31 Director James Balanoff.

steel company attacks, government takebacks and an increasingly repressive union leadership.

Steelworkers face company attacks

The situation facing steelworkers today differs dramatically from the election just a few years ago. This is a result

of the economic crisis facing U.S. workers generally, and steelworkers in particular. For decades the steel bosses plowed profits from steel into non-steel operations: chemicals, real estate, transportation and oil. While this meant more profits in the short run, it also has meant that today U.S. steel companies are faced with outmoded and decayed facilities.

The steel companies know only one way to get out of this mess, and that is to make the steelworkers pay for the destruction the companies themselves caused. This has been going on for some time now. But with Reagan's election, a green light has been given to the steel companies to try to rationalize and modernize the industry by attacking the workforce.

In the last two years, dozens of steel plants have been shut down, many permanently, throwing tens of thousands of steelworkers onto the streets. Last year, for example, U.S. Steel alone ordered permanent shutdowns in Youngstown, Ohio, Torrance, California, and Gary, Indiana, eliminating 15,000 jobs. In District 31, the union reports a loss of 20,000 mem-

bers due to job cuts in the past three years.

In addition to the closings, modernization schemes are eliminating jobs and threatening steelworkers' lives. At U.S. Steel-Gary Works, for example, the company wants to introduce remote controlled railroad engines on a large scale. This change will eliminate hundreds of engineers and switch operators and significantly increase the number of injuries and deaths on the job, since the remote controlled engines have proved to be totally unsafe in the past.

Finally, under the policies of the Reagan administration, the steel companies will virtually ignore pollution controls, thus saving millions of dollars for themselves while endangering the health and lives of thousands of people on the job and in surrounding communities.

Steelworkers are also under attack from the government, which is turning to right-wing policies to try to solve the economic crisis, and by a growing right-wing movement. Among other things, the Reagan administration is proposing cuts in unemployment compensation and the food stamp program. Millions

of people, including steelworkers, will be hurt by these cuts. Meanwhile, as the ruling class attack intensifies, many whites, including white workers, are turning to racist solutions to the crisis. As a result, hate groups like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan are on the rise and Black people are being harassed and assassinated across the country. This racist reaction is infecting the steelworkers' union where an increasingly coherent right wing is developing.

McBride suppresses ranks

In the face of these attacks on the jobs, rights and lives of steelworkers, the USWA bureaucracy, led by McBride, has followed a policy of full-scale cooperation with management, clamping down on workers' attempts to defend themselves and smashing any resistance to his policies within the union. In this, McBride is continuing the class-collaborationist policies of his predecessor, I.W. Abel. Abel secretly negotiated and signed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA),

which gave away 500,000 workers to strike over contract. McBride along with this "courageous" labor participation "multicraft" proved to raise the combining and jobs.

Instead of making to save jobs the issue in the contract, McBride any effort on the workers to fight and layoffs. when members centered in Youngstown — an area hard hit by shutdowns — help to defend communities, they led the laid-off workers to a fruitless run-a-courts. An independent steelworker put up an opposition date for District 31 part of their fight against shutdowns, the controlled International Board dissolved into three neighborhoods, thus undermining and file management.

McBride has the same kind of District 31. At representing Reagan South Chicago militant Eugene removed as vice president of the International vote of the local At Local 1011, the workers at Laughlin (J&L) international movement state the local whom the member removed because his own, negotiated "multicraft" agreement J&L management

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Rail workers to march April 29

On April 29, thousands of railroad workers will march in Washington, D.C., in one of the first major trade union mobilizations against President Ronald Reagan's budget cuts. On the same day the rail workers will hold rallies in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Orleans and other cities. These actions are being organized by the Railway Labor Executives Association (RLEA), a coalition of 20 railroad unions.

Over the past 20 years, the railroad unions have been among the more conservative sections of the U.S. labor movement. Their conservatism stems in part from ruling class measures aimed at guaranteeing the stability of the railroad industry. Freight lines are protected from competition within the industry and assured high cargo rates by government regulations. This allows them to pay railroad workers relatively high wages. Moreover, the railroads are protected against strikes by the Railway Labor Act, which empowers the president to order striking rail workers back on the job. As a result of these measures, only one major rail strike in the past 20 years has lasted more than a few days.

Despite these safeguards some railroads, particularly those specializing in passenger service, almost collapsed in the early 1970s. Consequently, the federal government took over most of those lines. Congress formed Amtrak, the federally operated national passenger system, out of 13 railroads in 1971. Then in 1976 it created Conrail, a government chartered corporation, to take over six bankrupt Northeastern railroads. These takeovers were meant to rationalize the rail-

road industry by passing its costs on to U.S. taxpayers, while protecting the banks and corporations with investments in the railroads. To gain union support for them, Congress passed legislation promising that Conrail workers with five years' seniority in 1974 would continue to get their 1974 salary until age 65 even if they were laid off.

Since its formation, however, Conrail has run up a \$5.7 billion deficit, while Amtrak has required nearly \$1 billion in annual fare subsidies from the government. As a result, the Reagan administration, claiming it wants to "get the federal government out of the railroad business," is asking Congress to eliminate all funding for Conrail by 1982. At the same time Conrail chairperson L. Stanley Crane is proposing to immediately eliminate 21,000 jobs and slash workers' wages by a total of \$300 million a year. In addition, the administration wants to raise Amtrak fares by as much as 80 percent over the next five years while cutting out most long-distance trains. The RLEA estimates that if Congress passes these cuts, up to 78,000 workers will lose their jobs.

This government offensive against the rail workers is forcing union leaders into action for the first time in years. In early April they organized meetings around the country to build for the march on Washington. At an April 9 meeting in New York Al Archual, a national officer of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, declared: "The fat cats that run the railroads are to blame [for Conrail and Amtrak deficits—Ed.] and we are not the ones to have to pay for the mismanagement."

NY hospital workers wildcat

A weeklong wildcat strike at the Mount Sinai Medical Center in New York ended in defeat on April 10. Over 500 workers at the hospital walked out on April 6 to protest management guidelines on alleged "absenteeism" first put into effect last June. The guidelines forced workers to provide a doctor's excuse for even one day off work. They also gave management more power to fire workers for absenteeism, and allowed supervisors to reprimand workers even if they had a valid reason for taking time off. Leaders of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, which represents the workers, had been unable to gain repeal or moderation of the guidelines despite months of negotiations. Their failure led union delegates from the hospital to join in organizing the wildcat.

Hundreds of workers occupied the hospital cafeteria for the duration of the strike. The walkout also forced management to close hospital clinics and restrict admissions. But the workers were ultimately defeated by a combination of management, the courts and their own union leaders. On April 7, the hospital obtained a restraining order against the strike. The next day Jesse Olson, District 1199 executive vice president, went to the cafeteria and ordered the strikers back to work. When they refused, management obtained an injunction threatening the union with a \$650,000 fine, plus additional fines of \$10,000 per hour as long as the walkout continued. At a meeting on the afternoon of April 10, District 1199 President Leon Davis successfully used the injunction as a club to force the workers to end their strike.

—PB

Parton supports McBride

Jack Parton backs McBride's policies. McBride and the I back Parton. That should be enough to see Parton as a sell-out to any fight of steelworkers in District 31 for their rights.

But there is more to his own local, Parton has a history of First elected local president in 1976, Parton opposed the more liberal approach in the district. For he opposed the ENA the local opposition increasingly disoriented and when they lost in the 1979 election moved to the right came an open support International. He ran like a two-bit tyrant meetings were rescheduled from twice a month to once a month. Local 1014 who tried to raise resolutions were rejected the union floor and Today, it is almost im-

which gave away the rights of 500,000 workers in basic steel to strike over their national contract. McBride had gone along with this. He is also encouraging "labor-management participation teams" and "multicraft" programs intended to raise productivity by combining and eliminating jobs.

Instead of making the fight to save jobs the number one issue in the 1980 USWA contract, McBride sabotaged any effort on the part of the workers to fight the closings and layoffs. For example, when members of District 26, centered in Youngstown, Ohio—an area hard hit by plant shutdowns—sought union help to defend their jobs and communities, the USWA tops led the laid-off steelworkers in a fruitless run-around through the courts. And when dissident steelworkers prepared to put up an opposition candidate for District 26 director as part of their fight against plant shutdowns, the McBride-controlled International Executive Board dissolved District 26 into three neighboring districts, thus undercutting the rank and file movement.

McBride has followed the same kind of policies in District 31. At Local 1033, representing Republic Steel's South Chicago mill, Black militant Eugene Pughsley was removed as vice president by the International against the vote of the local membership. At Local 1011, representing the workers at Jones and Laughlin (J&L) Steel, the International moved in to reinstate the local president, whom the membership had removed because he had, on his own, negotiated a trial "multicraft" agreement with J&L management.

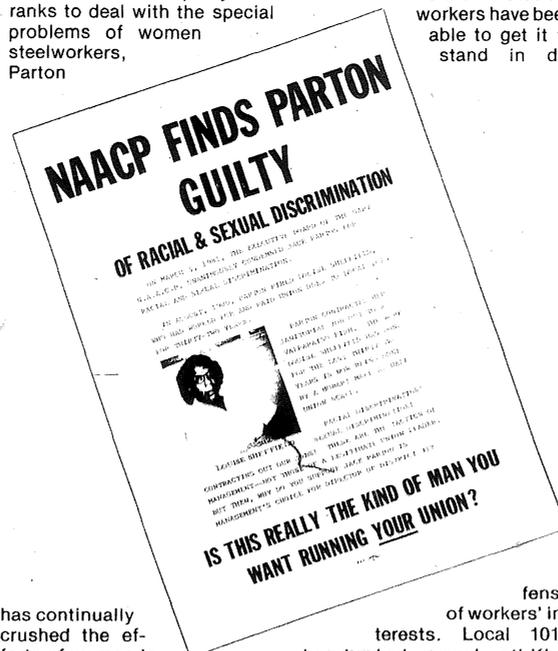
Parton supports McBride

Jack Parton backs all of McBride's policies. And McBride and the International back Parton. That, in itself, should be enough reason to see Parton as a serious threat to any fight of steelworkers in District 31 for their jobs and their rights.

But there is more. In his own local, Parton has behind him a history of repression. First elected local president in 1976, Parton copped to the then more liberal atmosphere in the district. For example, he opposed the ENA. But as the local opposition became increasingly disorganized, and when they lost their posts in the 1979 elections, Parton moved to the right and became an open supporter of the International. He ran the local like a two-bit tyrant. Union meetings were rescheduled from twice a month to once a month. Local 1014 members who tried to raise anti-Klan resolutions were red-baited on the union floor and silenced. Today, it is almost impossible

for union members to raise new business in the bureaucratically-run meetings. The local's safety and health committee rubber-stamps U.S. Steel's policy of blaming workers for accidents. Whereas several locals in the district have official union women's committees set up by the ranks to deal with the special problems of women steelworkers, Parton

This more democratic process and greater involvement of the ranks has meant modest gains for workers at Inland Steel. For example, Inland's coke plant workers won additional break time from their hot, dusty jobs. Beyond this, the relative openness of the local has meant that the workers have been able to get it to stand in de-



has continually crushed the efforts of women in 1014 to build such an organization.

Parton has also shown that he has no interest in fighting for the rights and needs of Black people. When the new Local 1014 union hall was under construction, Parton assured Louise Sheffield, the Black janitress who had been a member of 1014 all of her 32 years on the job, that she would be able to keep her job when the new hall was completed. Instead, Parton eliminated her job, brought in an outside janitorial firm, and denied her a pension. The best Parton would do was to get her hired by the outside firm for \$3.85 an hour, far from her former union wage of \$8.76.

Balanoff win will create openings

Compared with Parton's, Balanoff's performance in union office has encouraged some democracy and solidarity in the union. When he was president of Local 1010, Balanoff took votes of the membership on local contracts and Local 1010 members were relatively well-informed about the issues when they voted at plant gate polls.

This policy continues today. Balanoff's supporters run local meetings fairly democratically, with time allowed for everyone who wants to speak. Active committees composed of rank and file members are more encouraged. Unlike 1014, Local 1010 provides childcare at its meetings.

plant workers from the district's six coke plants organized a districtwide coke plant conference. Balanoff endorsed this conference, but only when he saw that the coke plant militants were determined to hold the conference with or without the blessing of the union tops. While Balanoff has done next to nothing to lead the fight against plant closings and layoffs, he did endorse the Save Our Jobs demonstration by Local 65. Recently, Balanoff joined picketing Pullman Standard workers protesting the threatened shutdown of their plant.

These examples show that while steelworkers cannot rely on Balanoff to organize and lead the rank and file, voting for him will mean that steelworkers will have a little more room to organize themselves.

Parton clouds election issues

Unfortunately, the fact that this much is at stake in the elections is not completely clear to workers in the district. There are a couple of reasons for this.

First, with the help of the International, Parton is running a slick campaign. He is pretending to be concerned with the needs of the rank and file, and he is attempting to win votes in the smaller locals where he is not very well known.

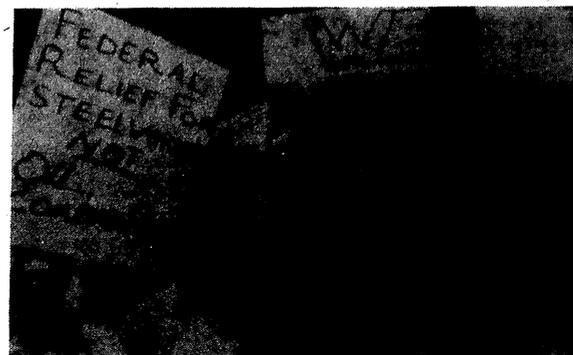
Parton is pledging to bring "unity" to the district. By "unity" Parton means unity with the International to supposedly get a better deal for District 31 workers. He charges that Balanoff has divided the union with "petty political

percent of the district's membership—Parton promises to support a districtwide Hispanic committee. To fight the layoffs, Parton pledges to back a "districtwide task force that uses every available resource to prevent shutdowns and build job gains through an organized plan of attack." Based on Parton's past, it is safe to say that these promises would quickly be forgotten were Parton elected. But for now they make him look pretty good.

The second reason why the issue at stake in the election is not clear is that Balanoff is not running an aggressive campaign that concretely states what steelworkers can expect from him. To date, Balanoff's campaign has been very low-key and he has put forward no program of action to meet steelworkers' needs. When elected in 1977, Balanoff was part of a national opposition slate, headed by the then District 31 Director Edward Sadlowski, which challenged the Abel/McBride machine. Sadlowski's "Fightback" organization has since fallen apart, as have many local oppositions. Today, Balanoff is campaigning mostly on his past reputation as a militant.

To his credit, Balanoff is beginning to point out that Parton is hooked up with the McBride leadership and that this doesn't mean anything very good for steelworkers. But Balanoff hasn't put together an organization and a leadership to match the ever worsening conditions facing the USWA membership.

We encourage District 31 steelworkers to turn out and vote for Balanoff. At the same time, they should be fully aware that neither candidate will provide the leadership to



Steelworkers rally to oppose layoff of 6,500 workers at U.S. Steel's South Works. McBride machine, which Parton supports, has done nothing to defend steelworkers' jobs.

factions." But what Parton really means to do is further subordinate the district to the McBride leadership and set up steelworkers for further attacks by management. Yet by running this "unity" line, Parton has been able to look better than he is.

Further, Parton is making lots of promises that fly in the face of his past record. For example, to try to get the votes of Spanish-speaking workers—who make up 25

meet steelworkers' needs. Balanoff, like Parton, will not mobilize the ranks and may in fact hold people back. But a Balanoff victory would give steelworkers some openings in which to organize themselves against the increasingly repressive atmosphere. In contrast, Parton would move to crush any rank and file activity. In the face of increasing company, government and right-wing attacks, this difference can make a difference. □



By PAUL BENJAMIN

On March 31, over 160,000 striking coal miners rebelled against their union leaders and rejected a proposed three-year contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). The miners had walked off their jobs on March 27, when the old contract between their union, the United Mine Workers (UMW), and the BCOA expired. Four days earlier, UMW President Sam Church and industry representatives had agreed on terms for a new contract. Both Church and B.R. Brown, chief negotiator for the BCOA, predicted that miners would ratify the settlement, thus bringing a quick end to the strike. But instead, miners voted down the tentative agreement by a two-to-one margin.

In the proposed contract, the BCOA retreated somewhat from the headline demands it put forward when negotiations began in January. For instance, the BCOA temporarily abandoned its campaign to force the UMW into accepting Sunday work and round-the-clock mining operations. It backed off a

proposal to dismantle the UMW's industry-wide pension plan. And the BCOA agreed to disband the Arbitration Review Board, a grievance panel which had ruled in favor of the companies in two out of every three cases.

Nevertheless, the tentative settlement included loopholes that would have opened the way for company offensives on several issues vital for miners. First of all, it would have given the companies greater opportunities to undermine the UMW through production of non-union coal. Over the past 10 years union-mined coal has dropped from 70 percent to 44 percent of total production. The growing use of non-union coal—mainly from strip mines in the West—is a critical issue for the survival of the UMW. But in the recent contract talks UMW negotiators gave up a 35-year-old provision requiring the companies to pay royalties into the UMW pension fund for each ton of non-signatory (non-union) coal they purchase for resale. In addition, the BCOA gained the right to subcontract some mining operations to non-union companies.

The UMW also surrendered the ban on holiday work included in previous contracts by allowing the companies to schedule voluntary overtime on nine of 11 holidays included in the new contract. If carried out, this concession would have been the opening wedge in the coal industry's campaign to increase productivity at the expense of the miners by gaining increased control over work schedules. As one executive told the *Wall Street Journal*: "It's archaic as hell 'o have contract language that you can't work this day or that. This union has got to come into the 20th century."

Other contract provisions likewise would have weakened the UMW by giving the companies increased control over production. The proposed contract imposed a 45-day probation period on newly-hired miners. It also set a two-year limit on recall rights for laid-off miners.

In exchange for these concessions, the BCOA agreed to a 36 percent increase in wages and benefits over the next three years. The money package included annual wage raises of about 11 percent, \$100 per month pensions for widows of miners who retired before 1976, and a dental plan.

The UMW failed to regain the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) clause that it lost in the 1978 settlement. Instead, it settled for eight quarterly "wage adjustments" not directly tied to the rate of inflation. The total money package fell well within the limits acceptable to the BCOA.



BCOA negotiator B.R. Brown (left) meets with UMW head Sam Church.

According to *Business Week* (April 6, 1981), the coal industry would have been able to easily recover the costs of the package by increasing productivity and expanding exports of coal overseas.

It is very likely that the negotiations and the proposed contract were carefully designed to try to avoid a strike by fooling miners into believing they had won a victory. By giving up their well-publicized original demands the coal companies hoped to help Church appear to be a tough negotiator who could force the BCOA to retreat. Church would then have a better chance to minimize the loopholes in the contract and win rank and file ratification for it. The capitalist press contributed to this game by highlighting the BCOA concessions, condemning the "inflationary" money package, and saying practically nothing about the giveaways in the fine print of the agreement.

Miners angry at loopholes

But this scheme collapsed as soon as miners got a chance to read the proposed contract. Anger at the loop-

holes in the settlement quickly spread throughout the union. The UMW Executive Board approved it by only a 21-14 margin, with four members not voting. District officials in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and other states openly condemned the contract as a sellout. For instance, Steve Segredi, an official in UMW District 5, told reporters: "In the next several years, we may not have a union. We're giving up job security in the future. It will not only divide us, there will be no UMW."

Above all, rank and file miners, suspicious of the last-minute settlement to

begin with, rebelled as soon as they found out the details of the proposed contract. In Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania, militants publicly burned copies of the agreement. Church's effort to build support for ratification through a tour of the minefields was a total failure. In some districts miners showed up at meetings only to jeer at Church's attempt to justify the concessions. In others they boycotted the meetings altogether. By the end of the tour UMW district officials, many of whom are running for re-election this spring,

avoided appearing on the same platform with Church.

Strike shatters 'labor peace'

By rejecting the proposed settlement the miners have opened up the possibility of a strike equal to the 111-day walkout of 1977-78. Their action could potentially have a significant impact on the coal industry, the labor movement, and the country as a whole.

Why Miners Should Broaden

The strike by 160,000 coal miners is now in its third week. By rejecting the contract proposed by the UMW leadership, thereby rejecting the demands of the coal companies for significant takeaways, the miners have once again put themselves in the forefront of the organized labor movement.

For several years, workers in steel, auto, rubber and other industries have been forced to accept cuts in wages,

benefits, working conditions and union rights. The coal miners have rejected this course and have undertaken a strike that is likely to be both long and bitter. The entire labor movement and all working people must rally to the support of the striking miners.

It appears that the miners face a very tough battle. A clear victory will be difficult to win; a stalemate or, worse yet, a significant defeat is a real possibility. The coal companies and the utilities have large stockpiles on hand and, with the share of total coal production covered by UMW contracts having shrunk to 44 percent in the last decade, it will be many weeks before the strike will have a major impact in curtailing available coal. In addition, the coal bosses are determined to try to break the militancy of the miners and further weaken their union in order to create the stability they seek for a highly profitable expansion of U.S. coal production.

The miners' strike highlights the urgent tasks facing the labor movement as a whole, if it is to be able to resist the growing capitalist offensive against working people. Even the traditionally militant miners may find that militancy alone is no longer sufficient to win a major battle.

This year's miners' strike takes place under conditions very different from those miners have faced in the past. During the relatively prosperous 25-year period following World War II, miners, like workers in other well-organized and powerful sections of the economy, were able to make gains in wages, benefits

and working conditions. The corporations were generally willing, under pressure, to make concessions to mine-workers, steelworkers, autoworkers and other unionized sections of the workforce in the interests of "labor peace." The economic costs to the capitalists, at a time of relative prosperity, were viewed as well worth what they bought in return: a labor movement, in particular a labor bureaucracy, which was fundamentally loyal to the needs of the capitalist system.

Today's situation is very different. The entire capitalist system is in an acute and deepening crisis, a crisis which is by no means temporary. The ruling class as a whole is well aware of this and is therefore determined to roll back the gains of the labor movement—and to even more ruthlessly drive down the living standards of the unorganized sections of the workforce—in order to squeeze out the higher profits needed to try to bail out their economy.

The labor movement is not well-prepared for this new situation. It is dominated by a conservative bureaucracy that hardly knows the meaning of militant organizing and struggle—and, totally loyal to the capitalist system, has little interest in unleashing the power of the working class even if it knew how. This bureaucracy has pursued a narrow strategy of seeking to win limited gains for an increasingly limited number of workers (less than 20 percent of the entire U.S. workforce is today organized into unions), and virtually ignoring the needs of the rest of the working class. While labor's traditional battle cry of "Organize the Unorganized" has for years been little more than a paper resolution collecting dust, the bureaucrats have placed the financial and organizational resources of the labor movement at the service of one of the two capitalist parties. Not only are fewer and fewer workers organized into any unions at all, but the gap between the wages and benefits of a relatively narrow section of the working class and those of the rest of

the workforce has steadily risen. The result has been the undermining of the strength and unity of the entire working class. Many workers are indifferent if not hostile to the demands of the better-off, unionized sections of the workforce, seeing little reason for solidarity with workers who make far more than they do and whose unions have rarely lifted a finger to aid them. Thanks to the bureaucrats, the workers in the organized labor movement face the danger of being acutely isolated from wide sections of the working class.

Miners are fighting whole ruling class

The miners are in a position to begin to change this. It is difficult to say how much can be concretely done in the context of the current strike. And, when it comes to waging a militant strike, coal miners need little advice in any event. However, what is clear is that it is unlikely that any significant or lasting victory can be won in the coalfields unless rank and file miners take the lead in turning the labor movement toward new methods of struggle, methods that are more political and class-conscious.

The starting point for this is that miners must recognize that their battle is far larger than a struggle between a given group of workers and a given group of employers. Whether they realize it or not, the miners are striking against the plans of the entire capitalist class to drastically lower the living standards of working and oppressed people, weaken the trade unions, curtail basic rights and liberties and establish conditions for a more intense exploitation of the working class than we have witnessed in decades. This means that in a very real way, the miners are fighting not just against the coal companies and the oil companies (which increasingly dominate coal production), but against the government and the U.S. ruling class as a whole. This is a formidable set of opponents. In such conditions, no section of the

t Contract, Defend Union

with, rebelled as soon as they
out the details of the proposed
t. In Virginia, West Virginia,
ky, Ohio and Pennsylvania, mili-
publicly burned copies of the
ent. Church's effort to build
t for ratification through a tour of
nefields was a total failure. In
districts miners showed up at
gs only to jeer at Church's
t to justify the concessions. In
they boycotted the meetings al-
r. By the end of the tour UMW
officials, many of whom are
for re-election this spring,

avoided appearing on the same platform
with Church.

Strike shatters 'labor peace'

By rejecting the proposed settlement
the miners have opened up the possibi-
lity of a strike equal to the 111-day
walkout of 1977-78. Their action could
potentially have a significant impact on
the coal industry, the labor movement,
and the country as a whole.

ers Should Broaden Contract Fight

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To begin with, the miners' strike has
shattered the hopes of the coal compa-
nies and the entire capitalist class for
labor peace in the coal fields. For the
past few years the ruling class has been
promoting increased coal production as
an answer to the energy crisis and as a
vital factor in stabilizing the economy.
The coal companies in particular expect
to reap vast profits by exporting coal to
Western Europe and Japan. But these
plans hinge on the industry's ability
both to increase productivity and to end
miners' strikes, which scare off poten-
tial overseas customers. For these
reasons the BCOA and President Ron-
ald Reagan's administration were hop-
ing for a coal settlement that could
head off a long strike. The miners' mili-
tancy is wrecking such plans. As one
industry source told the **Washington**
Post (April 6, 1981): "**We had hoped to**
get a quick settlement this time to
demonstrate to foreign buyers that
we're a stable, growing industry. This
strike may have thrown a wrench into all
that."

—The strike could also boost the
fighting spirit of workers in other

unions. In recent months the leaders of
the major unions, such as the United
Auto Workers (UAW), have been
caving in to demands by the compa-
nies and the ruling class that
workers must "tighten their belts" and
sacrifice to stabilize the economy. Such
surrenders have not only demoralized
the workers in the unions directly con-
cerned, but also have had a demoraliz-
ing effect on workers in weaker unions,
to say nothing of those with no union
protection at all. While some workers
have tried to defend themselves against
the capitalist offensive, by and large
their efforts have been restricted to a
local and isolated level. But now
workers around the U.S. are seeing the
coal miners in the UMW, one of the
strongest unions in the country, flat-out
refusing to follow their leaders'
schemes and allow the capitalists to
dictate terms to them. The miners'
strike may turn out to be a breakthrough
in encouraging other workers to mobil-
ize against the ruling class attack.

More broadly, the miners' strike rep-
resents the first significant challenge to
the anti-working class austerity cam-

paign of the ruling class in general, and
the Reagan administration in particular.
As soon as they took office, Reagan
and his advisers launched a blitzkrieg of
budget cutbacks and other takeaways
directed against the progressive re-
forms enacted over the past 20 years.
They have been aided by a generally
perceived need for some kind of change
in government policy, as well as by the
tolerance usually granted to a new pres-
ident. But to ensure the success of the
Reagan program, the capitalists need to
maintain the social peace that accom-
panied his first weeks in office. Con-
sequently, they can hardly welcome the
miners' strike, which threatens to
shatter this peace.

Church suffers major defeat

Within the UMW, the contract rejec-
tion represents a stunning setback for
Church and his supporters. Church had
won widespread support from coal
company executives for his conciliatory
policies ever since he took over the
presidency of the UMW in 1979. But he
has yet to consolidate his hold over the
union.

The 1981 contract negotiations were
generally seen as the first test of
Church's ability to control the UMW.
Church himself wanted to avoid a strike
which would strengthen the influence
of militants inside the union. But his
maneuvers around the contract have
blown up in his face. As a result of the
contract rejection, Church is now
isolated not only from rank and file
miners, but also from a considerable
proportion of district and even national
union officials. Regardless of what
happens in the contract fight, there is
bound to be a wide-open battle for lead-
ership within the UMW once it is over.

It is too early to predict the exact
impact the miners' strike will have on all
these issues. The immediate task
miners face is finding a way to win their
strike against the BCOA now that they
have rejected the contract. The miners
have shown that they are determined to
defend their union against company
attacks at any cost. But there are
reasons to question whether militancy
alone will be enough to defeat the coal
companies.

First of all, the BCOA may use the
contract rejection as an excuse to
launch an all-out attack against the
UMW. After the vote came in, chief
BCOA negotiator B.R. Brown con-
demned "**a disturbing lack of bargaining**
discipline in the UMW which puts the
integrity of the bargaining process in
serious jeopardy." For two weeks
Brown refused to reopen negotiations.
Meanwhile, some operators have threat-
ened to abandon industrywide bargain-
ing and negotiate with individual dis-
tricts and even individual mines. Such a
policy, if carried out successfully,
would destroy the UMW.

In addition, both the coal companies
and major coal consumers are well pre-
pared for a long strike. Electric utilities,
which use 80 percent of U.S. coal pro-
duction, have stockpiled a three to four
month coal supply. These reserves will
limit the effectiveness of even a pro-
longed strike. Moreover, the coal com-
panies will surely try to bring in scab
coal from non-union mines in the West
if the strike goes on for long. Mean-
while, the miners themselves lack a
strike fund to help them survive through
a long strike. For all these reasons, the
miners face an uphill battle in their
effort to win a decent contract and
protect their union. □

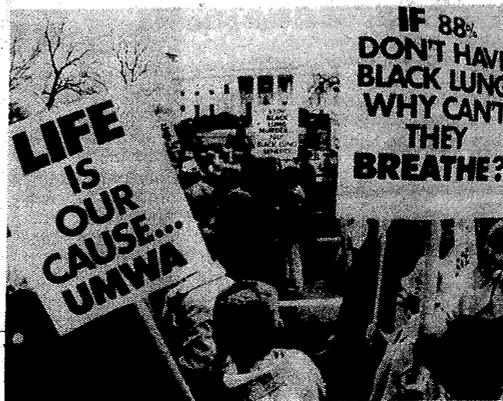
working class can "go it alone." Victory
will only be possible if the working
class can build a real and meaningful
classwide response to the bosses'
offensive. Unity must be built between
employed and unemployed workers,
between whites, Blacks, Latins and
Asians, between women and men, gays
and straights, young and old, the
skilled and the unskilled, organized and
unorganized—in short, everybody—if
working people are to be able to suc-
cessfully resist the capitalist attacks.
Each and every aspect of these attacks,
whether it be budget cuts, the elimina-
tion of health and safety legislation,
plant closings and layoffs, wage cuts,
attacks on the right to abortion, cam-
paigns against undocumented workers,
racist attacks or anti-gay bigotry, must
be seen as parts of a coordinated
assault by the ruling class on all
working and oppressed people. Unity,
with "an injury to one is an injury to all"
as the watchword, is essential to any
serious defense against these attacks.

There are concrete steps which the
coal miners can take to begin to build
this kind of unity. One of the greatest
needs of the miners is a massive cam-
paign to unionize the unorganized
workers in the coal industry, both those
in the strip mines in the
West and the workers
who work around the
mines doing various
kinds of repair and con-
struction labor. A cam-
paign to organize the
unorganized is also a
major need of the entire
labor movement and
the working class as a
whole. Just to save
their own union, the
coal miners should de-
mand that the UMW
launch a drive, in con-
junction with other
unions, to organize the
non-unionized workers
in the industry. In so
doing they could set an
example and spur the
entire labor movement

to undertake similar campaigns.

Other steps are also possible. On
March 9, 10,000 miners demonstrated in
Washington, D.C., against Reagan's
proposed cuts in Black Lung benefits.
This was an important political mobil-
ization against the government's at-
tempts to slash essential programs and
services, cuts which are affecting
millions of working and poor people in
this country. Textile workers, for exam-
ple, are also facing cuts in the programs
to combat the deadly brown lung
disease, cuts which will maim and kill
workers. And millions of other people
face the loss of food stamps, welfare
benefits, health care opportunities and
countless other vital programs and
services at the hands of the Reagan
budget-axe. If coal miners were to
adopt a stand of "**No to the budget**
cuts! No cuts to benefits for Black
Lung, Brown Lung, health care, welfare
or food stamps!" and call on working
people across the country to rally to a
struggle to back up these demands, the
miners could not only build support for
themselves in their present strike, they
could also help launch the kind of
movement that is needed to resist the

(Continued on page 16)



Miners demonstrated against cuts in federal Black Lung
benefits in March.

Poletown: Death of a Community

By BOB ANDERSON

Last July, the General Motors Corporation and the city of Detroit announced plans for the construction of a new Cadillac plant in this city. GM is closing two old plants, which employed 13,000 workers at full production. The new plant will supposedly employ a maximum of 6,000 workers, but most experts expect it will really be about 4,000. In either case, thousands of jobs will be lost in the process.

In addition, GM demanded and got the city's pledge for 465 acres of a Detroit neighborhood known as Poletown. The city agreed to buy and demolish 1,400 homes and drive the 3,500 residents out of the integrated working class neighborhood. The city will foot the bill for all of this and then hand it over to GM with a 50 percent tax abatement for 12 years. In all, GM, one of the richest corporations in the world, will get nearly \$400 million in public subsidies to build the plant.

Many neighborhood residents joined the Poletown Neighborhood Council to fight against the GM project. They have organized many demonstrations and worked to build a movement in the city to fight

GM and the local government. Supporters of the RSL have been active in the fight since last fall.

Homes destroyed for 'public good'

On March 13, the Michigan Supreme Court ruled in favor of the GM project by a 5-2 margin. This ruling allowed the demolition of the Dodge Main plant and the city's purchases of homes in the Poletown neighborhood to proceed. The basis of the Poletown Neighborhood Council's court case—against the project was that it's illegal for the government to use its right of "eminent domain" for the benefit of a private corporation. The city of Detroit maintained that taking the neighborhood and driving thousands from their homes was primarily for the "public good." The court ruled that "the benefit to be received by the municipality is sufficient to satisfy this court." The court went on to say that since the plant would keep some jobs in the city, "the benefit to a private interest is merely incidental." To hear the justices of the Supreme



Poletown residents protest proposed destruction of their neighborhood.

Court tell it, GM is building the plant out of the goodness of its heart to help out the people of Detroit. Ridiculous as this sounds, it should not be surprising. The courts in Michigan and all over this country serve the corporations and the ruling class. Working people will find little justice here.

After the court ruling, one city official said they used to look to the federal government for help in bad times—now they look to GM. The city government and the United Auto Workers union (UAW) leadership, which supports the project, are telling us that we must throw ourselves at the feet of GM and beg for mercy. This is in line with the Reagan administration's policy of giving free rein to the largest corporations, while cutting nearly every form of aid won by workers and poor people over the years. Remember the old saying: "What's good for GM is good for the country." It's not just a saying in Michigan—it's the law.

New court suit planned

Up against all the powers in the state—GM, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the City Council, the courts and the top leadership of the UAW—residents of Poletown continue to fight. Another court case against the project is now being argued in Federal District Court. Residents hope to force GM and the city to consider several alternative plans for building the plant, any of which would save most of the neighborhood through some simple design changes. A solid core of residents who have been active since last summer continue to attend the weekly meetings of the

tions whatever they want. If people get trampled in the process, it's too bad and it makes a good story, but that's the price of "progress."

This "progress" is, in reality, the increasingly naked dictatorship of the largest corporations over the rest of us. Poletown is an opening shot in a national reindustrialization drive. The news media knows it and Ralph Nader knows it. The ruling class plans more "Poletowns" around the country as the basic industries—auto, steel, etc.—try desperately to modernize their outmoded plants.

Workers pay for reindustrialization

Make no mistake, the costs of modernization are to be carried completely by the working class. Whether we get thrown from our homes to make way for their plants or thrown from our jobs to make way for automation and speedup, we have to pay. We are paying through drastically cut federal and local services as more and more of our tax dollars are given directly to GM, Chrysler, U.S. Steel and others to provide capital for reindustrialization.

Workers all over this country are facing the fight of their lives. The people of Poletown have shown courage and staying power in this round. If we lose, it will not be because we didn't fight. As we write, the Dodge Main plant has been reduced to a field of rubble. Some blocks in Poletown are abandoned, with the houses stripped of everything with any value. The city has cut services to the residents who remain, hoping to force them to move and end the resistance. Some people still in the neighborhood have nowhere to go and cannot afford to move; others refuse to leave. Many of the retired people in Poletown live on fixed incomes in houses that are paid for. The city is not offering them enough to buy replacement homes, and they cannot afford new mortgage payments.

Whatever the outcome, people here are receiving a brutal education on how this system works and who it works for. These lessons will not be forgotten.



Consumer advocate Ralph Nader addresses Poletown meeting. Nader helped publicize Poletown struggle but also raised illusions that courts might rule against GM.

up the human interest side of a working class neighborhood, the David, fighting GM, the Goliath. Part of this publicity is related to Ralph Nader's involvement in the fight. Several lawyers who work with Nader are staying in Poletown and doing plenty of national mailings and media work.

But an underlying theme in most of the news coverage is that reindustrialization is necessary and the only way to do it is to give the corpora-

Take Back the Night March Set for June 6 in Detroit

Last year on May 3, over 1,000 people participated in a Detroit Take Back the Night march. Encouraged by the success of that demonstration, a group of Detroit women, including members of the Revolutionary Socialist League, are organizing a Take Back the Night march for June 6 and a Women Take Back Our Lives conference for June 7. The focus of this year's activities has been broadened to include all violence against women. In addition to organizing against physical violence against women, such as rape and wife-beating, the conference will also deal with government attacks against women—cuts in food stamps and welfare, anti-abortion legislation, unemployment, and far right-wing attacks by the KKK and Nazis. Women and the entire working class are under increasing attack today. The Take Back the Night events are an important step toward building a movement that fights back. We urge everyone to attend. For more information, contact: Detroit Area Women Take Back the Night, c/o RSL, PO Box 485, Detroit, MI 48221.


Women's Liberation Buttons!
 (5 or more, 50 cents each)
 2 1/4" — yellow or blue
 In English or Spanish
 Order from: RSL, Box 1288,
 GPO, New York, NY 10116
 75¢

'Yes!

On April 6 thousand South Africa (Azania) nounced it was raising the next two days. Blarisen up time and again ruling class's apartheid school boycott, thousand militant anti-apartheid

The Soweto township In June 1976 it was the Since then Black people uprising, with strikes. a Torch/La Antorcha Black people face in

Dear Torch/La Antorcha

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I knew of course the guide would show us the "best" parts of Soweto would tell us only the calculated to make us the end of the tour that not as bad as I expected with careful looking and tioning, a lot of revealing came through. It was as bad as I expected worse.

Soweto stands for Western Townships. It is immediately outside of Johannesburg, about 10 miles from the center of the city. Whites are permitted to live in Johannesburg itself. The so-called Coloured (people of mixed race) and Indian other three "official" groups, must live in townships outside the city.

Soweto is by far the largest Black township in the Johannesburg area. There are 900,000 legal residents here, people who have government permits to live in Soweto. It is generally accepted that another 400,000 "illegal" live in Soweto, in constant fear of arrest. (Half of Africa's huge prison population is in South Africa.)

DEATH TO APARTHEID
 VICTORY TO THE BLACK WORKING CLASS
 REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA!



Letter From South Africa

'Yesterday I went to Soweto...'

On April 6 thousands of Black people living in the townships surrounding Johannesburg, South Africa (Azania), took to the streets after Prime Minister Pieter Botha's government announced it was raising rents in the townships by 70 percent. The demonstrations continued for the next two days. Black and Coloured (mixed-race) workers and students in South Africa have risen up time and again against the slave-like conditions imposed on them by the minority white ruling class's apartheid system. For instance, last spring students organized a nationwide school boycott, thousands of workers struck for better pay and legalization of their unions, while militant anti-apartheid demonstrations broke out all over the country.

The Soweto township outside Johannesburg has been one of the main centers of this struggle. In June 1976 it was the site of the greatest anti-apartheid rebellion in South African history. Since then Black people in South Africa have marked June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto uprising, with strikes and demonstrations against white rule. The following letter was written by a Torch/La Antorcha reader who recently visited Soweto. It gives a picture of the conditions Black people face in carrying out their fight for liberation.

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

Yesterday I went to Soweto. I went on a tour conducted by the West Rand Administration Board, which is the government agency that administers the Black townships surrounding Johannesburg. The tour is very difficult to get on, but it is the only way a white visitor can get into Soweto.

I knew of course that the guide would show us only the "best" parts of Soweto, and would tell us only the things calculated to make us think at the end of the tour that "it's not as bad as I expected." But with careful looking and questioning, a lot of revealing facts came through. It was every bit as bad as I expected, and worse.

Soweto stands for South Western Townships. It lies immediately outside of Johannesburg, about 10 miles from the center of the city. Only whites are permitted to live in Johannesburg itself. Blacks, so-called Coloured (people of mixed race) and Indians, the other three "official" race groups, must live in separate townships outside the city.

Soweto is by far the largest Black township in the Johannesburg area. There are about 900,000 legal residents, that is, people who have government permits to live in Soweto. It is generally accepted that another 400,000 "illegals" live in Soweto, in constant fear of arrest. (Half of South Africa's huge prison popula-

tion is there for Pass Law violations. All Black adults must carry a pass, which is the government's method for regulating where Black people

contract workers, seven for men, two for women, many of whom actually have families in the countryside. The hostels are far worse than the



A typical Soweto household.

live and work—indeed, their every move.)

These 1,300,000 people are jammed into an area of 34 square miles, or less than six miles by six miles. There are 110,000 houses packed together, most having only two small rooms. That means an average of 11 people per tiny house. As crowded and depressing as these conditions are, many people try to make their houses pretty with flowers and ornamental doors.

In addition, there are nine hostels for 50,000 "single"

worst army barracks, and residents have only a bunk in a huge dormitory, and a cabinet for a few personal possessions.

The houses are little more than walls, floor, and roof. Only 25 percent have electricity. Most houses are on dirt roads which turn to mud in the rainy season. The vast majority of houses have no running water. People must fetch water with buckets from a pipe that runs behind the

houses. Primitive outhouses are also in back. Most people use coal for fuel. In the evening, when the workers have returned from Johannesburg and are preparing their supper, a heavy blanket of unhealthy coal smoke hangs over Soweto.

Every few hundred feet is a huge tower topped with floodlights that point in every direction. These lights are on all night—the sky is never dark in Soweto, though 75 percent of the homes have no electricity. This constant illumination is for police control of the population. As you might suspect, the authorities say it is for safety and the apprehension of criminals.

Despite the horrible conditions in Soweto, 33,000 families are on the waiting list for houses in Soweto, because life in the countryside is far more difficult.

Soweto is basically the sleeping quarters for Johannesburg's productive workforce. In the morning virtually all adults board extremely crowded buses and trains for the city, where they are the factory, street and construction workers, miners and domestic servants. The whites for the most part are the idle capitalists, white collar government workers (there is a huge government bureaucracy), shopkeepers, and office and clerical workers. In short, they are the owners and managers. There is little overlap between the Black and white workforces, and where Blacks and whites do have the same jobs, such as in the mines, or as store clerks, the Blacks earn a fraction of what the whites earn for the same work.

Most houses and apartment buildings in Johannesburg have tiny sleeping quarters for domestic servants, so that they can clean up for their "masters" after dinner at

night, and have breakfast ready first thing in the morning. All Blacks, however, must have a residence in a designated Black group area outside the city.

Soweto has little to offer its residents other than a place to sleep. The schools and nurseries can accommodate only a small percentage of the children, there are very inadequate medical facilities for the well over a million people, and recreation facilities are virtually non-existent. There are two movie theaters in all of Soweto, and Blacks are barred from the theaters in Johannesburg!

Shopping facilities in Soweto are also extremely scarce. Residents are forced to buy virtually everything they need from white merchants in the city. Furthermore, Blacks may not own land in Soweto, or anywhere else in South Africa for that matter.

The population of South Africa is approximately 69 percent Black, 18 percent white, 10 percent mixed-race, and three percent Indian. Yet, the white ruling class defines this as a white country! There is a scheme currently in progress to assign all 17 million Blacks to "homelands" that consist of 13 percent of the land, mostly arid and inaccessible, without industry, and under South African control. It is part of a continuing strategy to deny Blacks every political and economic right.

The masses of Black people in South Africa have no stake whatsoever in the maintenance of this particularly brutal and racist version of capitalism. At this point, the white ruling class is able to maintain its rule through technology, weaponry, a huge repressive state apparatus like police and jails, and most importantly, the support of the U.S., Israel, and the capitalist

(Continued on next page)

Workers pay for industrialization

No mistake, the costs of industrialization are to be completely by the ruling class. Whether we come from our homes to work for their plants or from our jobs to make automation and we have to pay. We go through drastically reduced and local services and more of our tax are given directly to the U.S. Steel and others to provide capital for reindustrialization.

Workers all over this country are facing the death of their lives. The people of Poland have shown courage and staying power in this round. If we lose, it will not be because we didn't fight. As we write, the edge Main plant has been reduced to a field of rubble. Some rocks in Poletown are abandoned, with the houses stripped everything with any value. The city has cut services to the residents who remain, hoping to force them to move and end the resistance. Some people still in the neighborhood nowhere to go at afford to move; use to leave. Many red people in Poland fixed incomes in are paid for. The lot offering them to buy replacement and they cannot afford mortgage payments. In the outcome, people receiving a brutal on how this system who it works for. Persons will not be for-

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Soweto...

(Continued from last page)
powers of Western Europe.

It's hard to tell how extensive the revolutionary movement is at this point, because it is necessarily underground or based in neighboring countries. But we can be sure it is growing and preparing itself for war against the capitalist class and its government. The revolutionary forces will surely have the overwhelming support of the Black population. An interesting question is how members of the other racial groups will side.

I think the vast majority of whites will side with the apartheid government. They are totally corrupted by the benefits they receive from the apartheid system. They know that their high standard of living is based on the wealth created by the exploitation of Black labor, and they don't want to give it up. They are steeped in racist ideology and mythology.

The lowest paid white workers make more than the highest paid Black workers. The capitalist government has

made a deal with white workers. Through preferential hiring laws, there is always a job for a white worker even though a Black worker would do the job for less pay. The Black reserve army of labor is not used against the white workers in the way it is in the U.S. Instead of saying to the white workers: "Take what we give you or you can be replaced," the South African ruling class says: "Side with us against the Blacks and we will guarantee you a job and a good standard of living."

The white workers in South Africa have accepted the deal, and are in the unusual position of being junior partners with the capitalist class in a real material sense. It is my belief that no section of the white population will side with the revolutionary Black masses. Only scattered individuals who have somehow managed to escape the wholesale moral and political corruption of the white population will join or support the revolutionary forces.

The mixed-race and Indian

groups, far fewer in number than the Blacks, are in somewhat of a middle position. On the one hand they are lumped together with Blacks as "non-white," and are therefore denied basic political rights. Their standard of living is far closer to that of the Blacks than to that of the whites. They suffer discrimination at every turn. People of mixed race and Indians, like Blacks, are forced to live in defined "group areas," cannot use places of public accommodation such as bathrooms, restaurants, hotels, buses and trains, libraries, beaches, etc., that are reserved for "whites only." They cannot vote and are severely limited in employment and educational opportunities.

On the other hand, one can point to ways in which mixed-race people and particularly Indians are to a degree better off than the Blacks. There is no plan such as the Black homeland scheme to deprive mixed-race people and Indians of South African citizenship. Indians have a universality, which allows for some an entry into the business, professional or academic world. And a small segment of

the Indian population, which is only three percent of the South African population to begin with, has achieved a level of middle class comfort primarily by operating small shops.

Certain sections of the ruling class, such as the Verligte (enlightened) wing of the ruling Nationalist Party, and the liberal Progressive Federal Party, are openly wondering whether some type of limited franchise, probably based on wealth, education, or some other type of "merit," should not be extended to the mixed-race and Indian populations. This can be seen as an attempt to win away from the Blacks important potential allies in struggle.

In the coming years of intensifying racial conflict, therefore, some mixed-race people and Indians may side with white reaction, while the majority will probably side with the Black Revolution. This splitting of loyalties is based on such factors as economic and language differences, slight gains in or promises of political rights, racial prejudice, etc.

If a few people of mixed race and Indians have come to feel they have a stake in the maintenance of the apartheid system, however, I think the vast majority understand that the same capitalists who have based their tremendous wealth and power on the most grotesque institutionalization

of white supremacy, will never undermine their position, by granting any semblance of freedom for non-whites. Because of their bitter experience with racial oppression, I believe that for the most part the mixed-race and Indian people will ally with the Blacks.

The Blacks, people of mixed race, and Indians of South Africa are wage slaves in the most naked sense of the term. They literally own nothing but their ability to work, and it is almost entirely by their labor that the wealth of South Africa is created. It is the basic injustice of capitalism, never seen so clearly as in South Africa, that those who do the work are robbed of the fruits of their labor. The non-white workers lead lives of toil, poverty, and racist discrimination and terror. The whites, capitalist and bought-off worker alike, who enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world, are as a whole a bunch of racist, whip-cracking, non-productive slave masters, enjoying their loot.

In South Africa, the capitalist-worker relationship has a couple of twists of its own—the wholesale bribery of an entire section of workers, and the starkest racial division of society. But basically it is the same exploitation and racism that capitalism means everywhere.

Sheena Gall Levine

Miners...

(Continued from page 13)
attacks taking place on a host of fronts.

In addition, many rank and file labor conferences are being organized around the country to address issues such as plant closings and wage cuts. Delegations of miners could attend these conferences, explaining their struggle, requesting support and offering their solidarity with other workers' struggles.

A mass march on the Pentagon against budget cuts, racist violence, the draft and stepped-up U.S. war plans is scheduled for May 3. Contingents of miners could attend the demonstration, again to seek support for their own struggle, but also to broaden and strengthen the growing nationwide movement against

war, racism, budget cuts and the draft.

Similarly, in cities across the country, working people are organizing and demonstrating against budget cuts, the murders of young Blacks in Atlanta, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and similar issues. It's important that these people give concrete support to the miners and, at the same time, for the striking miners to give solidarity and support to these struggles.

In sum, beginning with the miners—but extending to the organized labor movement as a whole—it is essential to forge a united movement of all workers, organized and unorganized, to fight the growing bosses' offensive. The miners are in a position to play an important role in beginning to

build this movement, a role which can also help to win victory in the coalfields.

There are those who may argue that this kind of approach seems "wild-eyed" or "unrealistic." Some may say that this is not the way strikes have been carried out and won in the past. In our opinion, far from being unrealistic, it is urgent that the organized labor movement, beginning with its most militant sections, adopt the kind of program of action suggested here. Only if the labor movement can build this kind of militant, class-wide unity will working people be able to defend themselves in the coming period.

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