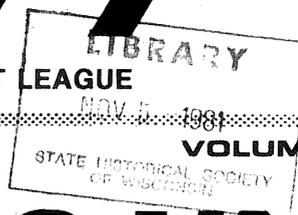


TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

OCTOBER 15-NOVEMBER 14, 1981

VOLUME 8, NUMBER 9/25¢



Congress Opens Debate on Anti-Abortion Measures



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Where Is the Iranian Revolution Heading?



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Jamaican Gov't Threatens Left

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SECCION
EN
ESPAÑOL

UNIONS UNDER ATTACK

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- Philadelphia Teachers Strike Over Contract Violations
- PATCO Faces Decertification Bid

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What Is 'Reaganism'? How Can We Fight It?

The following is a position paper, slightly edited for space reasons, written by the Revolutionary Socialist League for the All Peoples Congress to be held in Detroit, October 16-18.

Ronald Reagan has launched an offensive against poor and working people that is more far-reaching, systematic and ruthless than anything seen in decades. From school lunches to welfare, from the right to abortion to affirmative action, the basic needs and rights of millions of people in this country are today under attack.

At the same time, Reagan is dumping billions of dollars into B-1 bombers, MX missile systems, Rapid Deployment Forces and the like—a program of militarism and war that threatens the very existence of all of humanity.

Slowly, but definitely, a movement to oppose these policies is growing. Across the country, coalitions to oppose the budget cuts have formed. A half million people marched in the streets of Washington, D.C., on Solidarity Day to protest the Reagan program. Philadelphia teachers are on strike, as are the air traffic controllers and other workers.

Thousands of young people have refused to register for the draft. Tens of thousands of people have marched against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. And, around the world, millions are demonstrating against the Reagan program of nuclear holocaust.

How can this fightback be turned into a united, powerful, mass movement that can successfully defeat the Reagan program? This is the most urgent question facing us at this weekend's meeting of the All Peoples Congress.

We hope that the following thoughts will help to move this important discussion forward.

I. What is 'Reaganism'?

To build the movement we need, we must first know what it is we are fighting. What is "Reaganism"?

Reaganism is the policy of the majority of the U.S. ruling class—the corporate owners, bankers and politicians who own the wealth of this country and run its political system.

The attacks we are facing are not the



result of Reagan having won the 1980 elections. While this may appear to be the case, there are really deeper, more fundamental reasons why a full-scale assault on working and oppressed people is underway.

The main reason for these attacks is that the capitalist system itself is in an acute and deepening crisis. The U.S. economy is now entering its second recession in two years. Major industries—auto, steel, housing, even the banks—are tottering on the brink of collapse. Inflation is high. Millions are unemployed. The cities are falling apart.

This is not a temporary or short-term crisis; it is not a matter of a couple of bad years, soon to be followed by a return to so-called good times. We are in the beginning stages of a deep, long-

(Continued on page 10)

**our
readers
write...**

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

Reader praises TORCH, reports on draft resistance

Dear Friends,

I am a draft-age young man, or as a friend recently put it, a resistance-age young man. I have refused to register, based on a deep commitment to non-violence. I am now wrapped up in organizing draft resistance with several others here in Berkeley.

I've had friends in RSL for a

while and have been reading **Torch/La Antorcha** closely for the last several months. I must say I find the **Torch** informative, stimulating, educational, respectable and helpful in working out my own views. Those articles which distinguish RSL from other left groups are especially good (**Torch**, Sept. 15-Oct. 14, 1981, "Activists Question PAM's Direction"; "RSL vs. CWP: Opposing Views on Socialism and Revolution," for example). Thanks and keep up the good work.

Enclosed please also find a write-up on recent draft resistance activities here. Feel free to publish it in the **Torch**!

Sincerely,
Paul Trudeau

**A Report on the West Coast
Resistance Gathering
By Aaron Weinstein
and Paul Trudeau**

On September 26 and 27, nonregistrants and their supporters gathered together in Berkeley for the West Coast Resistance Gathering of 1981. As the Gathering convened early Saturday morning, the mood was immediately festive. Carloads of nonregistrants began to arrive from Diablo Canyon, bringing with them messages and stories of solidarity. Informal workshops on legal issues, feminism, outreach, civil disobedience, and other subjects, along with a presentation by Vietnam-era draft resisters and the showing of the Women's Pentagon Action film, filled the day's activities.

After adjourning for Sunday's picket of the Jack Tar Hotel in San Francisco, where Salvadorean junta leader José Napoleón Duarte spent the weekend, the Gathering closed with a picnic in Lafayette Park.

During the course of the weekend, draft resisters, including over 25 public nonregistrants, from Oregon, Washington, California, and Colorado, had built a human, supportive foundation for the growing West Coast resistance network. A more tangible outcome of the Gathering was the establishment of a West Coast resistance newsletter and phone tree. Given that the Justice Department will be likely to initiate prosecutions of nonregistrants within the next several months, the Gathering served as a vital step in building solidarity among resisters.

The West Coast Resistance Gathering was an idea hatched at the Rainbow Gathering in Washington earlier in the summer. It was organized and hosted by Berkeley Resistance,

along with help and guidance from War Resisters League-West, the National Resistance Committee, and many other organizations and individuals. The success of the Gathering, however, was largely due to the creative input of all the participants.

Berkeley Resistance and other resisters from the Bay Area have announced their intention to begin a campaign of local outreach, possibly building towards another Gathering later in the fall or next spring. Another project of Berkeley Resistance is the Draft Resisters Defense Fund of the Bay Area, which held its first benefit concert Tuesday, October 6, at La Peña Cultural Center in Berkeley. For more information on resistance, call (415) 549-1719.

Salvadorean in U.S. prison faces deportation

Dear Torch:

I am one prisoner inside the Wisconsin state prison and very shortly ago another prisoner passed on to me a copy of the **Torch**. I am very impressed with this newspaper and I would like to request a free subscription following notice in the paper that you do provide these subscriptions to those of us in prison who do not have money to buy them.

I wish to take this opportunity to ask for certain information regarding either support or assistance from someone who is a professional in the area of asylum. I am a native of El Salvador and the immigration of this country is going to deport me to El Salvador unless I can obtain some sort of stay or asylum based on the present conditions in my country at this moment. You probably know that the immigration of this country delivers Salvadorean citizens to the national police or national guard of El Salvador to be killed because members of these government bodies make up the dead-squads whenever they go out to murder civilians in the city or in the countryside. If you have any information as to where I might get some form of assistance with this it will be appreciated.

I thank you for your help and for the newspaper.
**Solidarnosc,
Name withheld,
Waupun, WI**

In memory of Carl Harp...

As we reported last month, **Carl Harp**, a revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was found dead in his cell in the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla on September 5. The prison keepers claim that Carl committed suicide; all evidence, however, points to murder. Below is one of the last letters we received from Carl, dated August 21, two weeks before his death.

Dear Friends,

Haven't seen the paper since May so assume you never received change of address notice. Made it back to Walla Walla June 11, 1981. Thank all of you for your support around that struggle. Many exiles have been returned due to legal action and community support, but a few are still exiled.

Situation here not good. Since my return they have steadily been trying to put me in a cross with the population and on August 13, 1981, a prisoner told me that two guards approached him and his friends and tried to arrange a hit on me in exchange for dope and favors. On August 14, 1981, after discussion with friends and their approval, I made my best, in our opinion, defensive and at the same time offensive move. I placed myself in protective custody in an attempt to expose the play to population and outside. On August 16, 1981, a sympathetic guard told me that guards had another contract on me. He also said it was on others, but did not know who they were. You should receive a copy of my "Open Letter to Inside and Out" on this soon, but it basically says the above. My outside support in Seattle is driving on state to have me transferred to McNeil Island (new state prison). Before this move was made I requested this transfer for a change, family problems and between us to be next to civilization (my support in Portland, Tacoma and Seattle, plus lawyers). I am pretty tired, but doing o.k. Not in protective custody proper so far. They

have me on A-tier on P.C. status in segregation. State did not expect this move and things are a little warm and growing hot for them. So far no negative attitudes to my knowledge in population. All I've spoken with understand my move and agree in my situation best one here. Didn't like making it, but got a winning hand and intend to keep it. Will keep you up on situation.

Working on an article I hope you all will print around fascism here. Not good and getting worse. Trying to provoke riot. Anyway, here I am and hope you all are o.k. there. Still love you.

Love & Rage,
Carl Harp

To the Editor:

No words of mine could convey how much the murder of Carl Harp hurt me, and I'm sure other members and friends of the RSL, who came to love him for the humanity and the hatred of oppression expressed in his letters and articles. I thought our readers would be interested in these words of

Carl's, from an article he wrote for the **Torch/La Antorcha** in 1977 on gays in prison. (Carl was not gay.) This is the best epitaph I know for Carl. The excerpt is from the end of the article.

"Very few gays are Con wise and can handle it. No one really survives it. To be any kind of human being is to never forget what you saw all around you or to forget what happened to you.

"Sometimes a human being stands up and speaks out. The majority of prisoners respect this man and if he is right on they will stand with him. Many times he dies alone having stood up at the wrong time. The pigs fear this man and they isolate or kill him.

"Many such men exist, many more are rising up, and among the gays there are those who struggle to fight the sexism in the prisons. We, they, need help and support from the community to win. We fight mostly ignorance among the prisoners, and cold-blooded capitalism with the pigs. Only with numbers can we deal with both."
In respectful memory,
Chris Hudson
New York

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Jama

Below we are reprinting a press release from the organization in Jamaica, the Revolutionary Marxist League, which reports that the ruling Jamaican Labour Party, which ousted the liberal People's National Party (PNP) last October 30, is now cracking down on left-wing activity on the island. Since receiving the press release, we have been informed that in September the police interrogated the chairman of the Youth Organization, Paul Burke, who was subsequently released. The government has claimed that Burke was involved in "proving" the existence of a terrorist network in Jamaica.

On Wednesday, September 23, 1981, the Minister of State for Spaulding, made his contribution to the second sectoral debate in the House of Representatives. In his speech, Spaulding targeted the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) and the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPAJ), which are active left-wing tendencies in the country today. To justify this, Spaulding and other government spokesmen have argued that the left is responsible for crime, social disorder, and economic subversion and economic stagnation in Jamaica. As before, no alternative has been offered to substitute for the current government because none exists.

The Revolutionary Marxist League wishes to state categorically that it has no way involved in planning or carrying out any violence within the society.

Spaulding said sectoral debate "stultifying the sub-

ing or carrying out any violence within the society. Mr. Spaulding. The Revolutionary Marxist League is neither a criminal organization. We are a Marxist organization of the

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APR 27 MAY 24
NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE
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IN WATERFORD

Newspaper of the Revolutionary
League of Jamaica

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Jamaican Gov't Threatens Left

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held,
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Below we are reprinting an important press release from the RSL's sister organization in Jamaica, the Revolutionary Marxist League. The RML reports that the ruling right-wing capitalist Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), which ousted the liberal capitalist People's National Party (PNP) in elections last October 30, is now launching a crackdown on left-wing forces on the island. Since receiving this press release, we have been informed that in late September the police picked up and interrogated the chairman of the PNP's Youth Organization, Paul Burke. While Burke was subsequently released, the government has claimed that they found tapes and letters in his possession further "proving" the existence of a pro-Cuba terrorist network in Jamaica.

On Wednesday, September 23, Security and Justice Minister, Mr. Winston Spaulding, made his contribution to the second sectoral debate in the House of Representatives. In that speech Mr. Spaulding targeted the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) and the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ), the two active left-wing tendencies in Jamaica today. To justify this he has repeated and elaborated the charges made by other government spokesmen that the left is responsible for crime, terrorism, subversion and economic disruption in Jamaica. As before, no real evidence has been offered to substantiate this charge, because none exists.

The Revolutionary Marxist League wishes to state categorically that it is in no way involved in planning, encourag-

Spaulding said security efforts would be aimed at "stultifying the subversives and nullifying them."

ing or carrying out any acts of crime or violence within the society as charged by Mr. Spaulding. The Revolutionary Marxist League is neither a terrorist nor criminal organization. We are a communist organization of the working class



of almost seven years standing. Our goal is the building of a communist workers' party. A party that can lead the broad masses of working people in Jamaica and elsewhere in a successful struggle to throw off the shackles of capitalist and imperialist exploitation and achieve true freedom, dignity and economic development.

To this end, the League carries out political education and organization among working and oppressed people in order to strengthen and advance their struggles against capitalist exploitation

publishing an article (one article!) which "appears 'inflammatory,' aimed at 'promoting criminal disorder' and 'having a deliberate systematic build up to promote criminal, terrorist and guerrilla disorder in the country.'"

The specific article to which he refers was entitled "Police Terror Increasing in Waterford" and appeared in the April/May 1981 issue of *Forward* (No. 47). The article pointed to an increase in incidents of terror against the residents of the Waterford Community by members of the police force since the general elections. It reported the police killing of a youth from Waterford, Clive Lindsay, and it called for the community to mobilize through its citizens' associations and youth groups for armed community self-defence against brutality and terror from police, reactionary terrorists and lawless elements.

Our position demanding that the working people should be armed through their trade unions, community groups and other mass-based organizations against violence from the police or other sources is not new. It is a position

He said an article in a publication of the Revolutionary Marxist League was inflammatory and intended to incite criminal action.

ciety. We explain that genuine and lasting betterment for the vast masses of poor people will only come when they hold the reins of power themselves. All this work is entirely public and legitimate.

The only specific arguments that Mr. Spaulding has put forward to back up the extremely grave charges that he has levelled against the Revolutionary Marxist League is that we are guilty of



Clive Lindsay, 18, shot dead by police.

had armed vigilante squads to make sure that the suffering people from the ghettos keep out of their neighborhoods.

Also, during the wave of reactionary violence in 1976, it was only through armed community self-defence that the people of Greenwich Town and other areas, PNP and JLP together, were able to protect their communities from right-wing terrorists and thugs. This was done by the people themselves without any involvement by the RML or any other left group. The truth is that there is absolutely nothing in *Forward* No. 47 or any other issue of *Forward*, or any activity of the RML, to justify Mr. Spaulding's branding the RML as a terrorist group.

However, from the day it took power the JLP has voiced its determination to "eradicate radicalism" from the society, that is, crush left-wing and especially communist views. After almost a year, the "deliverance" it promised the working masses is still pie in the sky. In fact, things are continuing to get steadily worse: unemployment is rising; prices and rents are going up; police terror against communities and individuals continues; and attacks on the rights of

working people, e.g., the right to strike and take other forms of industrial action (such as the sickout), are increasing. Consequently, increasing numbers of working people and even sections of the capitalists are becoming dissatisfied with the JLP regime. The regime is, therefore, increasingly afraid to allow criticism of its rule and is searching around for scapegoats for its failures. This is why Spaulding and the JLP regime are now moving to wipe

out the Revolutionary Marxist League and the Workers' Party of Jamaica. In other words, Spaulding proposes to move beyond the current police harassment of WPJ members to smash the WPJ and RML altogether.

But neither detentions, assassinations, nor imprisonment will stop the communists of the Revolutionary Marxist League from continuing our struggle for working class liberation.

We call on working people, especially those organized in the trade unions, to begin organizing for demonstrations, rallies, sympathy strikes and other forms of protest against the bankrupt JLP regime's efforts to crush the RML, WPJ and other leftists. For this regime intends to crush workers and their organizations, like the trade unions, as well as communists and leftists.

In particular, we urge the Workers' Party of Jamaica, leftists in the People's National Party Youth Organization and elsewhere to join with us in building united front action against the JLP's campaign of repression of the left. For Mr. Spaulding and the JLP are opposed to all left-wing forces in the country, not just the RML and WPJ.

**Executive Committee
Revolutionary Marxist League**

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FORWARD

APR 27 - MAY 26
NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE, JAMAICA

(POLICE TERROR INCREASING
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NEARLY HALF OF NUCLEAR PLANTS IN U.S. SHOWN TO BE DEFECTIVE

By RANDY CONRAD

The nuclear power industry in the United States has been rocked in recent weeks by a series of disclosures that highlight the dangers of nuclear power.

The most sensational revelations concern the Diablo Canyon reactor I in California. On September 30, Pacific Gas & Electric, which owns the Diablo Canyon facility, admitted that the reactor was built with insufficient earthquake protection, even though it is just a few miles from an undersea fault line. The problem stems from errors in construction—the company that is building Diablo Canyon followed blueprints for a second, uncompleted reactor when building reactor I, and didn't notice the error until they had finished the plant!

The error affects most of the key emergency cooling systems that are supposed to protect the reactor in case of serious accidents. Because of the blueprint switch, the supports for water pipes in the emergency cooling system are inadequate. The cable supports for electronic control of the reactor and for the emergency monitors are inadequate. Five other safety systems that relate to cooling and fueling of the reactor are also affected.

The result is a nuclear time bomb sitting in a major earthquake zone, waiting to go off.

Before the latest disclosures, Pacific Gas & Electric had approval from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to start up the reactor. The NRC is now looking into the construction errors. The commission will decide whether to allow the utility to start up the reactor.

Blueprint for disaster

But the recent problems of the nuclear power industry go far beyond the Diablo Canyon reactor. After all, the utilities can claim that Diablo Canyon would be safe if only the correct blueprint had been used. However, other problems have surfaced that show that the basic design of nuclear reactors is flawed and unsafe.

The theory behind nuclear

power plants is that each reactor will produce electric power safely and with only minimal upkeep and repair for 40 years. But after less than 10 years of operations, 17 of 50 operating reactors in the U.S. have serious rust problems and 13 of 50 have extremely brittle steel reactor vessels. These problems are designed right into the reactors from the beginning.

The reactor brittleness is the more serious problem. In order to understand why, it is necessary to explain a little of how a reactor works.

The heart of a power plant is the radioactive nuclear core. This core is surrounded by a steel reactor vessel. The vessel has to hold in the radioactivity of the nuclear reaction and the water that cools the reactor core at extremely high temperatures and high pressure. If the reactor vessel were to break, the water would escape, the reactor core would overheat and melt

down. A nuclear disaster would result.

If the reactor vessel is brittle, it is much more likely to crack during, for example, a minor shutdown of the reactor. In a minor shutdown, cold water pours into the reactor vessel, cooling the core from 550 to 280 degrees. This rapid temperature change could cause a brittle reactor vessel to fracture.

As has been revealed, the steel vessels in 13 reactors around the country have been seriously weakened by the constant nuclear bombardment from the core. Most of these plants may have to shut down in one or two years, after only 10 years in operation, because of the risk of core meltdown.

Ten years is a far cry from the 40 years of safe operation!

Seventeen of 50 nuclear plants are also affected by rust in the steam generation pipes that carry highly radioactive water. These plants include

Small Turnout for Diablo Canyon Blockade—But Construction Flaws Halt Start-Up



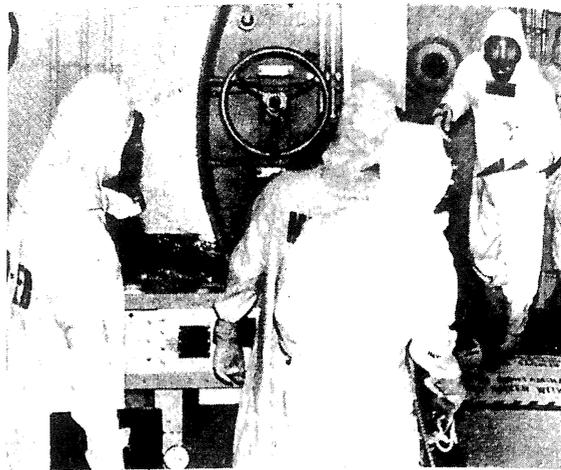
Women protesters block bus carrying construction workers at Diablo Canyon.

By ALBERT LARY

A long-awaited blockade of Diablo Canyon, the world's most controversial nuclear power plant, moved into gear on September 10 when a Nuclear Regulatory Commission appeals board approved a security plan for the \$2.3 billion California facility. The anti-nuclear group, Abalone Alliance, immediately called on its support-

ers to gather near the plant and prepare for a massive land and sea blockade to prevent a series of low-energy start-up tests.

Construction of Diablo Canyon was begun by the Pacific Gas & Electric Company (PG&E) over 14 years ago. The licensing process alone has taken nearly 10 years, during which the projected costs of the plant have quadrupled. So far, not a single kilowatt of electricity has



Technicians inspect damage at Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear plant in Harrisburg, PA. Near-disaster at TMI in 1979 exposed myth of "safe" nuclear power.

Indian Point 3, just outside of New York City. Four plants have already had to be shut down for major multi-million dollar repairs to their steam generation systems. Others may have to close this year or next.

This too is a far cry from 40 years of safe operation.

Too many regulations?

The latest revelations prove beyond a doubt that the nuclear industry is incapable of designing and operating safe nuclear plants. But they have not dented the pro-nuclear Reagan administration.

One week after the problems at Diablo Canyon were announced, the Reagan government specified the steps it will take to revive the nuclear power industry. Blaming the problems of the industry on too much government regulation, Reagan said on October 8: "Nuclear power has become entangled in a morass of regulations that do not enhance safety but do cause extensive licensing delays and economic uncertainty." Among other actions, Reagan ordered the Department of Energy to speed up the licensing process for proposed and new nuclear plants. This could put 33 more nuclear plants—nuclear time bombs—into operation over the next few years. □

been produced. And for good reason.

Diablo Canyon sits on a beach cliff overlooking the Pacific Ocean, 15 miles from San Luis Obispo, on the central California coast. Two and one-half miles offshore is an active earthquake fault, a branch of the famous San Andreas fault system. Opponents claim that the plant could not withstand a major earthquake and that no adequate plans exist to cope with a nuclear emergency.

Unlike a 1978 protest at Diablo which no-nuke organizers called "more of a symbolic action," this one was supposed to be for real. Up to 30,000 people were expected to invade the power plant property in waves—through the front gate, over mountainous trails, and by sea. The goal was to get as many people as possible near the plant in order to disrupt its operations and prevent the start-up tests. Optimistic organizers talked about clogging the local court system as non-violent blockad-

ers accepted arrest, then returned to do it again. Some claimed the action would continue for months.

The response turned out to be much less than expected, however, and despite 2,000 protesters and 1,900 arrests, the blockade never went beyond a symbolic, media-oriented game of manners with the police.

Over 800 state police, sheriff's deputies and National Guardsmen were mobilized to stop the blockade, and Abalone Alliance leaders worked closely with them. To ensure an entirely peaceful action, all blockaders were required to undergo a six-hour class in non-violent training, promise not to resist arrest or fight back if attacked, and agree to be searched for drugs and weapons. No political rallies were allowed at the protesters' campground 15 miles from the plant, and security was very tight. Sheriff's deputies were even invited to sit in on the

(Continued on page 16)

Defeat the 'H Congr Anti-

By PAT NELSON

Women's rights organization throughout the U.S. are gearing up for a major battle against the country's powerful right-wing movement.

The issue is women's right to abortion. Supporters of legalized abortion, who won a major victory in 1973 when the Supreme Court ruled that a woman had a constitutional right to have an abortion, are fighting to protect that right. Meanwhile, the zealots of the religious and moralistic right wing are seeking to get around the courts with legislation that would make abortion murder.

On October 5, the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on the Constitution began hearings on the so-called Human Life Amendment (HLA). The amendment states "The paramount right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization without regard to age, health or condition of dependency."

These 25 words, if they become law, will force hundreds of thousands of women to go through with unwanted pregnancies—even ones that are the result of rape, ones that have a high probability of producing infants with severe birth defects, or ones that could result in the deaths of the women themselves.

Women's other option should the HLA pass, would be illegal abortions—with all the accompanying safety risks and the possibility of being hit with murder charges if they are

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Defeat the 'Human Life' Amendment!

Congress Opens Debate on Anti-Abortion Measures

By PAT NELSON

Women's rights organizations throughout the U.S. are gearing up for a major battle against the country's powerful right-wing movement.

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Women's other option, should the HLA pass, would be illegal abortions—with all the accompanying safety risks and the possibility of being hit with murder charges if they are

found out.

All this because a minority of self-righteous people say that God has told them that abortion is murder and that it is their duty to force this belief on all of society!

THE right-wing forces, including the "right-to-lifers" and the Moral Majority, got a huge boost from the election of Ronald Reagan. Believing they have the "mandate of the American people," they have built a coordinated, far-reaching offensive which has resulted in attacks on welfare recipients, unemployed people,

proved by the Senate Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), a member of that subcommittee, voted for the amendment. Hatch, a long-time opponent of abortion, has called the current hearings in the constitutional subcommittee which he chairs. He has said that he has doubts about the constitutionality of Congress deciding by law when life begins. In fact, he and other right-wing politicians fear that the HLA is too extreme to pass. Or if it does make it through Congress that it will fail to be

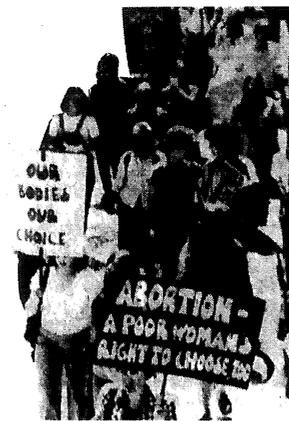
circumstances. While many of these people do not personally believe in abortion, they do feel it is a matter of choice.

In an attempt to keep the momentum on the side of the conservatives, Hatch has introduced a "compromise" amendment which would give "Congress and the Several States" the power to regulate or prohibit abortion. This would take abortion rights out of the jurisdiction of the courts. Then Congress and the state legislatures could pass anti-abortion laws by a simple majority vote instead of the two-thirds required for a constitutional amendment.

IT'S NOT that Hatch has changed his position on abortion. He and his cohorts are still deadly enemies of women's rights. But they are not prepared right now for an all-out war over the HLA—and it is becoming evident that that is what there will be.

Women's rights groups that have been organizing against the HLA are not being fooled by this so-called compromise. They know that if this bill passes and the states get jurisdiction, the right-wing forces will gear up to get abortion outlawed state by state. (We have seen the results of their high-pressure tactics in the fight for the ERA.)

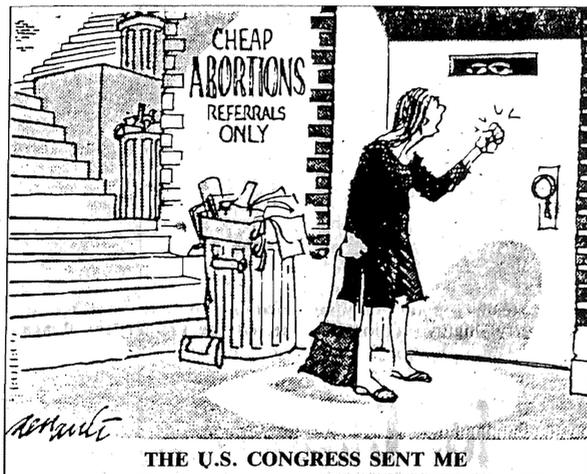
These suspicions are confirmed by the president of the National Right-to-Life Committee, Dr. John Willke. "The suggested scenario," he says, "holds that once the nation has become used to living without the freedom to abort [after abortion has been outlawed in most



states), then we would come back with the 'human life' amendment and lock it in." (New York Times, 9/22/81)

But this "compromise" has widened the split which has been developing within the right wing. Many of the far-right anti-abortion forces view Hatch's bill as a sellout of their principles. These single-issue people want the HLA, period! Anything else, they fear, would make the right look weaker and dim their chances of success.

WE cannot allow ourselves to get over-confident about the divisions within the right-wing movement. We must take this opportunity to build the forces on the side of women's right to choose. It is important for the women's movement to link up with others who are the targets of the right-wing attacks—Blacks, Latins, Asians, lesbians and gays, youth and the elderly, the unions and the unemployed. The right wing is discovering that single-issue politics weakens the struggle and we must learn that lesson too. Working and oppressed people are being attacked by a unified force and we must pull our forces together and fight back. If we do, we can take the initiative away from the right and build momentum to push back the attacks. □



those on social security, the unions, undocumented workers, gay people and workers and oppressed people in general. Now the focus is again on abortion.

Last July, the HLA was ap-

proved by the necessary 38 states.

According to recent opinion polls, the majority of people in the U.S. believe that women should have the right to abortion, at least under certain cir-

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Black woman acquitted in shooting of racist

Annie Small, a Black woman from Cincinnati, Ohio, was acquitted this summer of all charges stemming from her self-defense shooting of an alleged member of the Ku Klux Klan last January 25. The racist, Clyde Henson, Jr., later died from his wounds. Small had been harassed by the Henson family for the more than 10 years she has lived in the mostly white section of Cincinnati. But the harassment grew worse last winter after Clyde Jr. returned from a stint in the Marines. Gasoline was ignited on her lawn and rocks were thrown at the house. Small's car was shot up with a BB gun and Clyde Jr. and a small group of his friends daily shouted insults at her.

On Sunday, January 25, Small asked Henson to move his van from where it was blocking Small's car in her driveway. He refused. Then he and his friends began pitching a football at Small's windows. When Small asked them to stop, Henson came to her doorway and shouted threats to kill her. He then bashed up the door and forced it open. Small warned him to go away, but instead he entered the house and again threatened to kill her. Small shot him.

Annie Small was originally charged with aggravated murder, but the charges were reduced to voluntary manslaughter. After a three-day jury trial she was acquitted. **Torch/La Antorcha** supporters in Cincinnati report, however, that the Henson family has continued to harass Small. In response, Small has asked for and received special police protection.

Appeals court rules on double-celling, strip searches

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit made two decisions last month of special importance to prisoners. On September 15, the court voted 6-3 to overrule a district court and allow double-celling and double-bunking in Maryland prisons. Since 1978, Maryland has been under federal court orders to relieve overcrowding in its prisons. The recent decision says, however, that because officials made a "good faith effort" to obey the order, and plan to house prisoners only in fairly modern prisons and dormitories, double-celling and double-bunking are okay.

The Fourth Circuit ruling follows a similar one by the Supreme Court last June. The Supreme Court was itself following and abetting a "lock-em-up" movement by the states. In the past four years, 37 states have passed mandatory sentencing laws, 15 states have passed laws eliminating parole for certain convictions, and four states have eliminated parole altogether. The result: In the first six months of 1981, the prison population grew by more than 20,000, as much as in all of 1980. It is now at a record high of 350,000.

Forced to choose between ordering the release of prisoners or allowing double-celling, the court concluded that "the Constitution does not mandate comfortable prisons" and that, except in "deplorable conditions," double-celling was permitted. The September 15 ruling is the first one to use the June decision as a precedent.

On October 8, a three-judge panel of the court ruled that the strip-search policy of the Arlington County sheriff "bore no discernable relationship to security needs" and "was conclusively shown to be unconstitutional." Until last December, the sheriff had strip-searched everyone put into the county jail—more than 4,600 people in 1980. According to the **Washington Post**, the strip-searching extended to people arrested for "playing a stereo too loudly or eating a sandwich on the subway." The procedure was ended under public pressure last year.

The ruling by the appeals court came on the case of Lucy Logan, an attorney arrested in March 1979 for drunken driving and refusing a breathalyzer test. "An indiscriminate strip-search policy routinely applied to detainees cannot be constitutionally justified simply on the basis of administrative ease in attending to security considerations," the court said. A district court will now decide whether Logan can collect monetary damages.

—WF

Black L.A. College Football Player Murdered by Cops

By BRUCE KALA

On the evening of June 2, Ron Settles, a 21-year-old Black man, was stopped for speeding by policeman Jerry Lee Brown, in Signal Hill, a middle class suburb of Long Beach, California. Witnesses saw Settles beaten without provocation, then arrested. In the Signal Hill booking cell, Settles was again brutally beaten. Before the night was over, Ron Settles was dead—supposedly a suicide, having hanged himself with his mattress cover—a "discovery" made by the very same officer Brown.

IT IS sad and outrageous, but there is nothing unusual in this story so far. The police have always held a license to kill and the current offensive by the ruling class is encouraging their terror. In nearby Los Angeles, city police have killed 11 people with choke holds alone in the last six years—a practice approved by the Supreme Court in September when it refused to grant an injunction against them. This same cop, Jerry Lee Brown, had already gotten away with murder once, seven years earlier.

BUT this time, things were different. Ron Settles was not another poor, unknown Black

whose murder could be easily covered over. He had won fame as the star running back of the Cal State Long Beach football team. His parents were able to afford to hire lawyers to press an investigation. As a result, some of the truth has come out.

Classmates, friends and professors from Cal State Long Beach organized Concerned Persons for Justice in the Ron Settles Murder. Demonstrations were held, denouncing the coverup and demanding justice. These protests, and the legal struggle by Settles' family lawyers, finally forced the government to hold an inquest to rule on the cause of death—after over two months of struggle.

At this hearing, witnesses to the arrest testified to the unprovoked beating. Prisoners from the Signal Hill jail came forth to testify that none of the cells even had mattress covers. Independent medical experts, hired by the Settles family, showed that his death may have come from a choke hold and revealed the many injuries he suffered. The inquest jury ruled on this evidence that Ron Settles had died at the hands of another.

This verdict has helped bring the truth to light, but it is still a long way from justice. Only after two weeks of stalling and another demonstration did the



Ron Settles.

District Attorney agree to take the case to the grand jury—which is still a step removed from filing charges against the Signal Hill cops. The District Attorney, John Van de Kamp, has already made it clear that he intends to make this a white-wash. He has offered immunity from prosecution to five of the six cops most implicated in the murder.

THE spokesperson for Concerned Persons for Justice in the Ron Settles Murder, Aman Rahh, has denounced this continuing coverup, demanding the immediate arrest of the cops involved, no immunity and the firing of the Signal Hill police chief, L.A. county coroner and other officials involved in the coverup. The group is planning to call for mass demonstrations against Van de Kamp. □

Prisoner briefs

On September 29, Reuters news service reported that 6,000 prisoners in Spanish jails, nearly a quarter of all those imprisoned in Spain, were on a hunger strike to protest prison conditions. A statement by prisoners in Barcelona's Modelo Prison, where the action started, said it would continue until a "qualified authority" publicly announced changes would take place within three months. We have no later reports.

On October 13, the Supreme Court declined to hear the case of **Ziad Abu Ein**, the Palestinian held for over two years in federal jail in Chicago because of a request from Israel for his extradition. Israeli officials accuse Abu Ein of being a terrorist; his supporters have evidence that strongly refutes the charge. Abu Ein's lawyer, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, says that efforts will now focus on the unlikely prospect that Israel will withdraw the extradition request or that Secretary of State Haig will deny it.

Two well known prisoners moved to better quarters this summer—under very different circumstances. **Dessie Woods**, imprisoned for defending herself from a rapist in 1975, was released July 9 and is now on a speaking tour. **Alfredo Mendez**, the Puerto Rican prisoner of war who disappeared from his cell in Pontiac, Illinois, last April, has reappeared. He has—as the government claimed at the time—turned state's evidence and is in the federal witness protection program. Mendez testified at a trial of one of the other 14 nationalists accused of being members of the FALN.

Muslim prisoners at Clinton Correctional Facility in New York report that they are being punished for gathering in the yard for afternoon prayers. They ask that letters of protest be sent to Commissioner Thomas Coughlin, State Office Building Campus, Albany, New York 12226. □

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Reagan Order

By executive order on September 29, President Reagan ordered the U.S. Coast Guard to stop ships in international waters which are suspected of carrying undocumented immigrants to this country. The order includes permission to fire weapons, if necessary, at ships which fail to halt for U.S. inspection. If undocumented immigrants are found aboard, the ship is to be forcibly returned to its point of origin. This order amounts to a call for widespread acts of U.S. piracy on the high seas.

THE order does not specify that ships of any particular national origin are to be stopped. But according to a White House spokesman, the order was designed primarily for use against Haitian refugees. Previously, the Coast Guard could only stop suspicious ships after they entered U.S. territorial waters. Without this restriction, a Coast Guard cutter has already taken up position off the Haitian coast.

More than 60,000 undocumented Haitian immigrants have entered the U.S. in the past 10 years and new arrivals are coming at the rate of 1,500 per month. Most Haitians make the 900-mile trip from their island nation to south Florida in small open boats, risking storms,

La Migra Spanish

Attacks by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) against undocumented immigrants continue at a high level in Los Angeles. Reports and rumors are circulating widely through the Latino community of almost-daily raids, street sweeps and atrocities. Latino immigrants are being picked up in restaurants, liquor stores, factories, and bus stops.

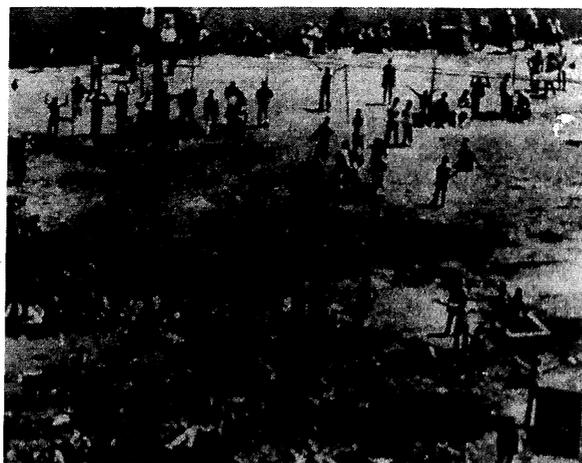
OCTAVIO Gómez, a staff photographer for L.A.'s Spanish-language daily, **La Opinión**, frequently covers INS activities for his newspaper. He was on the scene August 20 when a group of religious women briefly blocked an INS van carrying Salvadorean refugees to the airport for deportation. INS agents first tried to prevent him from photographing the incident, then demanded identification. When Gómez showed them his press credentials, they replied, "No, no, what's your citizenship?" Gómez, who is

Reagan Calls for Piracy on High Seas; Order Aimed at Haitian Refugees

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Guards at the Krome North detention center in Miami, Florida, used clubs and tear gas to suppress rebellion by over 1,000 Haitian refugees on September 3.

sharks, shipwreck and starvation. Those who can get into the U.S. without arrest often become migrant farm laborers.

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with a daily minimum wage of \$2.64, 70 percent unemployment, few labor unions and almost no laws covering working conditions or benefits. The country has been ruled for 24 years as the personal property of the corrupt Duvalier family. The current dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier,

took over from his father as self-proclaimed "president for life."

U.S. businesses such as GTE, Sylvania and Sears, Roebuck and Company love Haiti. They call it the "Taiwan of the Caribbean." To them it offers cheap labor, low taxes and little government interference. But for six million Haitians, life is hell. Escaping from Haiti may be their only chance to live. And going back may mean death.

The Haitian government con-

siders all its refugees to be spies and traitors. Amnesty International reports that some refugees returned to Haiti against their will have been imprisoned and tortured. But that's of no concern to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). During one nine-month period in 1978-79, the INS received 589 requests for asylum from Haitians—and denied every one.

Undocumented Haitians arrested by the INS are imprisoned without bail. This no-bail policy is a discretionary one, currently applied only to Haitians. Other arriving "boat people" without visas, such as the Vietnamese refugees, have generally been released into the community and given work permits while the government rules on their status. But the government claims that Haitians, unlike Vietnamese refugees, are not fleeing political repression and so are not entitled to political asylum. Michael Posner, a volunteer lawyer for many of the Haitians, calls it "an example of the new get-tough policy toward refugees, to discourage others from coming."

Fifteen hundred Haitians are being held at Krome North, a detention center built for 800 in the Florida Everglades. Eight

hundred more were recently flown to a prison camp at Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, where they live in unshaded tents surrounded by barbed wire. Eighty occupy a former Navy prison in Brooklyn. Smaller numbers are being kept in upstate New York, Texas and West Virginia.

The refugees are entitled to public, individual hearings on their claims for asylum, with lawyers and interpreters provided. But what they've been getting is mass, secret hearings from which even their own lawyers have been barred. Some immigration judges have taken 18 cases at once, with prejudiced interpreters who do not speak the language of the refugees.

MOST Haitians do not understand French (their official language) nor even the upper class Creole dialect spoken by educated Haitians. One investigation found that many court interpreters could not translate such key words as "visa," "hearing," "citizen," or "asylum." In Haiti, the word for "asylum" is understood to mean a mental hospital! One group of refugees, when asked if they wished to appeal to a "higher court," heard the phrase as a reference to a "larger courtroom."

According to refugee Lucien Louis, "When I said I was afraid to go back, the interpreter got mad. I changed my mind. But I knew it was my death."

Part of the government's strategy in dispersing the Haitians around the country and to Puerto Rico is to avoid the pool of experienced immigration lawyers in south Florida who are making it hard to go forward with the deportations. The latest plan is to reactivate an isolated former Air Force base in Glasgow, Montana, near the Canadian border, as a center for undocumented immigrants under detention. Five hundred Cubans are scheduled to be sent to Montana this month. They will be joined later by Haitian and Central American prisoners. Up to 10,000 people can be held at the Montana site while awaiting deportation. Winter temperatures there often reach 40 degrees below zero.

When word of this newest concentration camp reached the Haitian refugees at Krome North in Florida September 3, 600 prisoners rebelled and drove guards from the prison compound. During the fighting, 100 Haitians briefly escaped into the surrounding swamps. Unfortunately, all but five were recaptured. □

they agree to take the grand jury—a step removed charges against the cops. The District Attorney Van de Kamp, made it clear that he would not offer a white-collar immunity to five of the implicated in the

person for Confrontation for Justice in the Murder of Aman, announced this coup, demanding the rest of the cops' immunity and the Signal Hill police unit's immunity. A group is planning demonstrations at the Kamp. □

Getting
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La Migra Harasses L.A.'s Major Spanish-Language Newspaper

Attacks by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) against undocumented immigrants continue at a high level in Los Angeles. Reports and rumors are circulating widely through the Latino community of almost-daily raids, street sweeps and atrocities. Latino immigrants are being picked up in restaurants, liquor stores, factories, and bus stops.

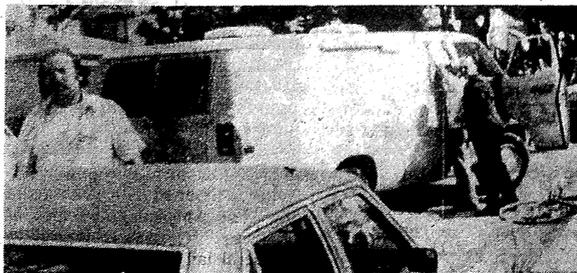
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a Mexican "resident alien," was forced to show his INS-issued green card before being released.

One week later, Gómez tried to photograph an INS street sweep in Glendale when he was again stopped and physically threatened. "We know you," one INS agent said menacingly, as he confiscated the camera's film.

As a result of these incidents, Gómez's boss, Ignacio Lozano, Jr., filed a complaint September 8 with the U.S. Attorney's office, charging the INS with First Amendment civil rights violations. Lozano had reason to think his complaint would receive a speedy response. He is a wealthy editor, publisher, and former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, with plenty of ruling class and Republican Party connections.

THE response was speedy alright. But it wasn't quite what



INS agent (left) moves in to confiscate film from *La Opinión* photographer Octavio Gómez. The INS wants to suppress news about its street sweeps.

he had expected.

One day after Lozano's complaint was filed, his newspaper offices were raided by the INS. Two undocumented Latino workers were arrested.

"In 55 years, they have never conducted a raid here," Lozano declared angrily. "This kind of retaliation is representative of the opprobrious way the INS functions." When notified of

the INS's retaliatory raid, U.S. Attorney Andrea Ordín, who is in charge of Lozano's complaint, reportedly exclaimed, "I can't believe they would do that!"

TO A U.S. Attorney, it may be hard to believe. But ask any Latino immigrant and you'll get a different view. For them, this kind of INS repression is a daily fact of life. □

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—PB

By WILLIAM FALK

In the face of a massive anti-union cost-cutting campaign on the part of the capitalists, U.S. labor leaders are sounding a major retreat.

Using the old argument that what's good for Big Business is good for the workers, they are giving up hard-won gains without a fight.

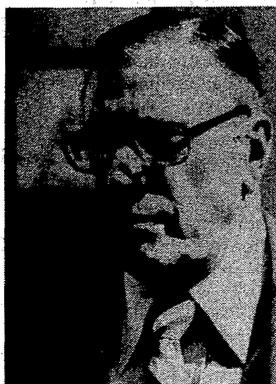
In recent years contracts with wage gains less than the rate of inflation—resulting in a drop in real wages—have become commonplace. But now many union leaders are agreeing to straight-out wage freezes and wage cuts. In addition, the most basic kind of work rules, such as no Sunday work, are being given up. And measures that created the unions' strength—such as national contracts that protect workers at all plants within a given industry or company—are being negotiated away.

The policies of the labor leadership can be seen most clearly by looking at three key industrial unions.

The contracts of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), the United Rubber Workers (URW) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) have traditionally been considered pace-setters for dozens of other labor contracts. These three unions are not only among the strongest in the country, but their contracts run out before those of most other unions, near the beginning of the three-year contract cycle that was established in the 1950s. That cycle starts next spring with the IBT and URW contracts.

Teamster tops swallow wage cuts

Since last spring, dozens of small trucking firms have refused to pay a 77-cent cost-of-living increase due to Teamster



IBT President Roy Williams.

union members in April. The Teamster leadership has simply looked the other way. In the last year, over 25 large trucking firms have successfully coerced their employees to agree to a 15-percent wage cut, again without the union leadership doing any-

thing to help the workers involved resist the pressure.

The new president of the IBT, Roy Williams, has signaled his willingness to make these wage concessions permanent in the new contract due to start April 1. This will probably come in the form of diverting cost-of-living raises to the pension fund. Williams has already guaranteed the companies there will be no strike. In fact, he plans to have the new contract signed before the new year begins—months before the old one expires.

Rubber workers pay for industry blunders

The response of the rubber workers' leadership to the anti-labor offensive has been no better than the IBT's. The tire industry has been in a crisis for several years now, and management is using this to try to weaken the union.

The industry's problems largely stem from a 1973 management decision to continue to make bias-ply tires, rather than radials, the main product of their plants. This decision paralleled the decision by the U.S. auto makers at that time to continue to make large gas-guzzling cars.

The judgment of both the rubber and auto bosses proved to be equally bad. Big, heavy cars with large and quick-wearing bias-ply tires soon lost out in the market place to light, small cars with small radial tires that helped improve gas mileage.

As a result, over 20 percent of tire-making capacity—all of it in bias-ply plants—has been abandoned in the last three years. Nineteen plants have been closed (and only one built) since 1978. Some 27,000 jobs have been permanently lost.

To try to compensate for their mistake, tire industry executives are forcing the workers to bear the costs. Last year Uniroyal, the third largest tire company, asked for and got pay cuts from its workers totaling \$20 million, arguing that unless

the workers accepted the cuts, the company was headed for bankruptcy.

Most of the money saved by Uniroyal is now being used to invest outside the tire business, however, so it is doubtful the effort will save many rubber jobs in the long run.

The other major tire companies have asked for and won givebacks on a local level. Two local agreements nego-



URW President Roy Stone.

tiated just this past month are typical of the trend. In September, Goodyear agreed to build a new plant in the traditional center of the rubber industry, Akron, Ohio—but only after the URW members agreed to cut their pay by a whopping \$1.38 an hour and end all cost-of-living increases. Also in September, 650 Akron-area Firestone workers agreed to \$1.00-an-hour wage cuts and modified job classifications. They also agreed to seven-day-a-week operations. Firestone says that in light of these concessions they will now "consider" leaving the plant involved open. All told, over half the tire plants in the U.S. covered by the national contract have now made local agreements weakening it.

The URW's national contract expires next April 20. The strategy of the union leadership was summed up by Roy Stone, who recently was elected URW president. According to *Business Week*, Stone says he will "stress cooperation with the in-

dustry on such matters as improving its ability to compete with nonunion producers like Michelin's North America operations."

UAW means 'U Ain't Working'

However, it is the third union of the pace-setting trio, the United Auto Workers, that has gone the furthest in "cooperating with industry."

Twice in the first year of the current contract, UAW President Douglas Fraser reopened



UAW President Douglas Fraser.

the union's contract with Chrysler and agreed to large wage cuts and new work rules. In return, Chrysler workers got a profit-sharing and stock-option plan that will give most workers zero. In addition, Fraser took a seat on Chrysler's board of directors. He has little power there. The seat is largely a symbolic statement by the union leadership that it agrees that part of its job is to get the workers to sacrifice so that Chrysler may prosper.

For several years now, the UAW has joined auto management in lobbying for an easing of safety and pollution regulations for cars. The union has also been the leader of a campaign to limit imports of Japanese cars.

Contracts with the Big Three

auto makers—Chrysler, Ford and General Motors—expire September 15, 1982. The UAW leadership is indicating that they are ready to tell their members to continue working without a contract for several months, something that hasn't been done since 1958.

Over the life of the present contract, Fraser has done nothing to stop the layoffs that have cut the auto workforce by a third. In 1982, according to the *New York Times*, the union will "focus on job guarantees for those now working, which are easier to achieve in the current low level of employment." Fraser will try to get those guarantees for the lucky few with jobs by asking for little or no wage increase and pushing ahead with productivity programs.

Other unions also back off

With these major unions in retreat, it's not surprising that other unions are also backpedaling. On September 14, Pan American Airline workers, who are represented by several different unions, approved 10-percent pay cuts and a wage freeze for all of 1982. On September 29, Conrail workers in 16 different unions agreed to an immediate 12-percent wage reduction.

Local 7854 of the United Steelworkers union, representing lead smelter workers in Kellogg, Idaho, went so far as to push for and win a five-year postponement of a regulation designed to prevent lead poisoning. The regulation would have required the company, Bunker Hill, to remove workers from their regular jobs if the lead in their blood exceeded certain levels. Despite the postponement, Bunker Hill is going through with plans to close or sell the smelter because, they say, the 50-year-old facility is extremely inefficient.

The union leaders think that by refusing to fight layoffs and making concessions on wages, benefits and work rules, they can preserve the jobs of those still working and defend the unions' position. But this strategy is suicide. As fewer and fewer workers remain organized in unions, and as the unions show themselves unable or unwilling to resist the capitalist offensive, the unions will get weaker.

If the unions are going to survive as significant working class organizations, they will have to break from their present approach of cutting deals with the capitalists to try to preserve the jobs of a dwindling number of people. They must take up a broad campaign to fight for the needs of all working and oppressed people for jobs, housing and social services and for economic and political rights for all. □

How We Can Fight 'Reaganism'

(Continued from page 1)

term crisis of the entire world capitalist economy—a crisis that will get far worse.

What is the significance of this? The ruling class has only one basic way of solving its crisis. Put simply, its solution is to take from poor and working people and give to the bankers and big corporations. Its goal is a tremendous redistribution of resources—driving down the living standards of the majority of people to boost capitalist profits and hoping (so far in vain) that the capitalists will invest in the modernization of the economy.

Reagan is carrying out this program. There are, of course, differences among the capitalists over exactly how to accomplish their goals. But the important point is that "Reaganism" is the policy of the entire U.S. ruling class.

2. What kind of movement do we need to build?

A. We need a militant movement.

We need a movement which is visible, angry and threatening. Mass marches, strikes, sit-ins, plant occupations and similar actions are the kinds of tactics we need to pursue. Begging and pleading will get us nowhere. Neither will lobbying, petitioning, and voting for "lesser-evil" candidates. We need to build a movement that is capable of disrupting the entire system in order to force the ruling class to back off its attacks.

B. We need a movement that is politically conscious and educated.

We have to know what is going on in the country and the world and why. Only this kind of a movement can reach out to, draw in and educate tens of thousands of our sisters and brothers who are feeling the harsh effects of the Reagan program.

The key principle behind our organizing should be to **tell people the truth**. We should not promise shortcuts or quick and easy victories. We ourselves should not be under the illusion that a few large demonstrations can overturn the Reagan program. Far more than this will be necessary—we are fighting a ruthless and powerful capitalist class. We will only demoralize and miseducate people if we lead them to believe that the struggle is simpler or easier than it is, that victory can be won overnight.

C. Our movement should defend everyone under attack.

"An injury to one is an injury to all"—this should be one of our key slogans. The capitalists are attacking on every front. They are going after the unions, women, Black and Latin people, Native Americans, lesbians and gays, undocumented workers—the list goes on.

In response, we should build our movement as a broad united front. It should include community groups, labor organizations, women's groups, lesbian and gay groups, welfare rights organizations, Black organizations, Latin organizations and left-wing political groups. Everyone committed to waging a mili-

tant fightback against the ruling class offensive should be welcome inside our movement.

Equally important, our movement should defend and support the national liberation struggles of the people of El Salvador, South Africa and elsewhere. Reagan's military buildup flows from the **imperialist nature** of the capitalist system. Our movement should be **anti-imperialist**. Every blow against U.S. imperialism abroad strengthens our fight for our rights and needs here.

D. Our movement must be a democratic one.

Only by encouraging lively political discussion and debate can we develop the understanding and ideas that we need to be prepared for the difficult period ahead. We should welcome differences and criticisms—rather than being afraid of them. Eliminating such debate will only lead to a thin "paper unity" which will fall apart as soon as the struggle intensifies.

E. Our movement must be crystal clear about the nature and role of the Democratic Party.

Both parties—the Democrats and the Republicans alike—represent the capitalist class. Both parties believe that the only solution to the capitalist crisis is to drive down the living standards and take away the hard-fought rights of working and oppressed people.

The Democrats voted for Reagan's budget cuts. They voted for the tax cuts for the corporations and the rich. They support Reagan's record-breaking military buildup, including the production of the neutron bomb. They support U.S. imperialist policies—in Africa, the Middle East and Central America.

There are some differences between the Democrats and the Republicans, just as there are differences within each of these two parties. But these are primarily differences over **how** to best attack the working class—not over **whether** to attack. For example, while the Reaganite Republicans want the attacks to be sharp and swift, many Democrats fear that if poor and working people are attacked too suddenly and too harshly, if the attacks appear "too unfair," U.S. society will be torn apart by strikes, riots and other resistance by working people, thereby defeating the purpose of the attacks in the first place. By and large, the differences between the Republicans and Democrats are over tactics. **The entire ruling class, Democrat and Republican alike, agrees on the need to wage a full-scale war against working and oppressed people in the coming period.**

Why is this question so important for our movement? In the coming months and years, we will see many Democratic Party politicians coming into our struggles, claiming to be our "allies." In many cases, they will even build these struggles by offering their vast financial and political resources and their "influence." In doing this, the Democratic Party will have two basic aims, both equally dangerous for our struggle:

1) The Democratic Party will enter our movement in order to restrain and control it. It will seek to keep our

struggles moderate, cautioning us against being "too militant" and "opposing anything which is "illegal."

2) The Democratic Party will also be trying to rebuild its image among working people, trying to build a new popular base of support so that it can get itself re-elected. It will try to paint itself as the "friend of labor," or the "friend of Black people" or the "friend of the poor." Once in office, however, the capitalist offensive against poor and working people will resume—only now under a "new leadership."

3. Socialist Revolution—the only solution



Hiroshima, razed by atom bomb, 1945. Either we destroy capitalism or it will destroy us.

The Revolutionary Socialist League believes that the only lasting solution to war, racism, sexism and poverty is socialist revolution. Capitalism, by its very nature, is an exploitative and oppressive system. Even in the so-called best of times, millions of people the world over live in dire poverty. Wars are fought for power and plunder—and tens of thousands of people are thereby slaughtered in the interests of their various rulers. Even in the wealthiest of nations, millions of people lead a miserable existence, abused, pitted against each other and denied anything that could be called a rewarding or meaningful life.

Bad as all this is, the simple fact is that it is going to get far worse. We are now headed—at whatever precise speed—for a vast worldwide depression, a total economic, social and political collapse of the capitalist world order. If the capitalist rulers stay in power, they will respond to this crisis as they always have: They will subject people to slave-labor conditions in fascist-like states while wars which they unleash may destroy the entire planet.

To put it simply, the world is going to **hell in a handbasket**. How many years will it be before this system destroys all of us? Five? Ten? Twenty? Whatever the precise number, the plain fact is that **either we destroy capitalism or, one way or another, it will destroy us.**

We believe that an alternative to all this exists. We need to organize a worldwide socialist society, a society in which the vast majority of people—workers, farmers, the unemployed, the retired, etc.—directly and democratically control their own work, their own governments and their own lives. We believe that it is possible to build a society that is run by mass democratic organizations of working people rather than by small ruling classes which own all the wealth, control all the power and run the world.

By socialism, we do not mean Russia, China or any of the countries in the world today that call themselves "socialist." These countries are in fact **state capitalist**—the working class and other oppressed people have no political rights and no power over the government or the economy. As in the U.S., the workers have no choice but to hire themselves out (or as Marx said, sell their labor-power) to those who control the factories, mills and offices—that is, to the bureaucrats who run the state. Today, the state-capitalist societies are experiencing the same economic crisis as the Western countries and the living standards of the workers and other oppressed people are also under attack. Meanwhile, the state-capitalist rulers are busily building their own nuclear arsenal, preparing for the horror of a nuclear war among the superpowers.

To win socialism, the workers and other oppressed people must throw the capitalists and state-capitalist bureaucrats out of power. **This will take a revolution—these rulers will never surrender their control of the world peacefully.** A revolution will take preparation and organization—it cannot happen unless vast numbers of working people see that it is necessary and they build the level of organization needed to win. Such a revolution will ultimately have to be worldwide, eliminating reactionary capitalism everywhere.

This is a tall order. Certainly it is not something that is going to happen in this country next month or next year. But, if we do not begin **now** to educate and organize for such a revolution, the world we and our children will face will be mighty bleak—if it exists at all. □

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By PAUL CARS

On election day, Young will almost certainly be re-elected mayor of Detroit. His Republican challenger, Jerry Koslowski. If he wins the election, it will give a liberal Democrat a third term as mayor.

Young has a militant image: He helped organize at Ford in 1948. He worked on Henry Ford's Progressive Party campaign in 1948. He speaks out often against the mayor's economic program, forcing working and poor to sacrifice while giving breaks to the corporations.

But Mayor Young's for Detroit's problems are similar to Reagan's policies.

Young is presiding over an economy in decline. Auto and other closings have decimated the economy. The unemployed

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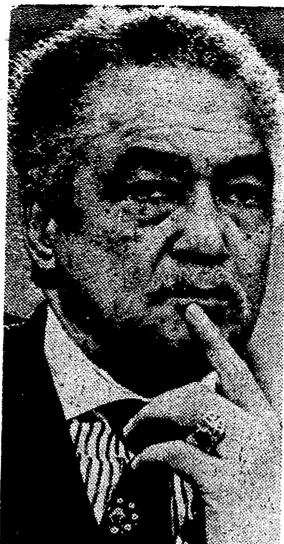
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By PAUL CARSON

On election day, Coleman Young will almost certainly be re-elected mayor of Detroit over his Republican challenger, Perry Koslowski. If he wins the election, it will give the Black liberal Democrat a third term as mayor.

Young has a militant history and image: He helped the UAW organize at Ford in 1941 and worked on Henry Wallace's Progressive Party presidential campaign in 1948. Today he speaks out often against Reagan's economic program, which forces working and poor people to sacrifice while giving big tax breaks to the corporations.

But Mayor Young's solution for Detroit's problems is quite similar to Reagan's program.

Young is presiding over a city in decline. Auto and other plant closings have decimated the economy. The unemployment

COLEMAN YOUNG: Liberal Democrat Carries Out Reaganomics in Detroit

rate is among the highest in the country. Before the Reagan cuts, 60 percent of Detroit's population was on some kind of government assistance. The city's tax base has been sharply reduced in recent years, and state aid to Detroit has been reduced as well.

Young's solution is to attract industry and other businesses through tax breaks and other incentives, build up the downtown area at the expense of working class neighborhoods, and attract the middle class to move into the city. The costs are to be paid by the working class through increased taxes, real wage cuts, and reduced services.

Workers get tax hikes

The best example of Young's program is the "Survival Plan" he pushed through this past summer. Announcing that the city was in danger of going bankrupt, Young proposed a three-part plan. The first part was for the city to sell long-term bonds to erase a \$119.6 million deficit. The second part was to increase the city income tax from 2 percent to 3 percent on residents and from 0.5 percent to 1.5 percent on non-residents. This required a vote by city residents and a big campaign

was organized. The "Vote Yes Committee" received substantial contributions from the business community, including General Motors (\$40,000), Detroit Edison (\$15,000), National Bank of Detroit (\$15,000), K-Mart (a department store chain, \$10,000) and Strohs Brewery (\$4,000). The UAW also kicked in \$40,000. The tax increase was approved after a high-powered campaign in which city workers were given paid time off to campaign for the tax increase (in other words, our tax money was spent to convince us to pay more in taxes).

The third part of the "Survival Plan" was to force wage concessions from city workers. Young was able to strike a deal with the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) in which he agreed to a one-year no-layoff clause in return for a wage freeze. But he had trouble pushing a similar deal past the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. AFSCME leaders tentatively agreed to a two-year wage freeze with a one-year no-layoff clause. The deal would have meant giving up pay increases that were won in a bitter 12-day strike in 1980. One of these was scheduled to go into effect July 1.

Young arbitrarily decided not to include the increase in the

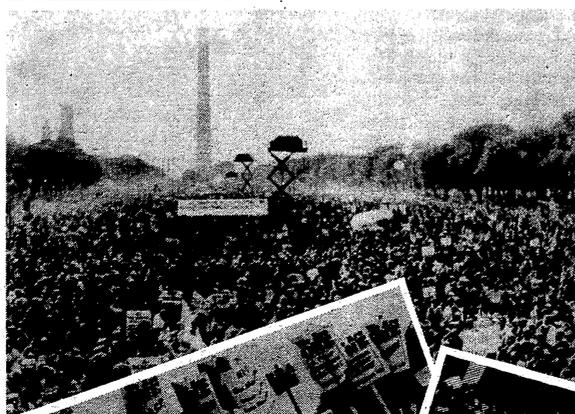
first July paycheck, even though AFSCME members had not yet voted on the wage freeze. In addition, he ordered 428 layoff notices to be prepared in case the wage freeze was rejected. AFSCME members responded to these heavy-handed anti-labor tactics by rejecting the wage freeze overwhelmingly. However, the union eventually agreed to a two-year wage freeze with a two-year no-layoff clause.

Business gets tax breaks

The sacrifices Young is asking working people to make contrast with the gifts he is giving to business and industry. General Motors is getting a \$10 million annual tax abatement on the plant it's building in the Poletown area of Detroit (to build this plant, the residents of Poletown were forcibly evicted despite a lengthy struggle). The Riverfront West apartment project is being financed in part by the city, through tax-free bonds totaling \$50 million. Riverfront West, a profit-making project for financiers Al Taubman and Max Fisher, will also receive a 100 percent tax break. The apartments will not be for working people—the cheapest will rent for \$460 a month.

One reason for Coleman Young's popularity is that much of his opposition is racist (Detroit's population is 63 percent Black). He has often fought with the DPOA and the firefighters' union over residency requirements, which force them to live in Detroit, and affirmative action programs. The most vocal opponents of Young's "Survival Plan" were suburban politicians who objected to non-residents (mostly whites who don't want to live in Black Detroit) paying to bail out Detroit. Young played up the racist nature of his opposition in his "Vote Yes" campaign. He told an audience of Black ministers that "thousands of bigots" are hoping the plan is defeated and Detroit goes under.

There certainly is a lot of racist opposition to Young. But his program is an attack on Black and white working people alike. In fact, because he is a Black liberal Democrat, he is able to attack the working class of Detroit with less opposition than a conservative racist Republican would face. Black and white workers and poor people have no reason to vote for Coleman Young. We need to organize and fight back against the attacks on our living standards that come from Reagan the Republican, Young the liberal Democrat, and their respective parties. □



SOLIDARITY DAY!

On September 19—Solidarity Day—500,000 working people filled the streets of Washington, D.C., to protest Reagan's program of unemployment, union busting, racism, sexism and war. The march drew support from every region and nearly every union in the country. AFSCME alone marched in a contingent of over 60,000. Machinists, autoworkers, garment workers, public employees, PATCO strikers—people from hundreds of workplaces across the country turned out for the demonstration. Joining in the Solidarity Day protest were civil rights, women's, anti-war and community organizations.

Solidarity Day showed that there is a growing awareness—and anger—over the Reaganite offensive against poor and working people. It also showed the potential for a full-scale fightback by labor and its allies against these reactionary policies.

Unfortunately, the current labor leadership has no intention of organizing such a fightback. This was also clear on Solidarity Day. PATCO strikers—the victims of Reagan's union busting—hardly received a word of support, much less a pledge for any meaningful fight in their defense. More broadly,

Lane Kirkland and the rest of the AFL-CIO leadership made it clear that they were using the demonstration not to launch a militant fightback but to mobilize support for Democratic Party politicians in the 1982 elections.

The labor leadership's strategy of supporting and rebuilding the Democratic Party spells disaster for working and oppressed people. The entire U.S. ruling class—Democrat and Republican alike—plans to solve the deepening crisis of the capitalist economy through massive attacks on working people and the unions.

We need to build a movement independent of the capitalist parties, a movement which relies on the strength and power of working people to defend our rights and living standards. Polish workers, through their organization Solidarity, have shown the power of working people when they are militant and organized. This should be our model. A militant mass movement, not begging, lobbying and voting for "lesser-evil" candidates, is the road forward for the U.S. labor movement. □

Where Is the Iranian Revolution Heading?



By PAUL BENJAMIN

Recent events in Iran cannot help but raise fundamental questions over the nature and course of the Iranian revolution. The Iranian people waged a heroic struggle against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi's brutal regime, culminating in armed uprisings that drove the shah into exile in January 1979 and toppled his regime altogether in February 1979. The victory opened the way for mass mobilizations by workers, women and oppressed nationalities in Iran, all seeking the freedom fought for in the revolution.

But less than two years later the gains of the revolution, and the very foundations of Iranian society, are in grave danger. Rival political blocs, all fundamentally pro-capitalist, are tearing the country apart in a bloody struggle for power.

The government is controlled by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the mullahs who support him, organized in the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP). The IRP combines opposition to U.S. imperialism with a totalitarian internal regime directed not only against pro-imperialist forces in Iran, but also against workers, peasants, women and oppressed nationalities who oppose its policies.

The Khomeini regime is opposed by a leftist Islamic group, the Mujahedeen-e-Khalq, which has been waging a campaign of urban guerrilla warfare against it since June. The Mujahedeen combine justified opposition to the IRP's repressive policies with an alliance with liberal pro-Western Iranian leaders, including former president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, through the Council of National Resistance (NCR).

Meanwhile, the masses who made the February 1979 revolution have hardly any political role independent of these rival blocs. Instead they have mainly been reduced to passive spectators to the conflict between the army and security forces supporting the IRP, and the leftist militants supporting the NCR.

The crisis in Iran is provoking considerable controversy among leftist organizations in the U.S. Some groups, notably the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), are defending the IRP regime because it is anti-imperialist, and are condemning the NCR's efforts to overthrow it.

Others, particularly the Communist Workers Party (CWP), are defending

the NCR because it calls for democracy in Iran, and condemning the IRP's efforts to suppress its opponents.

From our point of view, each of these groups, in its own way, is capitulating to pro-capitalist forces in Iran. Our differences with them stem not simply from opposing analyses of the Iranian revolution, but more fundamentally from a different understanding of what the goals of a socialist revolution really are, and how they can be achieved.

An anti-imperialist revolution

Before going into the outlook of these organizations in more detail, we should first summarize our own viewpoint on the course of events in Iran.

As we see it, the February 1979 uprising in Iran was an unfinished revolution. The Iranian people succeeded in overthrowing the shah and dealing a resounding defeat to U.S. imperialism.

But this victory was not a socialist revolution, in which the workers smashed the capitalist state apparatus

and took power into their own hands. On the contrary, the workers were unable to either take political leadership of the struggle against the shah, or even establish their own political independence from the pro-capitalist forces who also participated in the revolution.

Instead, leadership of the anti-shah struggle fell into the hands of Khomeini and the mullahs, in alliance with liberal bourgeois politicians. Moreover, the shah's old state apparatus, including the army and political police (SAVAK), remained largely intact.

Between February 1979 and June 1981 Khomeini and his supporters in the IRP consolidated their hold on the Iranian state against both the Iranian people and the pro-Western liberals. Their goal is to set up a nationalistic, capitalist society based on a centralized economy under state control.

The economic measures adopted by the IRP are in many ways similar to those adopted by the state-capitalist ruling classes in Eastern Europe and Asia. They include nationalization of most major industry and banks, state land takeovers, and a proposed state monopoly over foreign trade. This policy is combined with a ferociously anti-socialist Islamic ideology, used to justify the mullahs' control over society.

To achieve their ambitions, the mullahs needed to isolate and defeat the liberal politicians in the provisional government who sought an accommodation with both U.S. imperialism and pro-Western capitalists and landlords within Iran itself. The IRP took advantage of the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran to oust Mehdi Bazargan, the head of the provisional government, in November 1979. Then Khomeini and the IRP gradually undermined the authority of Bani-Sadr, who was elected president of the Islamic Republic in January 1980. After a long struggle Bani-Sadr was forced out of office in June 1981 and fled the country a month later.

The IRP was equally determined to stamp out the independent struggles of the Iranian masses. During the

street-fighting that preceded the February insurrection, Khomeini's supporters refused to distribute arms to the demonstrators. When militants seized guns for themselves, Khomeini ordered them to turn in their arms to the provisional government.

Since the revolution every section of the working class that has tried to fight

for its demands has faced suppression by the mullahs. When workers demanded higher wages, the government banned strikes and jailed worker-militants. When thousands of women went into the streets to demand equality after the revolution,



Abolhassan Bani-Sadr.

the mullahs unleashed their private army of thugs, the hezbollah, to break up their demonstrations. When the Kurds and other nationalities oppressed by the shah demanded their national rights, the army and revolutionary militia, or pasdaran, were dispatched to suppress them. And when leftist groups like the Mujahedeen or Fedayeen protested these policies, the government shut down their press and jailed their leaders, while the hezbollah and pasdaran shot down leftist demonstrators in the streets.

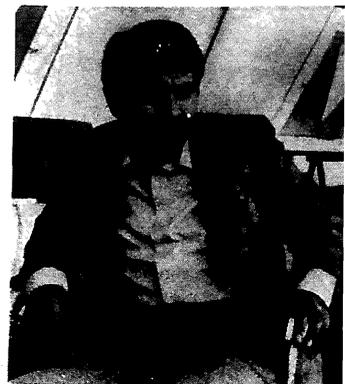
Despite such measures Khomeini, and to a lesser extent the IRP, retain a degree of popular support in Iran. The main reason for this is that the Iranian people remain militantly opposed to U.S. imperialism's efforts to regain control of their country. Khomeini is seen by many as the embodiment of their struggle against the U.S. He and his followers have been able to retain their loyalty by branding all their opponents as agents of U.S. imperialism. Moreover, events such as the botched U.S. raid on Iran last March, and the Iraqi invasion of Iran last September, led many critics of the IRP to rally to the government as the defender of Iranian territory and national independence.

But the IRP has been unable to consolidate its rule and create a stable Islamic state-capitalist society. Instead, its efforts to do so are wrecking the country and isolating the mullahs from their original supporters. The economy is falling apart, as unemployment and inflation rise while production falls and housing and food shortages increase. Workers are growing disillusioned with

the IRP's repressive policies and inability to resolve the economic crisis. Peasants resent the government's refusal to implement sections of the 1980 reform law calling for redistribution of confiscated estates. The bazaari, or merchants, who originally supported the IRP, oppose its efforts to impose control over the economy. The Kurds are maintaining their armed struggle for national self-determination. Sections of the Islamic clergy itself organized demonstrations against Khomeini in the cities of Qum and Mashad last December.

In addition, the pasdaran have been unable to crush the Kurds, defeat the Iraqis, suppress the left opposition, or even protect the IRP leadership from guerrilla attacks. Consequently, the IRP is relying more and more on the shah's old state apparatus to maintain order in Iran. Last year Khomeini pardoned almost all the members of SAVAK. Up to 80 percent of these murderers have rejoined the security forces.

Meanwhile, the army has gained increased authority and prestige and has won important posts in the government. In June Khomeini named Major General Valiollah Falahi as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the



Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi.

removing the military from civilian control. When Falahi was killed in a plane crash on September 29, General Qassem Ali Zahirnejad, notorious for his brutal campaigns against the Kurds, was appointed to succeed him.

Falling popular support for Khomeini's regime is encouraging his politi-



Anti-Khomeini forces set off bomb in prime minister's office (above) August 30. President Ali Rajavi and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar were killed in the explosion.



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Falling popular support for Khomeini's regime is encouraging his politi-

cal opponents to believe they will soon be able to overthrow him and return to power. The major opposition group is the NCR, nominally led by Bani-Sadr. It is proclaiming itself the defender of democracy in Iran, and promising free elections and a new constitution once the IRP is defeated.

But Bani-Sadr hardly qualifies as a protector of the Iranian people. He is a former ally of Khomeini, who joined with him in attacking Iranian workers, leftists and oppressed nationalities both as a member of the provisional government and later as president of Iran. Bani-Sadr denounced the IRP's repressive campaign in a bid for popular support only after he realized he was losing out in his power struggle with the IRP. Since fleeing into exile, he has vacillated between calling on the army to seize power and predicting that Khomeini will eventually be forced to recall him to office.

Mujahedeen oppose IRP repression

The main strength of the NCR comes not from Bani-Sadr but from the Mujahedeen, who claim 100,000 members in Iran. The Mujahedeen represent a more liberal version of the IRP's Islamic state capitalism. Although they first supported Khomeini, they later became one of the major groups opposing the IRP. Before going underground in June, they were able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of people to protest the IRP's repressive policies. However, their organized political base seems to lie mostly among radicalized students, rather than in the working class itself.

Despite their militancy, the Mujahedeen have never supported a socialist revolution in Iran. While condemning the IRP, they failed to call on the workers to break with Khomeini and take power in their own name. Then when they finally attacked Khomeini himself, they immediately formed an alliance with Bani-Sadr and other liberal pro-capitalist politicians. Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi, who fled into exile with Bani-Sadr, has taken pains to assure Western reporters that the Mujahedeen are not socialists, saying "we must accept private ownership" in Iran.

While issuing occasional calls for mass strikes in Iran, the Mujahedeen are not looking to the workers to overthrow the IRP government. Instead, they have adopted a policy of urban guerrilla warfare aimed at destabilizing the government and forcing its collapse. Since June Mujahedeen commandos have assassinated over 300 government officials, including president Mohammed Ali Rajai and IRP leaders Mohammed Beheshti and Mohammed Javad Bahonar. Bands of leftists are also fighting gun battles with the pasdaran in Tehran and other cities almost every day. The Khomeini regime is responding to this campaign with a reign of terror—it has executed over 1,400 oppositionists since the urban guerrilla campaign began.

In addition to the NCR, a host of openly pro-imperialist, right-wing groups are plotting against the Iranian government. These include Iran Azad, a



Mohammed Beheshti.

monarchist group led by the shah's sister, Princess Ashraf; Azadegan, a terrorist organization led by the shah's former army commander, General Bahram Aryana; and the National Movement of the Iranian Resistance, headed by Shahpur Bakhtiari, the shah's last prime minister. All these groups support a military dictatorship to "clean up Iran." Their supporters in Iran may very well be responsible for some of the attacks on IRP leaders that are generally attributed to the Mujahedeen.



Mohammed Javad Bahonar.

The Iranian army is reaping major benefits from the struggle between the IRP and its various opponents. With the exception of the Mujahedeen, all major contending political forces—the IRP, the NCR, and the monarchists alike—are counting on the army's support. The generals undoubtedly know this, and are already beginning to maneuver among these forces to gain as much political power as they can. For instance, Bani-Sadr counted on the army's support to remain in power. But when the struggle between him and Khomeini reached a climax in June, the generals issued a statement pledging support for Khomeini, and were rewarded with increased authority.

For the moment the army seems content to quietly increase its power



IRP forces execute Kurdish rebels.

under shelter of Khomeini's authority. But the IRP government may yet collapse, either under the weight of the Mujahedeen's attacks, or after the death of Khomeini, who is over 81 and cannot survive for long. If such a collapse occurs, the generals may abandon the IRP and throw their support behind their former allies among the exiles, or try to take power themselves.

In such an event, the military may be no more successful than the IRP was in stabilizing capitalist rule in Iran. Some sections of the working class are bound to resist an open military takeover. Moreover, there is a real possibility that a war of all against all would break out as rival military leaders, government officials, mullahs and nationalist leaders try to grab what they can from the wreckage of Khomeini's Islamic Republic. This would mean the complete disintegration of Iranian society and would in all likelihood provoke imperialist intervention by the U.S. and Russian ruling classes.

Tragically, the Iranian working class

appears to be in a poor position either to defend the gains of the revolution or to prevent the collapse of their country. They remain militantly anti-imperialist, and many are armed. But the Iranian workers lack any organized political leadership independent of the various pro-capitalist blocs in Iran. They have not developed a political party of their own.

The main workers' organizations are the shoras, or factory committees, set up after the revolution. But these are not linked in a national network that could coordinate workers' struggles for economic and political reforms. Moreover, the quality of the shoras varies greatly from region to region, and even from factory to factory. Some are democratically-elected workers' committees that defend the workers' interests. Others have been taken over by factory management, or have fallen under the authority of IRP-controlled Islamic committees that appoint their members.

The lack of a workers' political party, and the limitations of the shoras, have left the workers unable to intervene as an independent force in the political struggles that have torn Iran apart over the past two years. As a result, today they have been pushed to the sidelines while the pro-capitalist blocs fight for power. Tomorrow they may find themselves completely crushed, or divided into armed camps under the leadership of rival mullahs and warlords.

Some leftist groups in Iran have belatedly realized that only militant action

by the working class can save the Iranian revolution. The Fedayeen (Minority), Peykar and the Organization of Communist Unity are condemning both the IRP and Bani-Sadr as betrayers of the revolution. The Fedayeen has reportedly formed a military bloc with the Mujahedeen against the Khomeini regime, while opposing the Mujahedeen's alliance with Bani-Sadr. They are calling for the defense and expansion of the shoras, and the formation of a constituent assembly composed of representatives of the shoras and "popular groups."

From our point of view such an approach is correct, in that it calls for defense of the workers against the immediate threat posed by the IRP's repressive campaign, while at the same time setting out a plan to unite the workers against the host of enemies that surrounds them. But it must be said that the Iranian left is small, divided, and has little influence within the working class. Consequently, unless there is a dramatic

(Continued on next page)

Iran...

(Continued from previous page) shift in the political balance of forces in Iran, the working class seems headed for a defeat of enormous proportions.

SWP backs Khomeini regime

Organizations such as the SWP and the CWP have an entirely different viewpoint on the Iranian revolution. Despite occasional calls for a workers' revolution in Iran, these groups have consistently looked for forces outside the working class to defend the gains of the revolution, while passing these forces off as socialist.

So it's not surprising that these organizations are now supporting one or another of the pro-capitalist blocs that between them are wrecking Iranian society and speeding the Iranian revolution to its grave.

The SWP, for example, is supporting the IRP against the liberal capitalists and the Mujahedeen. It calls the Mujahedeen's guerrilla warfare campaign "a reactionary attack on the revolution itself" that is providing a left cover for efforts by monarchists, liberal capitalists and U.S. imperialism to destabilize the revolution.

The SWP has always been the major U.S. leftist group defending the IRP, apologizing for or simply ignoring its attacks on the Iranian people. In the past it has implied that the mullahs were "unconscious socialists, who were overthrowing capitalism in Iran without knowing it. It has consciously refused to defend the Mujahedeen and other groups opposed to the crimes of the IRP because such action, in their view, "would compromise the defense of the revolution." Thus, when IRP thugs attacked radical university students last spring, the SWP wrote a series of articles defending the "cultural revolution" on the campuses. And when the hezbollah and pasdaran opened fire on a Mujahedeen rally in June 1980, the SWP condemned the Mujahedeen for their "sectarianism"!

Events in Iran are now forcing the SWP back off a bit from their earlier uncritical support for the mullahs. Hidden away in the SWP's publications, the **Militant and Intercontinental Press**, one can now find fleeting references calling the IRP regime a repressive, capitalist government.

But has this admission led the SWP to support democratic struggles in Iran against this repressive, capitalist government? Not in the least. On the contrary, the SWP argues that: "Defense of democracy is the

propaganda line of U.S. imperialism in Iran." And it claims that: "Calls for the overthrow of the Khomeini regime in the name of democracy at a time when the Iranian revolution has yet to run its course [whatever that means] are counterposed to the perspective of fighting for a workers and farmers government in Iran."

In reality the SWP's basic capitulation to the IRP remains intact. For the SWP, the IRP is anti-imperialist, and therefore must be progressive. It fails to understand that the IRP is trying to install its own version of state capitalism in Iran, and therefore must not only defend itself from the imperialists and the old capitalist class in Iran but also suppress the workers. So the SWP leaders regard the government's nationalization policy and proposed monopoly of foreign trade as progressive in themselves, rather than seeing them more accurately as efforts to consolidate a state-capitalist economy. And they accept the government's attacks on workers, peasants, nationalities and women because it is carrying out this supposedly progressive economic policy.

The SWP's cavalier dismissal of the struggle for democracy in Iran, along with its leftist rhetoric about a workers and peasants government, is intended to cover up its support for the IRP. The SWP condemns every demand for democracy in Iran as a CIA plot. Of course the imperialists call for "democracy" when they really mean "counter-revolution," not only in Iran, but in Poland and other countries. But this is no reason for revolutionaries to give up the fight for democratic rights in Iran, any more than revolutionaries give it up in Poland. But the SWP cannot admit this without putting itself on a collision course with the IRP. Its "leftist" rhetoric is an excuse for abandoning any support to workers and peasants struggling against the Khomeini regime.

CWP supports 'progressive' capitalists

In contrast to the SWP, the CWP is supporting the Mujahedeen guerrilla campaign, while condemning the IRP's "sectarian" opposition to the "patriotic bourgeoisie" and the left. The CWP believes that in underdeveloped countries like Iran, a revolution can only proceed in distinct stages. In the first, anti-imperialist, stage, the workers and peasants must form alliances and share power with the more nationalistic, or "patriotic," sections of the

capitalist class, and not press their distinct class interests against them. Only after the imperialists have been completely defeated can the workers begin to struggle against the capitalists and seek to take power for themselves.

This theory has not helped the CWP understand the events in Iran. At first, the CWP more or less correctly regarded the February 1979 revolution as a progressive but bourgeois-democratic revolution carried out by the workers and peasants in alliance with sections of the capitalist class and the petty bourgeoisie.

But in September 1979, in a "self-criticism" published in their press, the CWP announced that the Iranian government was not a bourgeois government after all but a "united front of the patriotic bourgeoisie, militant Islam and the left," that was part of the worldwide proletarian revolution. As a result, it advised Iranian militants to support the government, while "supervising" the national bourgeoisie. In addition, it actually applauded the regime's attacks on the Mujahedeen and the other leftist groups that protested its repression of the masses.

With this line it is hardly surprising that the CWP avoided any mention of either the regime's repression or the power struggle between the liberal capitalist leaders and the clergy in its press. But finally in August 1981, two months after Bani-Sadr's defeat, the CWP was forced to choose which of the "progressive" forces in Iran, was more progressive. Flipping its position once again, the CWP came down on the side of the NCR. Not being satisfied with half-measures, the CWP is not only supporting the Mujahedeen, but is also embracing Bani-Sadr himself as a hero of the democratic struggle in Iran.

The CWP loses all touch with reality in its assessment of the current state of the Iranian revolution. The CWP ran an article in the September 23, 1981, issue of its paper, **Work-**



Khomeini supporters in Tehran stoned anti-government protesters in 1980.

ers Viewpoint, entitled "Prospects for Left Excellent," at the very moment when the major left opposition group, the Mujahedeen, was abandoning any pretense of an independent role and openly allying with the liberal capitalists. In that article the CWP claimed that "the revolutionary situation is developing quite well," when the truth is that the country is falling apart, the people are being crushed, and the workers are mere spectators in a struggle between rival capitalist forces that threatens to destroy the entire country.

Workers must lead fight for socialism

Clearly, both the SWP and CWP have different ideas than we do about the goals of a socialist revolution and the best way of fighting for them. From our point of view, the goals of a socialist revolution in Iran would begin with fighting to break U.S. imperialism's hold over the country. But they do not end there. A socialist revolution would smash the capitalist state apparatus and establish new forms of government through which the workers and their allies control society. This new proletarian government would distribute land to the peasants, while encouraging co-

operative agriculture as being in the best long-term interests of both the peasants and society as a whole. It would establish national rights of oppressed nationalities in Iran, and win social equality for women and other specially oppressed sections of the population.

Above all we believe that Iranian workers, and workers in all countries, can achieve these goals only through their own efforts, by establishing their own political organizations independent of the capitalists and fighting for political power. They cannot achieve socialism and freedom by politically subordinating themselves to pro-capitalist forces.

But this is not what the SWP and CWP believe. The SWP considers it possible to make a socialist revolution by substituting anti-imperialist reactionaries, like the mullahs in Iran, for the working class. The CWP believes it is possible to carry out a socialist revolution by substituting the "patriotic bourgeoisie" for the working class. Both groups refuse to recognize that only if the workers and the other oppressed classes themselves smash imperialism can they build a free, socialist society. As a result, they are supporting rival capitalist forces in Iran and ignoring the critical dangers now facing the Iranian people. □

Bus F by 2

A 40-percent increase off three days of violence in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, in mid-September 15, as workers destroyed and more than

When police arrived the violence spread. Residents captured several who would not give their names were lowered. While cops, others marched to the office of Traffic and Public Safety. Hernandez believed to have been selling "protection" to companies. Street fighting nearly three days, with

Erit Armed

By IAN DANIELS

Twenty years ago, on September 1, 1961, 13 Eritrean nationalist fighters armed with obsolete rifles confronted Eritrean soldiers in the western highlands of Eritrea. The first shots were fired in a liberation war which has continued ever since.

Eritrea is a strip of land along the Red Sea in Africa's strategic Horn. For hundreds of years the Eritrean people fought off foreign invaders; the country was finally conquered by Italy in 1890. When Italy was defeated in the Second World War, the British organized a military government in Eritrea under their control. In 1952 the British handed Eritrea over to the Ethiopian government.

Ethiopia was then ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, an all-powerful despotic monarch who by official state and church doctrine was revered as almost a god. By annexing Eritrea, Selassie was continuing the policy

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Bus Fare Hike Sparks Rebellion by 25,000 Near Mexico City

A 40-percent increase in bus fares touched off three days of violent protest near Mexico City, Mexico, in mid-September when 25,000 residents of Ciudad Netzahualcōyotl took to the streets with rocks and sticks, burning buses and fighting with police.

According to eyewitness reports in the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, the rebellion began without warning at about 7:00 in the evening on September 15, as workers returning to their homes discovered that bus fares had suddenly jumped from 3.5 to 5 pesos. A furious crowd of workers, students and housewives with children began to throw stones at the buses. Within minutes, groups of women and men were seizing buses, ordering the passengers off, and setting the buses afire. Thirty were destroyed and more than 50 were damaged.

When police arrived to attack the crowd, the violence spread. In nearby Naucalpan, residents captured several buses and declared they would not give them up until bus fares were lowered. While thousands battled the cops, others marched to the Municipal Building to demand the resignation of the director of Traffic and Public Safety, Félix Hernandez Jaimes. Hernandez Jaimes is widely believed to have become a millionaire by selling "protection" to the city's private bus companies. Street fighting continued for nearly three days, with an estimated 300

people injured and 600 arrested.

Ciudad Netzahualcōyotl (also known as Neza) is one of the poorest suburbs of Mexico City. Two million people live there in conditions of extreme poverty, many without water, electricity or paved streets. The area has been seething for years with frequent complaints of police brutality and extortion.

In response to the September rebellion, the municipal government of Neza moved quickly to take "temporary" control of the privately-owned bus system, until order can be restored. Local observers expect the city takeover to be formalized in law within a year, thus ending private mass transit in the area. Until September 15, such a course of action was denounced as "utopian" by the ruling capitalist party, PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary Party).

According to Pedro Hernandez Bastida, a leader of the Peoples Neighborhoods Union of Neza, the September 15 rebellion was only the first warning. "If things don't improve in every respect in Neza," said Hernandez Bastida, "two million residents will be ready to demand justice with other methods." Even the respectable capitalist newspaper *Excelsior*, had to agree. "One can feel an unrest in the air," it observed, "as if waiting for bigger things."

Eritrea: 20 Years of Armed Freedom Struggle

By IAN DANIELS

Twenty years ago, on September 1, 1961, 13 Eritrean nationalist fighters armed with obsolete rifles confronted Ethiopian soldiers in the remote western highlands of Eritrea. The first shots were fired in a liberation war which has continued ever since.

Eritrea is a strip of land along the Red Sea in Africa's strategic Horn. For hundreds of years the Eritrean people fought off foreign invaders; the country was finally conquered by Italy in 1890. When Italy was defeated in the Second World War, the British organized a military government in Eritrea under their control. In 1952 the British handed Eritrea over to the Ethiopian government.

Ethiopia was then ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, an all-powerful despotic monarch who by official state and church doctrine was revered as almost a god. By annexing Eritrea, Selassie was continuing the policies

of his forefathers, who through brute force against a multitude of peoples in the region forged the Ethiopian empire. This empire was based on the suppression and oppression of non-Amhara peoples by the Amhara, the ethnic/linguistic group to which the emperors belonged. Selassie did not find the Eritreans willing subjects.

The first organized force to militarily resist Ethiopian colonialism in Eritrea was the

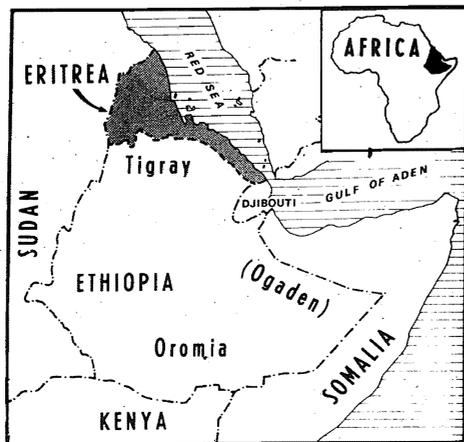
shots in 1961. Throughout the 1960s and '70s the ELF fought on, harassing Selassie's armies through a strategy of guerrilla war.

In the late '60s, the ELF split. Eritrea, like the entire Horn of Africa, is a patchwork of ethnic and religious groups. ELF fighters from Christian backgrounds found themselves the victims of attacks and harassment from the ELF leadership, of Muslim background. The

more ethnically Christian fighters broke away to form what today is the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF). The two fronts came to blows, and civil war consumed the liberation movement.

1974 was a turning point. A group of military officers seized power in Ethiopia, threw out Selassie, and established a "socialist" military dictatorship. This group, known as the Derg, continued Selassie's policies of repression

against ethnic minorities in the (Continued on next page)



Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), which fired those first

U.S. Imperialism Shaken by Sadat Death

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat was assassinated in Cairo on October 6. Sadat was presiding over a military parade marking the anniversary of Egypt's 1973 war with Israel when at least four men—the exact number is uncertain—leaped from a truck passing the reviewing stand and opened fire on him. Seven people, including Sadat, were killed in the attack, and another 38 were wounded. Egyptian authorities report that the plot against Sadat was organized by an army lieutenant, Khaled Ahmed Shawki al-Istanbuli, who is a member of an Islamic nationalist group called Takfir Wal Hijira. Shawki and three other men were captured by security forces and are now awaiting trial.

The assassination sparked a revolt by other Islamic militants in the city of Asyut, around 250 miles south of Cairo. According to the government, around 75 members of the Islamic group Gaamat Islamaya, armed with automatic weapons, attacked the local security headquarters on October 8. The government had to seal off Asyut and send reinforcements to regain control of the city. Unofficial reports claim that 118 people were killed in the fighting.

Sadat's killing and the Asyut revolt both reflect the rising opposition to Sadat's policies by Egyptian Islamic nationalists. Ever since the Iranian revolution, Sadat had feared that Islamic nationalists would try to overthrow his rule. These fears increased after rioting broke out between Muslims and Coptic Christians in Cairo last June. Vowing to "uproot indiscipline" and "religious sectarianism," on September 2 Sadat ordered the jailing of over 1,600 Muslim and Coptic leaders. A week later he expelled 1,000 Russians from the country, claiming that the Russian government was conspiring with nationalists, leftists and religious "extremists" against him.

While Egyptian officials insist the assassination was the work of a few "fanatics," it is clear that they are on guard against a wider revolt. The government has declared a year-long state of emergency, banned public gatherings, and, according to some reports, brought in as many as 250 military officers for questioning. Sadat's funeral on October 10 took place under extraordinary security precautions, and government buildings in Cairo remain under heavy guard.

In Egypt itself, people reacted to the assassination of the self-proclaimed "father of the Egyptian family" with apparent indifference, in sharp contrast to the outpouring of grief that followed the death of nationalist President Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1970. Outside Egypt, Sadat's death was greeted with dismay by the U.S. ruling class and its allies. President Reagan declared that the U.S. had lost "a close friend" and a "champion of peace," and sent a huge delegation to Sadat's funeral. But most Arab governments said, more or less politely, that Sadat deserved to die. In particular, Palestinians in Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied West Bank territory responded to Sadat's demise with parades and singing in the streets.

Sadat betrayed Palestinian people

The reason for these varied reactions is not hard to find. Sadat betrayed the Palestinian people's struggle to recover their homeland when he recognized the Zionist conquest of Palestine and signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Sadat was also one of the most vocal supporters of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and around the world. The U.S. and Israeli ruling classes have good reason to mourn his death, while the Palestinian and other Arab peoples have good reason to celebrate it.

The effect of Sadat's death on Egypt and the Middle East remains to be seen. Hosni Mubarak, who served as vice-president under Sadat, was "elected" to succeed him as president in a staged referendum on October 13. Mubarak is pledging to maintain Egypt's alliance with the U.S. and Israel. But some U.S. observers fear his government will be challenged not only by Islamic militants, but also by rivals within Egypt's ruling elite. They are also afraid that efforts by Libya's radical ruler Muammar el-Qaddafi to take advantage of Sadat's death to intervene in Egypt and neighboring Sudan could destabilize the entire Middle East and even lead to war.

The Reagan administration is pledging to defend Mubarak and other pro-U.S. rulers in the Middle East against internal "subversion" and what it calls "threats to peace" from the Russian or Libyan governments. The State Department has already announced plans to greatly expand joint military exercises with Egyptian troops scheduled to be held in November. It is also speeding up military aid, including U.S. "advisors," to Sudan. Despite such measures, Sadat's death, and the advent of a new and potentially unstable government in Egypt, represent a serious setback for U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

Eritrea...

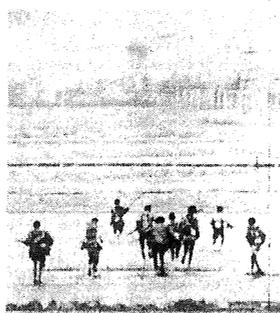
(Continued from previous page) Ethiopian empire.

In this period the masses in Eritrea and Ethiopia awoke to struggle. The ELF and EPLF signed a truce. The "socialist" Derg announced a series of military offensives against them, all of which were defeated. Workers and peasants throughout Ethiopia began to strike, seize the land, and fight against oppression. Other ethnic minorities in Ethiopia also began to fight. In northern Ethiopia, the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) organized for freedom for the Tigrayan people. In the south, the Oromo Liberation Front

(OLF) organized for the freedom of the Oromo people, conquered by Ethiopia in the 1890s. Finally, rebels of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia were joined by the government of Somalia in a war against the Derg.

Seeing the Eritreans liberate 90 percent of Eritrea, and seeing all the other resistance to their authority, the Ethiopian government moved to strengthen its hand. This was 1977, another turning point.

The Derg began a massive crackdown on dissent. It moved with brutal force against Ethiopian workers and leftists, sin-



EPLA fighters attack government naval base in Massawa during 1977 offensive.

gling out for the most murderous attacks the youthful supporters of the opposition Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party, which had announced its

support to the Eritrean revolution. The Derg strengthened its ties to the Soviet Union, and advisors began to pour in from the state-capitalist countries of Eastern Europe.

Cuban troops were flown in to defeat the Somalis in the Ogaden. This freed up the Derg to direct its attentions against Eritrea. A full-scale offensive forced the Eritreans to retreat from most all the cities they had liberated. The ELF and EPLF re-established themselves in the northern highlands and in the countryside around the cities.

Following its victories, the Derg was welcomed with open arms by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Since 1978 it has strengthened its economic and political ties with the state-capitalist world.

But the war in Eritrea was not over.

Now, three years later, the liberation forces fight on in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Although factionalism has returned to Eritrea—the ELF/EPLF civil war has resumed—the Eritreans continue to push back Ethiopian offensives. The Derg is so shaken by its inability to defeat the longest guerrilla war in Africa that in 1980 they began to threaten the Eritreans with a Soviet-produced nerve gas.

Eritrea is a land of tragedy; thousands have died in the 20-

year war. Children have been burned with napalm, families destroyed by bombing raids. Eritrean refugees in neighboring countries are a major problem. The Eritreans' just struggle for national liberation has been betrayed time and again. China, which had supported the Eritrean struggle in the 1960s (when it was trying to curry favor with liberation movements), dropped the Eritreans in the early '70s in favor of Selassie. Cuba and Russia, also backers of the Eritreans in the '60s, dropped them to support the Derg in the '70s. In the U.S., some groups on the left have joined these betrayals. Notable is the Workers World Party (WWP), which once was in the forefront of support work for the Eritrean struggle. When the Soviet Union and Cuba dropped their support of Eritrea in favor of the Ethiopian government, WWP went right along with them.

But Eritrea is also a land of hope. For 20 years the Eritreans have faced the armies of Ethiopia, which have at various times been backed by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba, and yet in all that time, they have not given up. This should serve as tremendous inspiration for people fighting for justice, freedom and liberation throughout the world. □

Diablo Canyon...

(Continued from page 4) protesters' strategy sessions, just to make sure everyone played by the script.

The results were predictable. Despite the large number of arrests (more than at any other anti-nuclear action in the U.S. to date), the blockaders were almost totally ineffective in reaching their goals. The only interruption of work at Diablo occurred on September 16 when one woman broke away from her assigned position and sat down in front of a bus caravan carrying 730 construction workers into the plant through an unguarded gate. Fifteen other women joined her and the caravan was forced to stop and turn back. When police, who were caught by surprise in this incident, finally arrived on the scene, they assaulted a number of blockaders and one woman suffered a broken arm. Several reporters were also roughed up and arrested.

Overall, however, most blockaders seemed to agree with Leigh Cohen of Santa Barbara, who described the cops as "beautiful." "They let us play

this thing through right until the end," she added. Police allowed blockaders to climb over the outer fence on the first day before arresting them. They designated an area near the main gate for those who wished to formally "trespass" and be arrested. Non-violence, proper attitude, and good etiquette was the style. When police moved in for one mass arrest, protesters first chanted "om," then stood and offered their arms for an escort to the police vans.

After two weeks of this, the Abalone protest ran out of steam and the blockade ended.

Meanwhile, local residents of San Luis Obispo and Avila Beach organized two separate, and much larger, demonstrations against the plant. A local waitress, Cheryl McLean, initiated these actions so that "working people and those with families" could show their opposition. After only two days of leafleting, 5,000 local residents showed up September 20 to march past the gate. Many returned a week later for a second march.

Cheryl McLean mobilized

more people in two days than the Abalone Alliance did in a year of careful planning. "It's a little disappointing," said blockader Rick Williams, "when you think they had 26,000 people at an anti-nuclear protest in Germany."

Why did the blockade fail? The Abalone's tight control of the protest, their completely passive strategy, and their open collaboration with the police certainly cooled off much of the enthusiasm that a more militant action could have generated. "We weren't trying to reach out to the mainstream," said organizer Raye Fleming. "This action was designed for the already-committed." That is, those with the time, money, and pacifist philosophy to spend two weeks repeatedly taking symbolic steps onto private property only to await arrest, go to jail, then return to do it again.

Ironically, as the last blockaders were heading for home on September 28, the discovery of a design engineer's mistake inside the plant caused an indefinite delay in the low-power testing. According to PG&E's own engineers, the mistaken design of some critical cooling pipes now makes the plant vulnerable to an accident in case of an earthquake! □

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