

Reconstruct  
the  
Fourth  
International!

# TORCH

Newspaper  
of the  
Revolutionary  
Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 9/25c

SEPTEMBER 15-OCTOBER 14, 1979

## Militants Organize Against Growing Klan Threat



The Revolutionary Socialist League helped mobilize hundreds to stop the Klan in Muncie, Indiana. Cops had to move in to protect the Klan from counter-demonstrators.

All across the country the racists of the Ku Klux Klan are organizing and becoming more bold. But they are not going unopposed. On August 17, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference sponsored an anti-Klan meeting in Norfolk, Virginia. A national anti-Klan network was set up. Several weeks later the Revolutionary Socialist League led demonstrations that drove the Klan off the streets of Muncie and Fort Wayne, Indiana. For coverage of these and other stories about the anti-Klan struggle, see pages 4 and 5.

## Auto Contract '79: UAW Leaders Fail to Fight

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

"I really have a conviction that we can settle without the necessity of a strike this year."

—Irving Bluestone, United Auto Workers (UAW) vice president and head of the union's General Motors department.

"I believe this is the year we can settle without a strike."

—George B. Morris, Jr., chief negotiator for GM, the UAW's strike target this year.

"A peaceful settlement? Peaceful for who? No strike means the workers get nothing. If we had any kind of a leadership in this union, we'd be saying 'no more cars built anywhere in the U.S.

until we win an end to forced overtime, job security through a shorter workweek, guaranteed SUB and COLA, and the other things we need."

—A worker at GM's Tarrytown plant, when asked about no auto strike this contract year.

In the weeks before con-

tracts covering over 750,000 GM, Ford and Chrysler workers expired on September 14, both UAW and management negotiators predicted they could settle without a strike. The last time that happened was over 20 years ago—back in 1958.

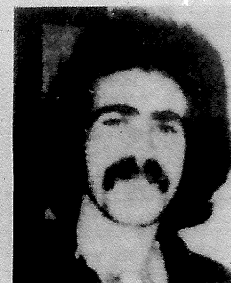
But, as we go to press just

(Continued on page 10)

## STOP THE EXECUTIONS OF THE IRANIAN SOCIALISTS!

An Imam's Committee in Ahwaz, Iran, pronounced death sentences against 12 members of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS—Iranian section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International) on August 26. Two women members of the HKS had received life sentences the day before. All were tried before a secret tribunal, without lawyers or even the right to speak in their own defense. Their only crime was their politics. The HKS launched an international campaign to stop the executions. When letters and telegrams started to pour in from all over the world, the Foreign Ministry published a statement denying that the central government had charged or sentenced the HKS members. But then, as the protests increased, vice-premier Sadeq Tabatabai tried to justify the sentences by claiming that the HKS members had caused explosions at oil pipelines and had killed people.

So far the international protest has kept the 12 alive. The RSL and the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, W.I., have sent protest telegrams to Khomeini. We urge all workers and revolutionaries to do the same. Send to: Ayatollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran, or the Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20008.



Hamid Shahrabi (l.) and Mustafa Gorgzadeh face execution.

**SECCION EN  
ESPANOL**

**RSL Builds Contingent for Oct. 14  
March for Lesbian & Gay Rights**

See page 16



**our  
readers  
write...**

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 562,  
N.Y., N.Y. 10036

## Sexism runs deep under capitalism

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

I am writing in response to a letter in the August/September Torch/La Antorcha on "Africans in China fight racism." DC correctly raised the point that racism exists in China and Russia. The incidents he refers to are cases where African men were dating Chinese and Russian women. He states that "Russian men students refused to admit the Russian women could like African men." These cases prove the blatant racism and sexism that exist in these so-called "socialist" countries.

I believe it is important to closely examine the sexism, because one-half of the world's people are women and we are oppressed because we live in a worldwide system of capitalism. Sexism is perhaps the most ingrained cultural training the capitalists teach people. During infancy, babies are taught sex roles, and this training perpetuates the inequality women in every society face. Men are trained that all women in "their culture" are "their women," or their private property. By private property I mean men believe that women's role in society is to serve men.

Remember the story of Adam and Eve and how Eve was supposedly made from Adam to serve Adam? Women are supposed to serve men as prostitutes, as wives, and as wage earners for the family. Women who work outside the home have two jobs, their home and children, and the job. Since women are seen and treated as men's "private stock," men feel it is their right to decide, influence, and judge who women date. Through

cultural training, the capitalists have a ready-made means to keep women oppressed. Since most men don't control their own lives, capitalism teaches men the only place they can be the boss is in the family.

Men are taught to dominate women by looking at all women as if they were girls—read children. Most men believe they are physically and morally stronger, more intelligent and more clever than women. Women who buck this authority are usually scorned in society. Women working in steel mills, coal mines or other male-dominated industries are always questioned: "What's a sweet thing like you doing in a place like this? Why don't you have a man support you?" Women who fight back against rapists or husbands who beat them are thrown in jail for years or committed to psychiatric wards.

Fighting sexism means fighting the ideology of male supremacy. Fighting racism means fighting the ideology that Blacks are inferior. Capitalism teaches divisions in society to keep working and oppressed people under control. In our struggle for socialism we must understand these divisions and unite the working class worldwide to destroy the economic conditions that presently determine these inequalities. We must make our goal a liberated world society where everyone's talents are developed rather than repressed.

Fight Chauvinism in all its forms!  
Comradely,  
Lisa Lemel  
Chicago



African students in Shanghai were detained for "insulting Chinese women."

## Prisoner calls solidarity at Marion "beautiful"

Dear Torch:

I was transferred last May to Marion. Somewhere around the beginning of June, six guys opened fire on the gun towers with homemade shot-guns (or so the administration claims), and made an unsuccessful escape attempt. The gun towers pinned them down, along with half the people on the rec yard. Bullets were flying everywhere, and it's only by luck that an innocent bystander didn't get blown away. It seemed as though they were trying to shoot anyone, so long as it was a convict. Anyway, when the shooting finally stopped, everyone on the rec yard thought the guys between the fences were shot, dead, or bleeding to death, because they all had blood on them, and nobody was moving. All the pigs did is stand around for 10 to 15 minutes telling everyone to go back to the blocks, while making no moves to get those six guys from between the fence or get them medical attention. After 15 minutes of arguing about getting those guys to a doctor, a bunch of people started throwing rocks, weights, or anything handy at the pigs. Eventually, everyone went back to their blocks. Luck was generous that day, because only one of the six got hit, and that was only a crease across his head. All the blood was from them getting cut up on the razor wire between the fences.

Well, the way Marion works, anytime there's a disturbance they lock down the entire population. For two or three days everyone was kept in their cells, but things blew up again on June 14. It was the most beautiful thing I've seen in over five years of confinement. During the noon meal, a guy was alleged to have walked up to the associate warden, who was surrounded by a group of hacks behind the serving counter, and proceeded to stab the associate warden like it was legal. He allegedly hit him three or four times before the hacks regained their senses (and only then because the knife broke off in the pig). Well, the first

two that jumped on him got knocked flat on their asses, and by the time the rest of the hacks jumped in, everyone in the chow hall snapped to what went down. The next thing you know, all the convicts—Blacks, whites, and Chicanos—started throwing salt and pepper shakers, sugar containers, plates, cups, chairs, tables, or anything in reach at the pigs. Then everyone surrounded the 10 or 12 screws and told them to back up off the guy they jumped on for the stabbing. The fear in their faces was extremely gratifying. Needless to say, they released the guy, and asked him (dig that) if he would walk out peacefully. He did, and everyone was locked in their cells again.

But things didn't end there. On the night of the 14th, about 40-odd people in the hole tore their cells up, sinks, beds, windows, bars, doors, light fixtures, etc., set fires, flooded, and bombed the pigs out every time they came on the range. By the 16th, the hole looked like a hurricane passed through. Now, from the 14th to the 24th we were fed "bag lunches;" we didn't have running water; no showers; no rec; no soap; no toothpaste or toothbrush; no sheets; no blankets; no bed; no clothing; in short, we didn't have a goddamn thing except a mattress to lay our naked butts on. But it was cool. The pigs kept trying to get us to clean the place up in return for "some" of our privileges back. All he got in answer was a good cursing out. Eventually, the pigs came in and cleaned for four hours.

Sometime around the 20th they hit us with the tear gas. But it backfired on them. We yelled over to the convicts in the control unit that we were being gassed, so they started tearing their cells and TVs up. So they were forced to move us to I-Block (we were in G-Block because I-Block had just been remodeled from the last riot).

Once in I-Block everyone started tearing it up. This went on for a few days, but

the hacks broke weak in the end. They told us we would get hot meals, showers, paper, pens, envelopes, soap, toothpaste, etc., providing we settle down. That's all we wanted all along. We told them early in the game that all we wanted was what we were supposed to get. By the 24th, about 20 people had been transferred out. By the end of the month, it was up to 24, myself among them. Out of the 24, only about 13 of us were charged with rioting, destruction of property, and encouraging others to riot. All 13 of us were found guilty; given 60 days or more in disciplinary seg; our commissary accounts frozen until we agreed to pay for the damages; and we were all recommended for the control unit.

I'd gladly go to the control unit for a couple of years if I had it to do all over again. It was beautiful. It was a perfect display of solidarity. It was one of the few times in the last five years that I've felt alive. Really alive.

In struggle,  
[Name withheld]

## TORCH gets worn out at Somers

Dear People:

I would like to be on your list of subscribers.

I have a copy of Torch, the April 15-May 14, 1979 issue, that is totally worn out from being handed back and forth between my cell, and other cells here in Segregation. We have been discussing the articles, and our one Spanish Brother, who speaks almost no English has been able to participate because of the Spanish translation.

We will really appreciate and make use of future issues of Torch.  
Sincerely yours,  
RS  
Somers, CT

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By ADELE LOHMAN

Hurricane David left thousands dead and hundreds of thousands homeless as it swept across half a dozen Caribbean islands.

The storm hit Dominica on August 29, then rampaged across Martinique, Guadeloupe, the southern coasts of the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, battering the islands with 150-mile-an-hour winds. Hurricane David then lost force as it moved across Cuba and toward the U.S. coast.

On Dominica, 60,000 people, out of a population of 81,000, are now homeless. The capital city of Roseau was flattened. The banana crop, which is the island's economic mainstay, was totally destroyed. On neighboring Martinique and Guadeloupe more than half the banana crop was ruined. In Puerto Rico, heavy flooding left 15,000 families without shelter.

In the Dominican Republic close to three quarters of a million people are homeless and at least 3,000 are dead. People in the countryside suffered the most, their flimsy shacks blown away like card houses, their roads and bridges washed away. They now have no food, no fuel, no electricity and, worst of all, no drinking water. Almost 90 percent of the country's crops have been destroyed. A second tropical storm hit a couple of days later and prevented any relief from reaching the stricken areas.

## Victims are poor and working people

A hurricane is nothing but bad weather, and every child knows you can't do anything about the weather. But there are two kinds of weather: one kind for the rich and another kind for the poor. In Santo Domingo or in Miami Beach, the capitalists and the politicians who serve them have stone houses, where they can be dry and snug while they sit and talk about the weather. Mean-



Church of San Cristobal became a tomb for 300 who sought refuge.



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Church of San Cristobal became a tomb for 300 who sought refuge.



Hurricane David survivor looks over wreckage of his home in Bani, Dominican Republic.

# Hurricane David: A Natural Disaster?

while, poor and working people live in flimsy shacks that get blown away by the storm. In the Santo Domingo area, where David left 90,000 people without shelter, the *New York Times* reports that not one foreign businessman or tourist was hurt or killed by David. They probably didn't even get wet. The government evacuated them from their hotels to public buildings on higher ground.

The *New York Daily News* told it like it is. The title of the article was: "In storm, rich is better." It told all about how the affluent people in stately old Savannah, Georgia, were weathering the storm while dining by candlelight and getting drunk in the city's finest hotels. Meanwhile working people huddled on the floors of

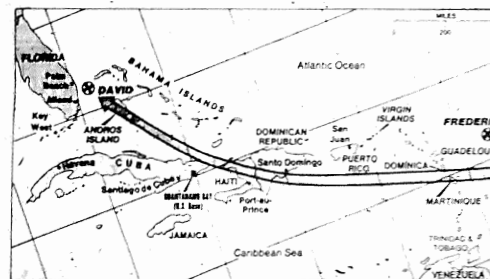
local schoolhouses, begging for a drink of water.

On the small islands off the Georgia coast people refused to be evacuated. For years, the government has been trying to steal their land, and they weren't taking any chances. These islands suffered the worst damage in the area. But the story barely rated two lines in the papers because the people who live there are poor Blacks.

### U.S. capitalists protect their property

The media coverage of Hurricane David was racist. In black and white or living color, it revealed how U.S. imperialism looks at the rest

of the world. To the stricken islands in the Caribbean the storm was the worst disaster of the century. But as long as it didn't threaten the U.S. it wasn't a headline story. It didn't even make the regular TV news—they ran it as part



September 3 map shows path of hurricane.

## \$4,500 More Needed Give to the RSL Fund Drive!

We need help! With only one week left in our drive to raise \$15,000, we are still far short of our goal. To complete the fund drive successfully, we need to raise an additional \$4,500. We are counting on *Torch/La Antorcha* readers to push us over the top.

There is good reason why we face financial difficulties right now. The economy has entered a recession which may become more severe than any since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Many dedicated RSL supporters—people who give us substantial portions of their incomes—have been thrown out of work.

At the same time, soaring prices have meant that expenses like rent and printing costs have increased sharply. The result is that we are broke.

Already, we have been forced to begin sending out our free prisoner subscriptions by Third Class mail. It

costs us 41 cents to send each paper First Class mail; the new rate will lower that figure to 8.4 cents a paper, saving us hundreds of dollars a month. But this means that more than 700 prisoners in over 30 states will face delays of up to two weeks in getting the *Torch/La Antorcha*. We deeply regret this step, since many of these comrades have been among our most consistent supporters. We hope to return to First Class mail as soon as our financial situation improves.

We want to do everything possible to avoid further cutbacks in our work. New opportunities for building a revolutionary working-class party to lead the struggle for socialism are opening up. U.S. imperialism is in retreat, battered by mass struggles in Iran, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

Here in the U.S., working people are fighting plant and hospital closings, rising prices, and right-wing attacks

of the weather report.

When the storm moved toward Cuba, the media showed some concern, but not about the Cuban people; they didn't even mention them. An important U.S. possession was in danger: the Guantanamo naval base, a base that Yankee imperialism needs to keep its control of the Caribbean. Only when David menaced the valuable resort area of Miami Beach did the imperialists get excited. They took precautions to protect their property. Weather tracking stations worked overtime; an Air Force plane flew into the eye of the hurricane to see where it was going. Food was stockpiled; emergency equipment stood by. Then, Hurricane David became the top story in the news. When the storm finally moved north along the U.S. coast the press made more fuss about a few feet of water that flooded the Fulton Fish Market in New York than they did about the whole island of Dominica, or as the *Times* called it: "The banana-growing island of Dominica."

The media called the storm a great natural disaster. But it wasn't nature that did this to people. The hungry and the homeless and the dead are working-class and poor people. Capitalism is to blame for that. When the working class takes power people will have houses that shelter them in a storm. Only then will a hurricane be simply a spell of bad weather.

such as those on abortion, lesbian and gay rights, and the rights of undocumented workers. Open fascists like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are organizing—but being met with growing resistance.

Now is the time for a revolutionary organization to expand its work, not to make cutbacks because of lack of funds.

So please help. Those of you who have joined us in a demonstration or on a picket line, who have come to a forum or read our literature—those of you who think it is important that the RSL continue its work of building a revolutionary working-class party to lead the fight against racism, sexism, repression and exploitation, the fight for a socialist world—please help us now. It will make a difference.

Make check or money order payable to *TORCH* and send to: PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.



# SCLC Holds Anti-Klan Conference

## 30 Groups Set Up National Network

By PAUL ALDRIDGE

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sponsored a week-end conference in Norfolk, Virginia, last month on the growing danger of the Ku Klux Klan. The conference, which began on August 17, was attended by representatives of 30 different organizations from 18 states. Several supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League attended. The most important accomplishment of the meeting was the formation of a national anti-Klan network to expose Klan activities and provide additional resources for the various organizations involved in fighting the Klan.

Most of the conference consisted of a series of reports by lawyers, various experts on the Klan, and individuals active in struggles against the Klan from around the country. These local reports specifically focused on the growing efforts of the Klan to organize in the armed forces and among prison guards.

The reports and the discussions which followed showed the extent to which the various Klan organizations represent a growing national danger to all working-class and oppressed people. Examples of Klan violence were reported in nearly every state in the U.S. At the same time, it was also clear that the most urgent problem is in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, where the Klan has been openly violent.

### Reformist strategy won't stop right wing

One of the high points of the conference was a speech by Jim McNamara, an anti-Klan lawyer from Columbus, Ohio. The main thrust of his remarks was to demonstrate why it is suicide to support "free speech" for the Klan, Nazis or any other terrorist, right-wing organization. Reading from literature distributed by the Klan and various Nazi organizations, McNamara showed that these organizations are dedicated to genocide against Blacks, Latins, gays, Jews, communists and trade unionists. In view of what these groups stand for, he compared the issue of their right to publicize their views to giving someone the right to start a stampede by shouting, "Fire!" in a crowded theater. He ended his speech with: "Death to the Klan!"

McNamara's views contrasted sharply with the basic politics of the SCLC and other groups in attendance like the Democratic Socialist

Organizing Committee and the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice. Spokespeople for these organizations defended their reformist, non-violent strategy for defeating the Klan throughout the conference. In line with their views, they were unwilling to take a clear stand against the right of the Klan and suchlike to publicly organize and demonstrate. The conference wound up taking no position on this crucial issue.

The final day of the conference was devoted to discussing various proposals for opposing the Klan, which had been developed by sub-committees of conference participants. The proposals included coordinating local and regional activities against the Klan, with the possibility of a national mobilization sometime next year. Specific attention was given to the defense of Tommy Lee Hines, the August 8th Brigade and Kenneth Chastain, a trade-union militant fired after being



Anti-Klan demonstration in Decatur, Alabama.

beaten and terrorized by Klansmen working in his plant outside Atlanta, Georgia. Other resolutions offered legal strategies for dealing with the Klan and mobilizing support from capitalist politicians, community leaders and trade-union bureaucrats.

Although setting up a national anti-Klan network

should be a big step forward in the fight against the Klan, its effectiveness will be limited by the reformist strategies of the main groups that will be involved. The growth of the Klan and the Nazis is directly linked to the growing crisis of U.S. capitalism. To defeat the Klan and the Nazis, we must build a united struggle for a real

alternative to this rotten system. This alternative is socialism. For this struggle to succeed, we cannot afford any compromise on the right of groups like the Klan and Nazis to spread their racist trash. The Klan and the Nazis must be driven off the streets and smashed.

**Death to the Klan!**  
**Death to the Nazis!**

## Texas Prisoner Reports on KKK Organizing

As the Torch/La Anotcha has reported in past issues, the KKK is organizing in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC). The letter below gives information on a group called the "Advocates of the Ku Klux Klan" (AOKKK) and on a lawsuit by the organizer of the AOKKK, Frank Leahy. The Torch/La Anotcha recently received a copy of this lawsuit and an AOKKK membership drive letter. Both are filled with the most racist garbage we've seen in some time, including slurs about Black people's "body odors" and the accusation that Blacks want to rape white prisoners.

A section of the lawsuit claims: "Bluntly put, the Black majority do now and have for years run the institutions comprising the TDC. . . . Plaintiffs, by virtue of the pressures, threats, and constant danger to their security and welfare, are forced by involuntary integration to further jeopardize their good time and security status within the institution by arming themselves. . . ."

This is no idle threat. A Black prisoner active in exposing the Klan, Samuel Jackson, was stabbed on August 28. The man who stabbed him is still in general population. Several white prisoners have made death threats against Paul Brown and other Black and Latin prisoner activists. But the militants in the TDC have not been intimidated. We continue to get letters exposing the conditions inside the prisons.

Dear Torch,

Recently throughout some of the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC), the July/August issue of the Torch was censored, ostensibly for the center spread article on the Klan. This "reason" is sham and subterfuge. Here's some background:

With the active encouragement and cooperation of Ramsey 1 Unit officials, Frank Leahy drafted and filed a lawsuit to challenge the recent integration order in *Lamar v. Coffield*. The TDC public relations office assisted in obtaining a brief media coverage for "these

inmates objecting to federal intervention in prison affairs."

Using his wild misinterpretation of *Lamar v. Coffield* ("it means that every cell will be racially integrated by force") and his facetious and frivolous "counter-integration" lawsuit as a springboard, Leahy and other TDC henchmen whipped racial tension and hostility to a froth. Uninformed and uneducated inmates quickly polarized along racial lines and the entire unit was abuzz with talk of "there'll be bloodshed if I have to share a cell with one of them." It was

now time for Phase Two of Leahy's and the administration's plan.

"If you become a member of a registered racial hate group then you won't have to integrate in the cells," said the goons. Building tenders, turnkeys, bookkeepers, countboys—all inmates with a certain status and freedom of movement in the prison, spread the "solution." They, as any Texas prisoner realizes, owe their first loyalty and their souls to the prison officials; it is this absolute loyalty which pays for their special privileges and relative freedom.

The "registered racial hate group"? A sly creation of Leahy with no administration opposition: "Advocates of the Ku Klux Klan," (AOKKK). Leahy quickly developed mimeographed "application blanks," each consecutively numbered, and passed them throughout the unit. There would be a \$30 membership fee but, if one could show sincerity and indigence, this could be waived under some circumstances. The address to which the membership fee was payable? Leahy's family! Prison authorities sat back and allowed Leahy and their henchmen to stir up their hate and fear. It was according to plan.

A few of the Ramsey prisoners saw through the plan.

We read the Lamar court order and saw that it did not require forced, unwilling cell integration. We tried to spread the word and to educate other inmates to discourage them from Leahy's AOKKK scheme. Racial hostility was and is still high, but the lid has remained on. The TDC, of course, denies all knowledge of this racial agitation.

Yet the TDC, quickly grasping the advantage, agreed that no KKK organizing would be allowed and any "outside groups" attempting to gain entry to the TDC would have to apply for permission. This ploy clearly spreads to closer scrutiny of political publications. Voila! Censorship of the Torch, not because it supports prison reform and encourages political activism, but "because of the article on the KKK!"

We must not allow ourselves to be the instruments of our own defeat. Without responsible assessment of the probable long-range consequences of our actions we may doom ourselves to another century of this slave plantation system. We need a revitalized sense of unity, solidarity for change. The battle has begun, but it is to be a lengthy struggle. We must be patient, persistent, and aware.

In unity,  
Aubrey Komurke

# BLA IN M

"Death to the Klan through the streets of town Muncie, Indiana August 25. Twenty members of the United of America scurried to their march, protected by double rows of riot Anti-Klan protestors—community activists and students, Black and white as well as 40 anti-Klan tants from Gary, C and Detroit—surrounding the Klan demonstration. Klansmen remained and had to slip into the under heavy police. Then the crowd broke victory chant: "We b Klan."

The Ku Klux Klan building in central and ern Indiana, once a stronghold. This ma Muncie was their first surfacing in the city the past year. They marched in Fort Way September 9 (see bo have plans to march derson.

When the Klan arri Jackson and High St crowd of 150 was ne hesitant and curious. Blacks exchanged with Klansmen in a

## "Cops g



What would have recruitment parade tu white unity march an Indiana, on September tants led by the Re League marched again Tide and five anti-Muncie helped to lea part of the crowd was A number of Black pated. Many people chanting: "Black ar smash the Klan!" and the Klan to the wall!

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## BLACK AND WHITE UNITE IN MUNCIE TO STOP KLAN

"Death to the Klan" rang through the streets of downtown Muncie, Indiana, on August 25. Twenty-five members of the United Klans of America scurried through their march, protected by double rows of riot police. Anti-Klan protesters—community activists and residents, Black and white—as well as 40 anti-Klan militants from Gary, Chicago and Detroit—surrounded the Klan demonstration. The Klansmen remained silent and had to slip into their cars under heavy police guard. Then the crowd broke into a victory chant: "We beat the Klan."

The Ku Klux Klan is rebuilding in central and southern Indiana, once a Klan stronghold. This march in Muncie was their first since surfacing in the city within the past year. They also marched in Fort Wayne on September 9 (see box) and have plans to march in Anderson.

When the Klan arrived at Jackson and High Sts., the crowd of 150 was nervous, hesitant and curious. Young Blacks exchanged words with Klansmen in a quiet,

almost polite manner. The RSL contingent moved into the crowd and started chanting, but at first the only visible response came from three pro-Klan hecklers. The police pushed the crowd apart to let the Klansmen through. As the Klan marched, the RSL and much of the crowd marched alongside, with more and more people joining our anti-Klan chants. When the RSL banner reached the head of the march, we started chanting: "Black and White Unite—Unite to Kill the Klan." The Klan and cops got noticeably uptight. But at that point, many Black people from Muncie joined our contingent. Several rows of Black and white demonstrators formed and marched arm in arm. By the time the Klan crept back into their cars, the entire crowd was vocally and militantly anti-Klan, including many white Muncieites. No more nervousness and hesitation. The demonstration had broken through the ring of fear surrounding the Ku Klux Klan.

Two other groups demonstrated. The Progressive Labor Party (PL)/Committee

Against Racism (CAR) had a contingent. As the Klan arrived, we went to talk to the PL leader about possible joint action. The PLer shoved our spokesman away, saying, "I'd almost rather beat you up than the Klan." The Lake County Coalition for Survival brought a contingent and cooperated with both the RSL and PL/CAR.

The day had a large political impact. One white woman from Muncie who marched with us used to believe the Klan had a right to free speech. After suffering vandalism and harassment from the Klan, she now sees that they have to be stopped. She learned on August 25 that scores of other people in Muncie feel the same way she does. She is not as alone as she thought. A Black veteran of the civil rights movement told us that the demonstration inspired him to get into the struggle again.

The key question from the demonstration is organization. Will the anti-Klan forces organize? The Muncie NAACP showed that it would not fight the Klan. It urged

the city to okay the Klan's permit, as long as only local Klansmen marched, and then urged Blacks to stay home. No local organization called for an anti-Klan action. But Black community activists, workers from the Chevy and Delco plants and students from Ball State University all marched against the Klan. They have to organize themselves. They can't afford to wait on the NAACP leaders, the ministers, politicians or union bureaucrats. By the time this crew will do something, the

Klan will already have taken over.

Even though Muncie has a population of only 100,000, it shows the importance of fighting the Klan for all workers. During the great auto sit-down strike in 1937, a Klan-type organization broke the UAW strike in central Indiana with mob violence. Today, the Klan's literature appeared in Muncie's auto plants very early. Soon, a struggle will develop in the union. Will the workers allow racist union-busters to gain influence? Or will the UAW help stamp out the Klan? In the '30s, after the strike won in other areas, UAW members poured into central Indiana. They went from bar to bar, settling accounts with the right-wing vigilantes. The UAW won in Indiana, knocking the Klan on its ass. □

## Dozens Beaten at Protest Against Baez Murder

By RANDY CONRAD

BROOKLYN, New York, Aug. 28—An angry crowd of 1,500 community residents and leftists rallied last night in Bedford-Stuyvesant to protest the brutal assassination of Luis Baez by the Brooklyn police. The rally ended with a police rampage. Cops from the 79th precinct broke up the demonstrators into small groups and beat people mercilessly.

The police tactics Monday night were business as usual for the 79th precinct and the New York Police Department. It was cops from the 79th precinct who gunned down Luis Baez on August 23 and provoked the anger of the community in the first place. Luis Baez, 29, was a Puerto Rican man with a history of being in and out of mental hospitals. His mother called police to help take her son to the local mental hospital. Police came, taunted Baez and beat him with clubs. They then let him escape from a circle of six cops and gunned him down as he fled. Twenty-four shots were fired pointblank at Baez; at least 16 bullets were found in his body. The cold-blooded assassination of Luis Baez ignited the long-simmering anger in the area over police brutality and murder.

Last night's rally was called by the Black United Front. The demonstrators listened to speaker after speaker denounce police terror and call for unity among all oppressed people to fight it. As the speeches continued, hundreds of people dispersed and went home. But a core of several hundred stayed to the end and marched around the community near the 79th precinct. At the precinct, police drove cars at 35 and 40 miles an hour through the demonstration without warning. People fled from the street, but not everyone could get out of the way and several people were dragged for 15 feet on top of the police cars. Once they had scattered the demonstrators, the police trapped groups of fleeing people and beat them with clubs and blackjacks. When some of the militants took safety in the homes of community residents, the cops kicked in the doors and dragged people back onto the street or beat them inside the homes. By the time the police ended their rampage, there were dozens of people badly beaten and five people arrested.

All evidence points to the rampage as a well-planned tactic to scare people out of fighting back. The killers in blue have to be stopped or the streets never will be safe for working and oppressed people. □



Protestors in front of 79th Precinct in Brooklyn.

## "Cops go home, leave Klan to us"



What would have been a Ku Klux Klan recruitment parade turned into a Black and white unity march and rally in Fort Wayne, Indiana, on September 9. About 200 militants led by the Revolutionary Socialist League marched against the Klan. The Red Tide and five anti-Klan militants from Muncie helped to lead the people. A large part of the crowd was young white women. A number of Black people also participated. Many people lined the streets, chanting: "Black and white, unite to smash the Klan!" and "Jobs for all, drive the Klan to the wall!"

About 35 Klan members showed up. As usual, the cops were out in force to protect them. In the days before the demonstration the police chief threatened to arrest anyone marching without a permit—which meant anybody who came out to oppose the KKK. This guy also made pro-Klan statements on the radio, complimenting the Klan's "anti-dope" activities! The chant "The cops and the Klan work hand in hand" therefore made a crucial point and went over very well among anti-KKK marchers.

Brent Davis of the Revolutionary Socialist League held many interviews with the Fort Wayne news media. Davis made clear that the RSL was holding its counter-demonstration to educate and organize the

growing movement of people against the Klan. Davis also exposed the racist hypocrisy of the police chief—pointing out that the lynchers have no right to march and that working people have every right to oppose them.

Progressive Labor Party (PLP) also told the news media that they would be there, supposedly to bash in the Klansmen's heads. PLP, for all their talk, never showed up to help build the anti-racist movement.

The march and rally were a success for the anti-Klan demonstrators. It was proved that if working people unite, we have nothing to fear from these bigots. The Klan "recruitment parade" was limited to a quick walk around the block. And when the Klan prepared to leave, the cops surrounding and protecting them, the demonstrators chanted: "Cops go home, leave the Klan to us."

After the Klan left, there was a rally. RSL speakers pointed out the need to organize to fight the Klan, to fight for jobs and to fight for revolution to end the KKK and the capitalist system. Many people signed up to join in future anti-Klan activities. The RSL will continue to build the movement against the Klan. We encourage all working-class sisters and brothers to join with us. ORGANIZE TO SMASH THE KLAN!

alternative to this rotten system. This alternative is socialism. For this struggle to succeed, we cannot afford any compromise on the right of groups like the Klan and Nazis to spread their racist trash. The Klan and the Nazis must be driven off the streets and smashed.

Death to the Klan!  
Death to the Nazis!

## reports izing

We read the Lamar court order and saw that it did not require forced, unwilling cell integration. We tried to spread the word and to educate other inmates to discourage them from Leahy's AOKKK scheme. Racial hostility was and is still high, but the lid has remained on. The TDC, of course, denies all knowledge of this racial agitation.

Yet the TDC, quickly grasping the advantage, agreed that no KKK organizing would be allowed and any "outside groups" attempting to gain entry to the TDC would have to apply for permission. This ploy clearly spreads to closer scrutiny of political publications. Volla! Censorship of the Torch, not because it supports prison reform and encourages political activism, but "because of the article on the KKK!"

We must not allow ourselves to be the instruments of our own defeat. Without responsible assessment of the probable long-range consequences of our actions we may doom ourselves to another century of this slave plantation system. We need a revitalized sense of unity, solidarity for change. The battle has begun, but it is to be a lengthy, struggle. We must be patient, persistent, and aware.

In unity,  
Aubrey Komurke





### Reidsville Brother sentenced to life

On August 18, an all-white jury found Reidsville Brother Forrest Jordan guilty of murder of a guard and mutiny in a penal institution. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. The Reidsville Brothers are six Black prisoners framed on murder charges stemming from the July 23, 1978, rebellion at the Georgia State Prison in Reidsville, in which one white guard and two white prisoners were killed. The uprising by 200 prisoners protested inhuman conditions at the maximum-security prison, where 2,000 men are crowded into a place built to hold 800, and the keepers rile up white prisoners to attack Blacks.

Supporters of the Brothers held a five-day march from Savannah to Reidsville, which was to end in a rally on August 11 in front of the prison. But an injunction by Judge James Findley, the same judge who presided over Forrest Jordan's trial, didn't allow the demonstrators within 1,000 yards of the prison. The cops arrested 67 marchers for trying to cross a bridge leading to the prison, in defiance of the injunction.

Jordan was the second Reidsville Brother to be tried. This past May, Jesse Whitaker was sentenced to three consecutive life sentences. The trial of Moses Evans started August 20. The prosecution wants the death penalty for all six men. Workers and revolutionaries have to make sure that this doesn't happen. The Reidsville Brothers need continued support. Write to: Reidsville Brothers Defense Committee, 88 Walton St. NW, Atlanta, GA 30303.

### Defend Harper and Dean!

Two Black youths, Cornelius Harper and Keith Dean, were sentenced to life imprisonment May 17 for allegedly raping a white woman in Indiana in September 1977. They are innocent victims of a racist frame-up.

Harper and Dean were 14 and 15 at the time of their arrest. The state held them without bail for 19 months, so they could be tried as adults and given a life sentence. During the trial, the prosecutor whipped up enough hysteria to get a conviction on kidnapping, rape and robbery charges, even though the two youths did not in any way fit the original description of the rapists.

Right after the verdict, two other people confessed to the crime, yet Judge Maroc refuses to grant a new trial. An appeal is being filed. The NAACP, the Liberation League and the RSL are working with the families to build the defense. Send donations to: Harper and Dean Defense Fund, Box 11755, Chicago, IL 60611.

### U.S. pays kin of prison fire victims

In an out-of-court settlement, the U.S. government agreed on August 17 to pay \$329,000 to the families of five prisoners killed in a fire at the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut. However, the government makes it clear that they take no blame for the July 7, 1977, fire, in which another 71 prisoners were injured. At the time, the keepers claimed that an arsonist was responsible. But the prisoners said the fire was caused by faulty wiring.

The payments are in response to lawsuits charging negligence against the government and prison officials.

The guards could have saved the men's lives by unlocking an emergency door. Instead, they made sure everyone was locked in before they called the fire department. They trapped 80 prisoners in a burning cell-block because they didn't care how many men died, just as long as nobody escaped. It wasn't negligence that killed five prisoners. It was murder!

### In brief...

Because he killed a cop in self-defense last year, Terrence Johnson is not safe in the Hagerstown, Maryland, prison. Guards have kicked and beaten the Black teenager and told him: "The Klan is watching over you." After he filed a grievance he was stripped, drugged and thrown in the hole. It was only after his mother made an appeal on the radio that she and his lawyer were allowed to visit him.

A federal judge in Louisiana denied a new trial to Gary Tyler, even though the main witness against him has admitted she lied. The Black youth was 16 when he was framed on a murder charge after white racists attacked a school bus full of Black children in October 1974.

A letter dated August 31 from Green Haven prison in New York reports that the entire Muslim community, about 44 brothers, is under keep-lock for refusing to submit to strip-frisks, which are against their religion. They are awaiting superintendent proceedings. Several men have already been transferred. Some of the charges are: inciting to riot, refusing a direct order, striking and any other phony charges the authorities can think up.

# Benefit Scheduled for Pontiac Brothers

CHICAGO—Dick Gregory will speak at Malcolm X College here on Saturday, September 29 at 7:30 p.m., in support of the Pontiac Brothers. Tickets for the fund-raising rally, sponsored by the Concerned Family and Friends of Prisoners, cost \$5.

The Pontiac Brothers are 31 Black and Latin men indicted for the July 22, 1978, rebellion at Pontiac Prison in Illinois in which three guards died. Seventeen men, all Black, face the death penalty if convicted. The state of Illinois is spending millions to push through the frame-up. They are using testimony extorted from other prisoners who were under extreme pressure to tell investigators what they wanted to hear. With cooperation from the judges, they are harassing and virtually handcuffing the defense. Public pressure and exposure are needed to slow the railroad and give the defense a chance to organize.

In Chicago, the 17 prisoners indicted for murder go to court behind a glass wall. The wall, with fuzzy and inaudible sound piped in to spectators, makes a mockery of their right to a public trial. The prisoners sit along

a wall together, separated from their attorneys. Judge Miller has refused to give the defense lawyers assistance they have requested to prepare their defense: a model of the prison; investigators to interview witnesses; a trip to the prison with the defendants, etc. The defense has been given 10,000 pages of discovery material, which is almost impossible to sort through and organize for trial.

In both Chicago and downstate Bloomington, where the other 14 prisoners are scheduled to be tried, prisoners are denied counsel of their choice. In Chicago, Judge Miller refuses to appoint attorneys from out of state. Downstate, only Bloomington-area lawyers are being appointed to get the state-appropriated defense funds. Defense lawyers are to get about half the pay given the prosecution; so far they haven't received a penny.

Albert Jackson, the one prisoner acting as his own attorney, vigorously protested the way Judge Miller constantly disrespected and interrupted him at the August 13 hearing. The lunch offered during the hearing that went until 4 p.m. was

pork, which Jackson and several other prisoners cannot eat. Judge Miller refused to intervene.

The Pontiac Brothers and their visitors are harassed at Cook County Jail. Visiting hours and dates are suddenly changed, or visitors are kept out because of "misunderstandings." Prisoners have been denied their recreation time and medical care they requested. At court, visitors are frisked at the courtroom door, after being frisked at the building entrance. On August 13, guards confiscated all pens and newspapers from spectators entering the courtroom in the afternoon.

The case of the Pontiac Brothers must be taken to the streets and publicized widely. When masses of people are aroused about this attempted mass legal lynching, it can be stopped. If the case is kept in the courtroom—the enemy's turf—the chances are much poorer.

We want to fight to free the Pontiac Brothers. This is part of the struggle against the real criminals—the officials who run the racist and barbaric prison system, and the capitalists whose interests they serve. □

## BENNIE LENARD SUIT CHARGES COVER-UP

Bennie Lenard, a Black worker at International Harvester in the Chicago suburb of Melrose Park, was nearly killed by the cops in January 1977. He had been driving home from work when his car was rear-ended by a car driven by a young white woman. When the cops arrived, they brutally beat Lenard, and then took him to the police station where they beat him some more. Bennie Lenard was hospitalized for over a month; he suffered permanent damage to his right eye and shoulder.

To cover up the police attack, the government framed him up on nine misdemeanor charges. But mass support from workers and oppressed people helped Bennie Lenard beat back eight of the nine charges. The ninth—supposedly having an open can of beer in his car—is being appealed.

Both the county and federal government refused to take any action against the Melrose Park cops and others involved in the attack and cover-up. But the struggle to get justice for Bennie Lenard continues. Below is a brief interview with Bennie Lenard on his case.

**Torch/La Antorcha:** What was the main thing that stopped the railroad in your first trial in 1977?

**Lenard:** Well, the masses of people came out and supported me. They came and demonstrated outside the courtroom. They came and sat in the courtroom during the trial.

**When will the second trial start?**

Possibly in October.

**In the second trial, what will you be trying to accomplish when you sue the cops, Westlake Hospital and others involved in the racist cover-up?**

I will be trying to show how the state covered up, how the courts work, especially for poor people and minorities. In the first trial, the judge suppressed all the evidence about my beating

But the beating explains why nine charges were made against me in 1977. So, the judge became part of the cover-up.

**Your second trial is a civil suit. Why did the Cook County state's attorney and the U.S. district attorney decide not to prosecute the other people involved in the cover-up?**

I did testify before the grand jury (state of Illinois). But the state's attorney said there would be a so-called "conflict of interest" if he prosecuted the cops. So, he turned the case over to the FBI. Some people thought this was a good thing. But I found out that State's Attorney Carey was a former FBI agent himself. The FBI lied on me. The FBI said I would not cooperate, but they never identified themselves as FBI agents when



Bennie Lenard.

they were talking to me. This was just their excuse—to say I did not cooperate. Even though my wife gave the FBI my attorney's name and address, the FBI never contacted him.

**"Fight the System of Police Repression"** is one of the slogans in your fightback against the frame-up and the cover-up. How does this system work?

Being a Black man, born in America, this system doesn't work for Black people and other minorities. It has to be changed. When the police attacked me, I believed in the courts. But then I saw how they worked. I came to a conclusion: This system doesn't work.

Since the judge is keeping the exact date of the trial up in the air, what can Torch/La Antorcha readers do to stay in touch?

You can leave your name and phone number at 312-372-5908, and the Bennie Lenard Support Committee will call you back. Or you can write to the committee at PO Box 20203, Chicago, IL 60620.

The following letter was sent to "Life" magazine in response to their photo-essay on Walla Walla prison. "Life" portrayed existence at Walla Walla as all fun and games—even though there has been continuous prisoner protest and resistance to unbearable conditions and guard brutality there; even though guards, shortly before "Life's" articles appeared, went on a rampage in retaliation for this protest. Currently, Walla Walla is still locked down; over 40 guards have been fired; and the ACLU is preparing lawsuits asking for immediate injunctive relief from overcrowding and guards' brutality, for damages for the beatings and loss of prisoners' property after the rampage.

The article "Prison Without Stripes" in your August issue was a blatant distortion of prison conditions at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla and, by implication, of conditions in prisons throughout the country.

"Prison Without Stripes" suggests that life at Walla Walla is free and easy—"A Prison That Prisoners Run," you term it—where "Every day and all day, most of the 1,400 maximum-security inmates are out of their cells and roaming the premises. Nobody has to work. Prisoners can do almost anything they want with their free time. . . ." This is a fantasy. What are the facts?

**Gay and young prisoners face brutality, rape and harassment**

Your photo-essay carried two pictures of gay prisoners at Walla Walla. . . . there is no stigma attached to flagrant homosexual come-ons," stated the article. One photo was of a prisoner who is a member of an organization of prisoners called Men Against Sexism (MAS). You failed to mention that MAS was organized to protect prisoners at Walla Walla from brutality—rape, assault, harassment—that gays and young or passive prisoners constantly face.

Nor did you mention the case of Carl Harp, a Walla Walla prisoner, a founding member of MAS and a dedicated fighter for the rights of gays and prisoners for years. On July 8, Harp was raped and beaten—not by prisoners but by guards—because of his political activities. Harp said: "I was shocked when they raped me—I couldn't believe it. The pain was beyond words and then they beat me until I was in a daze and could feel no pain, calling me a political prisoner and a jailhouse lawyer." Left bleeding by guards with one of their nightsticks up his rectum, Harp was hospitalized in critical condition because of this assault. (Harp has since been transferred to San Quentin, California. Reports finally issued prove he was raped: He has an inch-long infected laceration inside his anus, according to attending surgeon Dr. Eng C. Shaw.) You "forgot"



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Bennie Lenard.

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# RSL Denounces LIFE's Lies About Walla Walla



Members of the Gypsy Jokers bike club, who get special privileges to act as goon squad against other prisoners.

to indicate that assaults like this by guards are common.

Your article describes a motorcycle club whose members are allowed to ride their bikes inside the prison yard. What you didn't report is that these people act as goons for the prison guards and that their motorcycles are the payoff for the services rendered. You didn't mention that these are some of the people who act as "enforcers" for the prison administration, which uses as a means of coercion the threat of beatings, rape or murder, by some of these bikers.

You didn't note the fact that in July of this year, at least 230 prisoners were forced to live in Walla Walla's outside prison yard for weeks, while another 1,200 prisoners were kept locked down, often four to a bathroom-sized cell, while the temperatures reached 120 degrees (Chicago Defender, 7/24/79).

You also failed to mention the experience of a Catholic priest, Rev. Robert Beh, the chaplain at Walla Walla. In an article in the Chicago Defender on 7/24/79, Beh describes an incident he witnessed in May of this year when three armed guards bullied naked inmates during the aftermath of the prisoner takeover. He relates that he saw guards "slamming them [the prisoners] into the wall, jabbing them with their sticks, pulling up on their handcuffs." Beh obtained affidavits from Walla Walla prisoners describing incidents in which guards beat prisoners, served them milk with urine, forced them to sit hatless for days in the sun until their eyes were swollen shut. Father Beh, who at first did not believe that systematic brutality existed at the prison, now says: "When I look back on it, it seems so incredible that I didn't be-

lieve." Convinced now, the Seattle Times reports on July 13: "The Rev. Robert Beh said he visited five of the six [assaulted] prisoners yesterday in the prison hospital. [Beh said] they had been badly worked over. One had a broken tooth, and they all had numerous welts and bruises on their bodies. . . . But the beatings are nothing new here, they have been going on for years. . . . They can't claim these guys fell into doors as they have claimed over the years." Father Beh said violence against prisoners is to blame for the problems at the prison."

## Dangerous drugs are used in behavior modification

In your article you stressed that drugs are available in the prison, and gave the impression that everyone spends his time getting high and having fun. What you didn't mention is that the most common use (abuse) of drugs is on prisoners by the administration (at Walla Walla and elsewhere). One of the drugs used is anectine, which simulates death. The use of this drug by the CIA in Vietnam was outlawed as a war crime. Another commonly used drug is apomorphine—an antabuse-based drug, that induces violent vomiting. This is used for so-called aversion "therapy." There are also the "psychological straitjackets" of mellaril and thiorazine, which cause prisoners to become little more than zombies while on the drug (assuming they are lucky enough not to develop permanent nervous system

problems).

You also failed to mention any of the "regular" forms of "behavior modification" used at Walla Walla (and elsewhere): electroshock, psychosurgery, such as lobotomies, aversive conditioning, sensory deprivation. Drugs and behavior modification are administered by people such as William H. Hunter (who ran the mental health unit at Walla Walla from 1970 to at least 1977). As this "humanitarian" put it: "I have broken horses all my life, and if I can do that, I can break any man. I would make it mandatory that all people sentenced to prison go through my program. . . . But, if after completing . . . my program, they committed another offense, they would be automatically executed



Teddy "Tina" Escamilla became the sexual slave of another prisoner to protect himself from assaults.

(Voice of Prison, July 1976)."

Your article failed to report any of this. It was nothing but a fantasy, intended for people who have never come into contact with a prison or anyone who has done time. In an accompanying article, "Is This Any Way to Run a Prison?," you state: ". . . what dismays penal experts more is the violence that continues despite the reforms." The reason for the continued violence is precisely because the so-called reforms mean nothing—they are used only to hide what actually takes place behind the walls—especially the violence directed at the prisoners by the administrators. You have certainly done your part in furthering this cover-up.

## Prisons are not vacations or summer camps

Prisons are not vacations or summer camps. Life's photo-essay notwithstanding. Racism, brutality and murder by prison officials are common inside every prison in this country. It is the reason why prison violence continues. People will continue to be violent against their keepers when so much violence is put to them.

These facts speak for themselves. But in your capacity as "objective reporters," you chose not to print them or others like them. Rather, you gave Life readers a wholly distorted picture of prison life. Your article is in fact only a thinly disguised call for a "crack down" in the prisons, for a "harder line," for more violence—more rapes and beatings, more stupefying drugs, lobotomies, electroshock therapy—against prisoners by the prison authorities. Instead of calling your magazine Life, why not try "Distortions of Life"—it's a title somewhat closer to the truth.

Mary Rivers  
For the Torch/La Antorcha



## U.S. TRYING TO LINE UP PLO

# Why Andrew Young Had to Go

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Andrew Young's career as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations is over. In August Young found himself in the middle of a political crisis after his July 29 meeting with Zehdi Labib Terzi, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the UN. When the dust had cleared, Young had resigned, U.S. maneuvers in the Middle East were out in the open, and President Carter's Administration was caught with its foot in its mouth again.

Young himself has always been a loyal servant of U.S. imperialism in general, and of the Carter Administration in particular. His specific area of expertise is the use of tricky rhetoric and limited concessions to sidetrack mass struggles against imperialist rule. For instance, in 1977 he told a group of white South African business leaders that the best way to head off a revolution in their country—and save their own necks—was to accept U.S. demands for an easing of the racist apartheid system. Using his own experience as a civil rights leader as an example, he told them: "When Blacks became part of the free market system in the South, not only did the system not explode, but Blacks had very much at stake in it. And when you've got a stake in society, you don't vote to change it, outlaw it, or overthrow it."

As UN ambassador, Young's main task was to sell U.S. policies to Black African and Asian governments. In particular, he was to win acceptance for U.S. imperialist plans to defeat liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia. He was quite successful in this. As a result of his work, the Nigerian government hailed Young as the "symbol of a new and constructive United States policy."

Despite these services, Young appears to have become a fall-guy in the twists and turns of U.S. policy in the Middle East. U.S. government spokesmen claim that Young was not carrying out official policy. Specifically, they contend that his meeting with the PLO violated a solemn U.S. pledge to Israel not to negotiate with the PLO until the latter publicly accepted the right of the Zionist state to exist. They also claim that Young lied to his superiors about the meeting.

These so-called explanations are fairy tales. The Carter Administration has been conducting secret talks with the PLO for at least a year. In November 1978, Paul Findley, a Republican Congressman from Illinois, met with PLO head Yasir Arafat and delivered a message from Carter to him. Last spring, Milton Wolf, the U.S. ambassador to Austria, met PLO envoy Issam Sartawi for



Andrew Young answers questions about his resignation at press conference.

a "serious discussion on an undisclosed subject." While Wolf was "reminded" of the policy of no talks with the PLO, U.S. diplomats in Vienna revealed that Wolf was acting under instructions.

### Shift in U.S. Mideast policy

These meetings are part of a shift in Carter's policies aimed at protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East. The U.S. needs an imperialist peace in the area to head off the Arab anti-imperialist struggle and protect U.S. oil supplies. To do this, they have had to come up with some deal to "solve" the "Palestinian problem."

Carter knows that this deal can only work if it is supported by the PLO. His strategy is two-fold. On the one hand, he wants to force the PLO to accept the Zionist conquest of Palestine by publicly recognizing the state of Israel. On the other hand, he wants to pressure the Israeli government into negotiating a settlement granting the Palestinians some kind of phony autonomy in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Such an arrangement, if supported by the PLO, would defuse the Palestinian struggle against Israel, which has always been the heart of the anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East. It also would meet the needs of the Arab rulers who control Middle East oil, and who are demanding this kind of settlement as the price for peace with Israel.

But the U.S. needs to keep its policy shift under wraps until all the pieces are in place. Specifically, the U.S. can't afford to negotiate publicly with the PLO until the latter recognizes Israel. The Israelis, who knew very well that Carter's agents were talking to the PLO, were looking for an excuse to blow the whistle, break up the negotiations and wreck the whole scheme. To avoid these dangers, the U.S. government resorted to back-room maneuvers with the

Department has admitted that "someone" suggested that Young meet with the PLO about the postponement. In any event, it's clear, both from Young's account and from intelligence reports leaked to the *New York Times*, that the government knew all about the meeting at least by July 30.

The only "crime" Young committed was getting caught. Israeli spies found out about the meeting and informed *Newsweek* magazine. When *Newsweek* reporters asked for an official explanation, Young and State Department officials got together on August 13 and cooked up a cover story about an "accidental encounter." The same day Young, realizing the secret was out, met with Israeli UN Ambassador Yehuda Blum to ask him not to reveal the truth about the meeting. However, the Israeli government then decided to lodge a formal protest about the meeting the next day. This action blew the affair wide open and forced Young to resign on August 15.

### Young takes heat off Carter

The Young meeting was the excuse the Zionists needed to attack Carter's policy. By leaking news of the meeting to *Newsweek*, waiting until the U.S. issued a cover story, and then exposing it as a lie, the Israeli government hoped to embarrass the Carter Administra-

tion, force it to publicly reaffirm its opposition to the PLO, and sabotage Carter's game-plan.

Andrew Young was hardly an innocent victim of the imperialist hanky-panky in the Middle East. As a professional diplomat, Young realized it was his job to take the heat off his superiors. After he was reprimanded for "violating official policy," Young resigned on his own, and assumed full responsibility for the meeting with Terzi. By doing so, he allowed the State Department to officially disown any dealings with the PLO, and pretend that the Israelis have nothing to squawk about.

Since his resignation, Young has blamed everybody in sight for his downfall except Carter and his administration. He declared that alleged enemies in the State Department, "sharks who smelled blood," were using the meeting as an excuse to get rid of him. He accused the Israelis of spying on the meeting and bugging his own home. These charges are probably true. But their purpose was to direct the anger of Black voters to unnamed right-wingers and the Israelis, instead of Carter and company.

Young made no secret of the fact that his main goal was to protect the Carter Administration. When asked by a reporter why he didn't fight to keep his job, he replied: "Sure, I could have, but that would have torn up the Democratic Party and undermined everything that I have worked with President Carter for on domestic policy and



Young meets with Jesse Jackson in New York after his resignation.

African policy and I don't want to do that."

In particular, Young wanted to avoid a breach between Carter and the Black community. Before his resignation, he warned Israeli Ambassador Blum not to disclose the truth about the Terzi meeting because: "If it becomes a public issue, people could turn on my defense could be giving the PLO a consistency in the United States."

## COURT LOCKE

By LAURA WADEBAY

On June 20, the Supreme Court upheld state laws that give a child's parent or guardian the right to control the child to a mental institution without a hearing. Thirty-six states now have such laws. Federal judges in some of them, Georgia and Pennsylvania, had ruled the laws unconstitutional, saying they lacked safeguards to check that the parents were acting in the child's best interest.

Among the reasons the Supreme Court gave for supporting the laws were:

- Western (capitalist) society has always supported the clear family and parental authority.

- The natural bonds of affection lead parents to do what is right for their children.

- It is bad for the government to always be able to overrule parents.

Over 80,000 young people are committed to mental institutions every year. The institutions are a lot like jail. The people in them are locked up until somebody charges fees like cutting them loose. The staff runs their lives. The government saves or makes money making them work for nothing. One big difference, though, is that supposedly you have to commit a "crime" to go to jail (though often the crime is being Black, Latin, and working-class). But you can be locked up in a mental institution indefinitely merely for having what some "authority" considers a bad attitude, or for reasons like "promiscuity" or having a "school phobia."

Adults who are threatened with commitment at least

## The Four Puerto Rican Nationalists Are Free!



The longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere were released September 10, after President Carter commuted their sentences to the time already served. Oscar Collazo completed 28 years of a life sentence for his part in an armed attack on Blair House, the temporary residence of President Truman, November 1, 1950. Lolita Lebron and the others served 25 years of a 25-to-75-year sentence for firing handguns into the U.S. Congress March 1, 1954, wounding five congressmen, to call attention to Puerto Rico's status as a colony. (The fifth nationalist prisoner, Andres Figueroa Cordero, died of cancer in March of this year.)

All four intend to continue their fight for the independence of Puerto Rico. At a September 11 press conference in New York Lebron declared: "Until my last breath I will fight for the liberation and freedom of Puerto Rico."

The four nationalists are pictured at their reunion in Chicago, a few hours after their release. L. to r.: Irving Flores Rodriguez, Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron and Rafael Cancel Miranda.



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## erto Rican Are Free!



Western Hemisphere were released and their sentences to the time already sentence for his part in an armed attack on President Truman, November 1, 1950. Lolita Lebron received a 15-year sentence for firing handguns into the Congressmen, to call attention to Puerto Rico. Andres Figueroa Cordero, died in prison.

the independence of Puerto Rico. At a press conference he declared: "Until my last breath I will fight for the independence of Puerto Rico."

in Chicago, a few hours after his arrest. He was joined by Lolita Lebron and Rafael Cancel-Miera.

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Young meets with Jesse Jackson and other Black leaders in New York after his resignation.

African policy and I didn't want to do that."

In particular, Young wanted to avoid an open breach between Carter and the Black community. Before his resignation, he warned Israeli Ambassador Blum not to disclose the truth about the Terzi meeting because: "If it becomes a big public issue, people coming to my defense could end by giving the PLO a constituency in the United States

they don't have." After his reprimand, he spent hours on the telephone trying to convince Black leaders not to make an issue of it.

Despite Young's efforts, Black leaders raised a storm of protest over the resignation. NAACP leader Benjamin Hooks said Young had been "made a sacrificial lamb for circumstances beyond his control." CORE head Roy Innis called the resignation an "international

conspiracy to dismantle Black leadership."

Moreover, as Young predicted, his resignation has led to a wave of support for the PLO among Black leaders. On August 20, Reverend Joseph Lowery, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, met with Terzi and later expressed support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Richard G. Hatcher, the mayor of Gary, Indiana, announced: "Things will never be the same again. It is now time for us to take another look at the whole question of Israel and Middle East policy, oil and South Africa."

These leaders are using the Young affair to warn Carter and the whole Democratic Party not to take their services and the Black vote for granted. They have always told Black voters to put their trust in the Democratic Party. They put Carter in the White House in 1976 by mobilizing the Black people to vote for him. In return for their efforts, they have gotten almost nothing. Meanwhile, racist attacks on busing, affirmative action,

and Black living standards in general are creating pressure on the Black leaders to take action.

By issuing a "declaration of independence" at their August 22 conference, and agreeing to call a Black summit conference or political convention in the future, these leaders are trying to re-establish their militant credentials in the Black community. At the same time, they are organizing their forces in the Democratic Party to try to gain some concessions in the 1980 presidential campaign.

No one should believe that these leaders are preparing to break with their traditional support for U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. They are pro-capitalist politicians who have always supported the U.S. This has not changed. The August 22 conference avoided taking any stand on the PLO. Despite some militant talk, people like Lowery continue to defend Israel and refuse to support a Palestinian homeland. The influential Black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, printed an editorial calling Lowery's meeting

starve; that this system is the best of all possible systems; that when they grow up and go to work, they should obey their bosses out of loyalty and gratitude; and that if they go ahead and do what they want to do, they will be punished.

This system doesn't benefit the overwhelming majority of children, and it doesn't benefit the overwhelming majority of parents. Parents don't want to be to their children what turnkeys are to prisoners. But that's what it'll be like as long as the bourgeoisie determines our lives. Part of our vision of communism is that everyone will share in society's wealth. No one will have to swear obedience in order to eat. Then parents and children will be free to choose whether or not to live together, and it will finally be possible for "natural bonds of affection" to really thrive and grow.

ed by their guardians, who have complete legal control over them, or they run away and try to make a living and dodge the cops.

This grim situation isn't an accident. It's a policy of the ruling class. The Supreme Court judges can kid themselves about the "natural bonds of affection" between parent and child, but in real life, the job of the family unit and the juvenile court system is to break children down—to socialize them. The bourgeoisie wants the children of the working class to learn early that they have no options; that for their whole lives they will have to do what they are told or

## COURT RULES YOUTH CAN BE LOCKED UP ON PARENTS' SAY-SO

By LAURA WADEBAY

On June 20, the Supreme Court upheld state laws that give a child's parent or guardian the right to commit the child to a mental institution without a hearing. Thirty-six states now have such laws. Federal judges in two of them, Georgia and Pennsylvania, had ruled those laws unconstitutional, saying they lacked safeguards to check that the parents were acting in the child's best interest.

Among the reasons the Supreme Court gave for supporting the laws were:

- Western (capitalist) law has always supported the nuclear family and parental authority.

- The natural bonds of affection lead parents to do what is right for their children.

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Over 80,000 young people are committed to mental institutions every year. The institutions are a lot like jails. The people in them are locked up until somebody in charge feels like cutting them loose. The staff runs their lives. The government saves or makes money by making them work for nothing. One big difference, though, is that supposedly you have to commit a "crime" to go to jail (though often the crime is being Black or Latin, and working-class). But you can be locked up in a mental institution indefinitely merely for having what some "authority" considers a bad attitude, or for reasons like "promiscuity" or having a "school phobia."

Adults who are threatened with commitment at least

have a legal right to a sort of trial. In these hearings, the person who wants to commit someone has to produce doctors who will say that the person to be committed is crazy. At the same time, the person being "tried" can bring in doctors to say that she or he is not. Then the judge decides. This process usually doesn't do much for a working-class person, especially if the person petitioning for commitment represents the state, such as a welfare caseworker. But the courts at least have to go through the routine. The various state laws, upheld by the recent Supreme Court ruling, deny young people

the right to even this minimal procedure.

Thus, the Supreme Court's ruling reinforces the status of children as the property of their parents or guardians, with the excuse that "the natural bonds of affection lead parents to act in the best interests of their children."

Under capitalism, the "natural bonds" between parent and child are more like leg irons. It's surprising that much affection survives at all. Children are bound to their parents or the juvenile department primarily by poverty. Capitalist society gives them no economic alternative. Either they are support-

## 28 Face Heavy Charges For S.F. Gay Rebellion

**SAN FRANCISCO**—Dan White, killer of SF Mayor George Moscone and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk, was sentenced to eight years in prison for these murders. The 28 people arrested during the May 21 rebellion at San Francisco City Hall following this verdict face charges carrying sentences ranging up to 15 years.

Dan White was given a light sentence because he is an ex-cop, family man and white reactionary serving the interests of the state. The 28 defendants are poor and working-class men and women; Black, Latin and white; gay and straight and unlikely to get special treatment from the courts.

Dan White is being held in special facilities for his protection. If convicted, the May 21st defendants will be held in prisons where human rights are routinely ignored, physical and sexual abuse is common, and gays, Blacks and Latins

receive especially rough treatment from racist and sexist guards and administrators.

The San Francisco district attorney's office, under fire for its weak prosecution of White, is trying to redeem itself by prosecuting the May 21st defendants to the fullest extent of the law. Assistant District Attorney James Lassarte, notorious for his prosecution of the White Panther Party and New World Liberation Front, has been assigned to prosecute the case. Nineteen of the defendants face felony charges for destroying property and assaulting police officers. Each felony carries a five-year sentence and several demonstrators face multiple charges.

A defense committee has been established with the two-fold purpose of aiding the defense of those arrested and educating people about the dangers of various investigations including a grand

jury. The committee points out the FBI has begun its own investigation, purportedly of civil-rights violations that occurred when police invaded Castro Street in retaliation for the events at city hall earlier in the evening.

Meanwhile, the police commission is paying the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) \$25,000 to conduct an investigation into the rebellion. SRI was a target of student protests during the Vietnam War because of its links with the Defense Department and the CIA. In the past, SRI has investigated the SF State University student riots and helped reorganize San Francisco's welfare system to reduce the number of people eligible and the amount of payments.

The National Lawyers' Guild has organized the defense of the arrested, as well as the filing of claims against the police and the city of San Francisco. Five hundred people have sued for \$150 million in damages for the abuse they received at the hands of the police during the rebellion. The defense attorneys estimate they will need approximately \$30,000 to defend the 28 arrested; so far about \$4,000 has been raised. Contributions may be mailed to: **Capp Street Foundation, for May 21st Defense Fund, 558 Capp St., San Francisco, CA 94110.**



# Auto Contract '79: UAW Leaders Fail to Fight

(Continued from page 1)  
two days before the contract runs out, a strike against General Motors, the union's target company, seems likely.

However, UAW chief Douglas Fraser announced on September 10 that even if there is a strike, the union will not shut down all of GM's truck and car operations in the U.S. Instead, the UAW will call out workers at selected plants, including those making fast-selling small cars like the Citation, Chevette and Skylark; several truck plants; a Cadillac plant in Detroit; as well as about three-quarters of GM's parts distribution depots.

In all, only 20 percent of UAW-represented GM workers will walk out if there's a strike, and the strike is expected to be relatively short—a few weeks at most.

## Pact won't match inflation

Unfortunately, even if there is a strike, it will mostly be for show. In the battle over who is going to pay for the deepening crisis of the auto industry, the workers are definitely on the defensive. The UAW leadership gave the fight away by conceding early on that any settlement would have to take into account the "changing economic realities" and by making clear how anxious they were to avoid a strike.

As a result, almost all the pieces of a settlement with Ford and GM have been in



UAW leader Doug Fraser and George B. Morris, GM chief negotiator, preparing "labor peace."

**"A peaceful settlement? Peaceful for who? No strike means the workers get nothing."**

been initiated, numerous local union agreements signed, while "remaining differences between the company and the union on the key economic issues relating to pension benefits, additional time off and adjustments in the UAW's cost-of-living escalator aren't great."

Ford and GM—as usual—offered almost identical packages, calling for around a 28 percent wage increase over the three-year life of the contract. Three percent of this would be a rise in the basic wage rate; the rest would come from cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) under the currently used formula. It is this formula the UAW is seeking to alter.

It should be noted that with inflation now running over 14 percent a year, any settlement in the companies' ballpark—even with some modifications—will set autoworkers' real wages back in the first year alone. It is likely that the final settlement will be only several per-

sions, retirees can expect increases that only very partially offset inflation.

Since 1974, the cost of living in the U.S. has gone up 42 percent. In the same period, UAW retirees' pensions have risen only 21 percent. The vast majority of retired autoworkers now find that, after putting in 30 years and more of their lives on the line, they can barely make ends meet.

Originally the UAW was calling for some kind of actual COLA on pensions. While the leadership never made its specific demand public, this was understood to mean either pegging pension increases to the Consumer Price Index, or fixing pension levels as a percentage of active workers' wages.

By early September, however, Fraser had already backed off, saying: "We aren't purists on this." As of this writing, what is being talked about is a series of fixed increases over the life of the contract.

Even though the UAW bureaucracy will undoubtedly hail this as a great advance toward full COLA on pensions, it is actually nothing of the sort. The increases will not make up for past losses due to inflation; they will not keep pace with rising prices in the next three years; and, in the case of runaway inflation, the retirees will be literally left out in the cold.

Fraser and Co.'s reasons for supposedly making the pension issue their number one demand were far from humanitarian. There are currently 300,000 retiree-members of the UAW. While they don't have a vote on the national and local contracts, they do vote in national and local union elections. With several key posts up for election at the UAW convention this coming spring, Fraser is anxiously trying to trade much-hurrahed pension gains for votes.

In addition, retired autoworkers often make up the backbone of the UAW-backed political campaigns. Fraser, a supporter of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, is trying to play a national role in the Democratic Party with his

"Progressive Alliance," and needs the retirees as foot-soldiers for his efforts.

## Fraser ignores laid-off workers

While Fraser courts the retirees, he has totally ignored another section of the UAW rank and file. They are the more than 80,000 autoworkers who have been permanently laid off in the last six months; and the tens of thousands more for whom the unemployment lines are

of these autoworkers was conspicuously absent from all union negotiating reports.

Instead of waging a serious fight around the layoffs and job security, the UAW tops continued in this contract year to push for their phony shorter workweek plan. The 1976 contract called for a total of 12 personal paid holidays (PPH) a year by the time the contract ran out. Supposedly, these days would create the need for more workers and therefore open up more jobs. While there are no hard statistics on this, it is virtually certain that the PPH plan didn't help to hold the line on layoffs, much less create one new job. Further, the companies agreed to it largely in the hopes that it would hold absenteeism down and never planned to hire more workers.

GM and Ford have offered to up the number of PPHs a year to 19 by the end of the contract, but there has been talk that they may tie it to some form of absentee-control or overtime-incentive plans. As with pensions, Fraser may call this another step toward his stated goal of a shorter workweek to create jobs, but the reality will be that some people have a few more days off, while others—under the impact of layoffs—have their workweek shortened to zero.

## Chrysler workers take a beating

Chrysler workers find themselves in the worst situation of all this year, starting with the more than 25,000 on permanent layoff. The Chrysler Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund has run dry for all workers with less than 10 years' seniority (almost all the laid-off workers). SUB funds, as required by the contract, are supposed to provide workers with up to 90 percent of their usual wages for a full year after they are laid off. Chrysler, however, is telling these workers "tough luck."

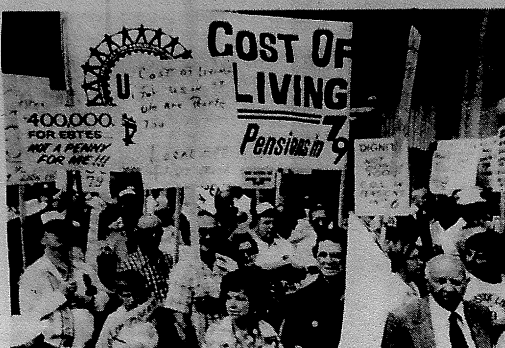
Chrysler has also announced more layoffs. An



Children support parents fighting to keep Dodge Main open.

just a matter of time. There are 32,000 GM workers, 16,000 Ford workers and 25,000 Chrysler workers on layoff.

Even the slightest mention



Autoworkers demand cost-of-living protection at General Motors headquarters.

place for several weeks. (Chrysler, which is on the verge of bankruptcy, asked the union to accept a two-year wage and benefits freeze. Fraser refused, but did agree not to call a strike at Chrysler. He also said the union—meaning the misleaders who run it—were "open" to a lesser settlement after Ford and GM came to terms with the union.)

The Wall Street Journal reported on September 12 that agreements on almost all the non-economic issues have

cent above the companies' initial offer. Yet the UAW leadership praised the companies' proposal as a "good effort."

## COLA on pensions sold out

Similarly, after all the noise the UAW leadership made about COLA on pen-

entire shift will be September from making the Dodge and Chrysler New York. The 1,800 to the unrolls.

As we have Chrysler is near and expects to \$700 million—the order to get back the company has \$1 billion bail-out government and ation of the UAW cracy in discipl workers to pay for crisis.

Fraser has gone to meet the com mands. While re posed wage ar freeze, on August "The UAW fully u its obligations an bility in troublec was not his resp the workers he about.

While there a



RSL contingent



## UFW settles

The United Farm the country's large settlement August on strike since Jan three-year contract earlier with two ma other lettuce firm, the whole California

Minimum wages \$3.70 before the str in 1980, and \$5.71 increases of up to 5 three years. The pie go up 46 percent by

The contract is at farmworkers, who squads and police l strike. But it won't because farmwork

In another import agri-business, migr fields are demandin hour and a guarante weeks. They're orga Organizing Commit August 27. The strik sell to Libby's and C canneries who set p the whole industry. of all Campbell and

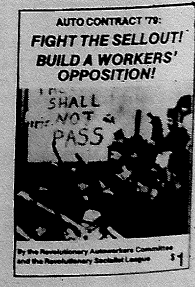
## KRACO work

On August 19, 350 Electronics plant in first union contract nearly three months plant, which makes Latinos. Many are lack work permits. T starvation wages as

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A handbook by the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the RSL for the 1979 auto contract struggle. \$1.

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# UAW fight

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Chrysler has also announced more layoffs. An

entire shift will be cut in late September from its plant making the Dodge St. Regis and Chrysler Newport and New Yorker. This will add 1,800 to the unemployment rolls.

As we have mentioned, Chrysler is near bankrupt and expects to lose over \$700 million this year. In order to get back on its feet, the company has asked for a \$1 billion bail-out from the government and the cooperation of the UAW bureaucracy in disciplining the workers to pay for Chrysler's crisis.

Fraser has gone pretty far to meet the company's demands. While refusing a proposed wage and benefits freeze, on August 4 he said: "The UAW fully understands its obligations and responsibility in troubled times." It was not his responsibility to the workers he was talking about.

While there are usually

some minor differences in the Big Three contracts, Fraser has agreed that this year the UAW will settle for substantially less with Chrysler. Thus, employed Chrysler workers will face intense speedup, deteriorating working conditions, and paychecks that every month buy less at the store.

Nor has Fraser made a peep about the layoffs or SUB fund running out. Clearly, from Fraser's point of view, this is not part of the UAW's "obligations and responsibilities."

## Unite, organize, prepare

The UAW contracts are coming at a time of deepening economic trouble for the entire capitalist system. The recession that began in the

spring is getting worse—not better, as some economists originally predicted. The value of the dollar continues to decline, while the energy crisis threatens to seriously disrupt the economy.

The problems facing the auto industry go deeper than the immediate recession to the very decline of the system. The auto plants are old and inefficient. Plants in Japan and Europe are more profitable and produce cars that are stern competition for U.S. models. More and more people in the U.S. are buying cars made abroad.

To turn this situation around, the auto bosses need to modernize the plants. But this will take an enormous amount of capital—capital they don't have. That's why Chrysler, which is in the worst shape, has asked the government for money. And all the companies, through layoffs, speedup, mechanization, robots or

any other means, are trying to increase the amount of labor they squeeze from the workers.

The 1979 contracts could have been an important test of strength for the UAW. Through carefully picking the spots, the union and its rank and file could have put the bosses on notice that their attacks would not go unopposed. The union could have chosen a crucial question like no overtime anywhere while UAW members are on layoff, to fight around and then had a serious debate in the whole union about the best tactics to use—everything from mini-strikes to an industrywide strike that would have shut it all down. Most of all, this contract time could have been used to organize autoworkers for the continuing battle to stop the bosses' attacks.

Instead, Fraser and the UAW bureaucracy declared 1979 the time for labor peace. They did everything they could to avoid a strike, including breaking precedent and signing local agreements before September 14 to avoid local strikes. They promise the companies to be "responsible." And, worst of all, they told autoworkers that if they sacrificed, the industry could get back on its feet and they could once again make gains. In this way, they disarmed the rank and file of the UAW, not only for this contract round, but for the future.

Unless there is a spontaneous and huge outburst of

anger among autoworkers in the next few weeks, the 1979 contracts will mark a setback for autoworkers. But this can be changed by workers learning the lessons and doing something about it.

First and foremost of these lessons is that the union cannot be left in the hands of labor traitors like Fraser, who say that the workers and the capitalists have the same interests. Workers must organize to take the union back, to set it on a course of preparing for the showdown between the bosses and the workers.

To do this, militant and revolutionary workers must unite, organize and prepare. That didn't happen this contract round. Fraser faced no substantial national opposition, and what opposition groups did and do exist are very small. Militant and revolutionary workers must build for the future—the coming months and the next few years. Conditions in the plants are getting worse and worse, and an explosion is inevitable. Meanwhile, unemployed workers will start to move as SUB funds and unemployment benefits run out. Left-talking bureaucrats like Fraser will try to put the fires out and bring the workers' outrage under control.

Autoworkers should not allow themselves to get demoralized by the 1979 sell-out. Instead, they should organize to prevent such sellouts in the future, and to drive back the bosses' offensive. □



RSL contingent in July 16 demonstrations demands jobs for all.



## LABOR IN STRUGGLE



### UFW settles with Sun Harvest

The United Farm Workers union and Sun Harvest, the country's largest lettuce grower, agreed on a settlement August 31. Lettuce workers have been on strike since January. The terms of the proposed three-year contract are similar to the ones signed earlier with two major tomato growers and one other lettuce firm, and are likely to set a pattern for the whole California vegetable industry.

Minimum wages will start at \$5 an hour, up from \$3.70 before the strike. They'll rise to \$5.40 an hour in 1980, and \$5.71 in 1981, plus cost-of-living increases of up to 50 cents an hour over the next three years. The piece rate for lettuce cutters will go up 46 percent by 1981.

The contract is an important victory for farmworkers, who have fought company goon squads and police harassment all through the strike. But it won't give the workers a living wage, because farmworkers don't work the year around.

In another important strike against agri-business, migrant workers in the Ohio tomato fields are demanding a minimum wage of \$3.50 an hour and a guarantee of 28 hours' work every two weeks. They're organized by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). Picketing started August 27. The strike is only against growers who sell to Libby's and Campbell's, the two largest canneries who set prices (and therefore wages) for the whole industry. FLOC has asked for a boycott of all Campbell and Libby products.

### KRACO workers win contract

On August 19, 350 workers at the KRACO Electronics plant in Compton, California, won their first union contract after a bitter strike lasting nearly three months. Most of the workers at the plant, which makes car stereos and CB radios, are Latinos. Many are undocumented workers who lack work permits. The company paid them starvation wages as low as \$2.65 an hour, while

threatening deportation against any workers who fought back.

Nevertheless, KRACO workers voted to join the United Electrical Workers union (UE) in August 1978. When they walked out May 31 to force KRACO to recognize their union, the company hired 50 heavily armed goons to break the strike. These scabs shot two strikers, Jose Carlos Rocha and Frederico Rodriguez, and attacked union picket lines with chains and lead pipes. Such gangster tactics aroused widespread labor support for the KRACO workers. The United Auto Workers, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Bakery Workers and other unions collected funds for the strikers. At least 18 Mexican unions supported the strike.

The strikers themselves understood the need to join with other workers against KRACO. Although KRACO is located in a largely Black community, no Black people work at the plant. Workers included an affirmative action program for Black workers in their contract demands. In addition, many joined in demonstrations against the police murder of a Black woman, Eula Love, against the racist Weber suit, and in support of the Nicaraguan revolution.

As a result of their victory, KRACO workers won wage hikes of 10 to 40 percent depending on job classification, their own stewards, grievance procedures, and a health insurance program largely paid for by the company. However, they failed to get the affirmative action program. In addition, 30 fired strike leaders will have to go through arbitration to get their jobs back. Nevertheless, the contract is a real victory in the struggle to win union rights for all workers, and for undocumented workers in particular.

### Teachers strike for decent wages

Public workers all over the country are fighting to protect their living standards from sky-rocketing inflation. Striking teachers are shutting down schools in at least 15 states. In Alaska and

Oklahoma, teachers walked off their jobs for the first time in history. All told, over 40,000 teachers around the country are on strike. At the same time, transit workers have closed down public transportation systems in Los Angeles, Boston and San Francisco.

In some cases, workers are rebelling against their union leaders to get the wage gains they need. For instance, in Detroit, 12,000 teachers struck on September 10 after rejecting a contract calling for a 25-percent wage hike over three years. They are demanding a cost-of-living clause, a wage-reopener agreement, or a shorter contract. And in Paterson, New Jersey, 1,700 teachers turned down a contract which included only a 24.4-percent salary increase over three years.

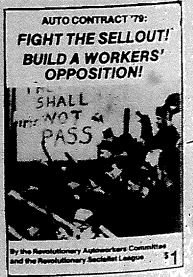
### In brief...

Over 1,300 workers at the Olin Corporation's Winchester arms plant in Newhallville, Connecticut, a New Haven suburb, have been on strike since July 16. At least 35 workers have been arrested in clashes with scabs trying to cross their picket lines. The workers, who are members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, are fighting against Olin's effort to establish sweatshop "performance levels" for production workers. In addition, Black workers, who make up half the workforce, have been furious ever since they found out last year that Olin was illegally shipping guns and ammunition to arms dealers in South Africa.

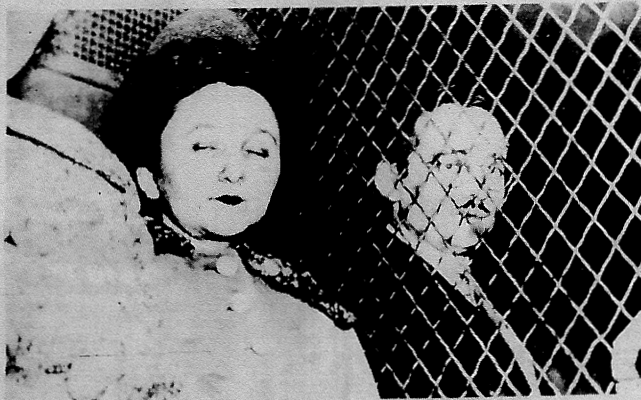
U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall announced on September 12 that the government would step in to mediate the strike of 1,700 clerks against the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. The clerks have been working without a contract since January 1978. They walked out on August 28 after the company had twice refused to allow stalled negotiations over retroactive pay to go to arbitration.

—PB & AL

A handbook by the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the RSL for the 1979 auto contract struggle. \$1.







Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in police van.

By WILLIAM FALK

On June 19, 1953, the U.S. government executed Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison in Ossining, New York.

The Rosenbergs were two Jewish New Yorkers who worked with Communist Party organizations in the 1930s and '40s. In 1950, they were arrested and framed by the U.S. government for supposedly making arrangements to give the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union.

The night the Rosenbergs died, over 5,000 people gathered in Union Square in New York City to protest the killings. In the preceding weeks, 200,000 telegrams had been sent to President Eisenhower, urging him to grant the Rosenbergs clemency. Rallies all over the world asked that the Rosenbergs' lives be spared. Even Pope Pius XII and Albert Einstein had urged clemency.

But the ruling class was determined to carry its plan out to the end.

The Rosenbergs were called spies and traitors. But their real crime was being Jews, leftists and supporters of members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Their execution was the high point of the ruling class's campaign to smash the left and cripple the labor movement. That campaign became known as McCarthyism.

Though the Rosenbergs died 28 years ago, and Morton Sobell, who was convicted with them, was released from prison in 1969, the Rosenberg case has remained alive. Through the tireless efforts of various people, including the Rosenbergs' sons, the government's case has been shown to be the fraud it was. Only die-hard defenders of U.S. imperialism and the Cold War continue to maintain that the Rosenbergs were spies and received a fair trial.

### New claims re-open controversy

This June, however, **The New Republic** (a well-known liberal magazine) published an article that claims to prove that Julius Rosenberg was a spy for Russia after all. The article, which contends that Ethel Rosenberg was innocent, also implies that Morton Sobell was guilty.

The authors, Sol Stern and Ronald Radosh, call themselves socialists. Stern is a former editor of **Ramparts** magazine and a former member of the National Committee to Re-open the Rosenberg Case. Radosh is a leftist historian and a sponsor of **In These Times** newspaper.

Under the guise of proving Ethel Rosenberg's innocence, Stern and Radosh are trying to reverse the trend toward the exoneration of the Rosenbergs. This is the first time in recent years someone with "left credentials" has attacked the Rosenbergs; it ensures that the case will continue to be an issue in the U.S. for some time to come.

The first thing to understand about the Rosenberg case is that the Rosenbergs were framed for a crime that never happened and couldn't have happened.

The Rosenbergs were charged with conspiring to steal the secret of the atomic bomb. But there was no such secret to steal.

Just after the Rosenbergs were killed, the director of the Atomic Energy Commission Classification Office admitted this. "Dr. Beckerly . . ." the **New York Times** reported, "said it was time to stop 'kidding' ourselves about atomic 'secrets.' . . . Bombs are not matters that can be stolen and transmitted in the form of information."

In 1966, the sketch the prosecution had presented at the trial, sup-



Judge Kaufman, who privately decided on death sentences before the defense presented its case.

posedly representing the "stolen information," was released to the U.S. public. At that time, one scientist called it "ridiculous, a baby drawing, it doesn't tell you anything." The co-holder of a patent on the atomic bomb called it "a caricature . . . a false description."

The second thing to note about the charges against the Rosenbergs was that they were conspiracy charges.

Conspiracy is two or more people talking about doing something, not actually doing it. The Rosenbergs were charged with talking about espionage, not an actual act. This made it very easy for the prosecutors: They never had to, and never did, prove that any spying had been committed, or that any information was actually passed to a Russian agent.

The final thing to understand about the charges is that although the Rosenbergs were tried under the War Time Espionage Act, the country they were accused of helping, Russia, was an ally, not an enemy, of the U.S. at the time of the supposed conspiracy.

To convict the Rosenbergs of their non-existent crime, the government had to produce an array of witnesses, all prepared to make up stories. The government's most important wit-

# The Rosenbergs: The Case That Won't Die

**"There is a new whipping boy in our land 'the Rosenbergs' and all 'respectable' people have to cleanse themselves by throwing stones at us."**

Letter from Julius to Ethel Rosenberg, Dec. 12,

ness was Harry Gold. Gold claimed he was a spy for the USSR. He said he picked up drawings from Ethel Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass, at the atomic bomb facility at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where Greenglass was doing army duty. He also claimed that the password in his Russian contact gave him was "Julius sent me."

But all the real evidence shows that Gold's story is a fairytale. For example, research by John Wexley and Miriam and Walter Schneir has revealed that the hotel registration card presented as proof of Gold's trip was a forgery. It also revealed that Gold's description of Greenglass's apartment was wildly inaccurate and that the train out of New Mexico didn't run at the times Gold claimed to have taken it. In short, Gold's trip to Greenglass never happened.

Psychological examinations of Gold, and the testimony of people who knew him, refer to him as emotionally disturbed, and unable to separate fact from his fantasies about himself. The FBI understood this, coached him, and used him.

While we don't have space to describe the testimony of other prosecution witnesses, none of it has stood up under scrutiny. David Greenglass, for instance, testified that the Rosenbergs had a table with hollowed legs used for clandestine photography. Later the table was located and found to be a plain, inexpensive coffee table from Macy's.

Many of the prosecution witnesses were used merely to prove that the Rosenbergs were associated with the Communist Party. The assumption asserted over and over by the prosecution was that, in general, communist sympathizers were traitors, liars and spies.

To ensure there would be no problems getting a conviction and a death sentence, the government wanted a judge who would cooperate fully with the prosecution. They got Judge Irving Kaufman, an ardent admirer of FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover.

The jury in the trial was selected with the same care as the judge. The prosecution was given FBI reports on each possible juror. Supporters of any of the 105 left and liberal organizations on the attorney general's "subversive list" were asked to excuse themselves.

In New York, a city which was one-third Jewish, all Jews were eliminated. Only one worker, a Black employee of Consolidated Edison, was allowed on. The rest were middle-class white professionals and businessmen. There was only one woman.

The jury was strongly pro-government, not only because it was selected so scrupulously, but also because of the hysterical super-

patriotic atmosphere created in this country in the early 1950s, which resulted from what is known as the Cold War.

### The Cold War and McCarthyism

During most of World War II, the U.S. and Russia were allies. They were in an alliance to fight Germany, Italy and Japan. After the war, this alliance broke apart, and a hostile rivalry began between these two imperialist powers. This was known as the Cold War. Because the U.S. was economically stronger and virtually untouched by the war (while Russia was devastated), it was in a position to dominate the world, economically, politically, and militarily.

But to get its campaign for world domination underway, the U.S. ruling class had to mobilize the population behind its new policy. This wasn't easy, since it meant convincing people who thought that Germany was the enemy and Russia the ally that Russia was the enemy and Germany the ally. It also meant convincing the workers, who had their wages held down and right to strike curtailed to finance World War II, that they would have to sacrifice to pay for the U.S. imperialists' new plans. Taken together, this meant smashing the left, crippling the trade unions, and intimidating anybody who might criticize the new policy of the ruling class.

The left, and particularly the

Communist Party, had grown considerably during the years of the Depression and the war. In the 1940s, the CP had nearly 1 million members, and over a million in various supportive organizations. While most considered the communists, they were not revolutionaries. They had supported President Roosevelt and Deal. They had supported the ruling class's effort to make workers pay for their imperial efforts. And they thought capitalist Russia was a society. But they were also for unionism, for Black civil rights and they opposed the U.S. imperialists' drive to dominate the world.

Beginning in the late 1940s, the ruling class went all out to turn the nation into a frenzy against "communist menace." The government set up concentration camps for dissenters, virtually outlawed the CP, and arrested and imprisoned CP leadership.

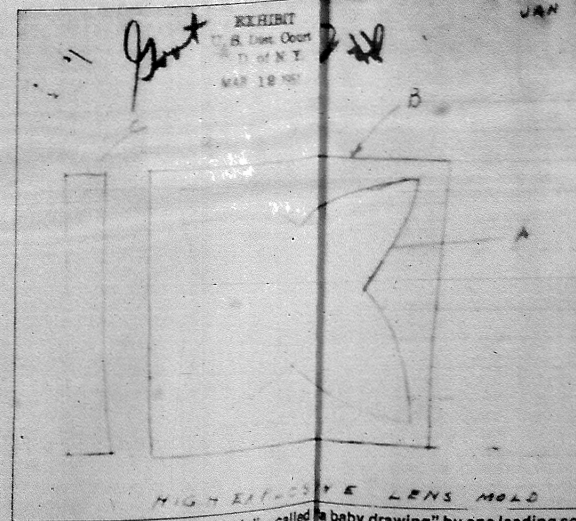
It fired thousands of leftists from the government.

It also backed the right wing labor bureaucracy, had 17 unions expelled from the A.F. of L., and then raided them.

Blacklists were published, thousands of people could lose jobs because of their political beliefs.

Hollywood and the media purged of left-wingers to create reliable propaganda machines.

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# Rosenbergs: The Case That Won't Die

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"un-American activities" and "in-  
ternal security" committees were  
activated, calling people to testify  
against themselves, their families,  
friends and political colleagues. The  
most infamous of these committees  
was led by Wisconsin Senator Jo-  
seph McCarthy, from whom the  
period got its name.

Many people were so frightened by  
this anti-communist crusade that  
they sought to escape persecution by  
becoming finks. They went before  
the congressional committees and  
judges and said: "Yes, I plotted for  
years against the U.S. and worked in  
the communist network. Here is a list  
of others who did so too."

In other words, they made up  
stories about "subversive" activities  
they were supposedly involved in and  
named other people supposedly in-  
volved in them.

The Rosenberg case was the  
climax of this hysteria campaign.  
What better way to whip people up  
than produce some real live "atomic  
spies" and put them on trial? What  
better way to justify smashing the  
Communist Party and kicking it out  
of the unions than by asserting that  
the "spies" were Communist Party  
members or supporters? And what  
better way to frighten anybody who  
had even the thought of opposing  
U.S. foreign policy on the eve of the  
Korean War than by putting these  
"spies" to death?

Judge Kaufman virtually admitted  
this last point as he sentenced the  
Rosenbergs to die in the electric  
chair. "The issue of punishment in  
this case is presented in a unique  
framework of history," said Kauf-  
man. "It is so difficult to make  
people realize that this country is  
engaged in a life and death struggle  
with a completely different system."

## Enter Stern and Radosh

The campaign to smash the left,  
weaken the unions and unite the  
country behind the imperialists' Cold  
War policies was largely successful,  
but only temporarily. By the 1960s,  
the climate changed. Social protest  
movements, such as the Black  
liberation movement, the student  
movement and the anti-war move-  
ment, developed and grew.

These movements, along with the  
defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, the  
Watergate scandals, and other  
events, brought with them a general  
re-examination and re-evaluation of  
the Cold War and the McCarthy  
period.

By 1978, when Rosenberg sup-  
porters gathered for the 25th an-  
niversary of the executions, the re-  
evaluation of the '50s and the  
publicity and accumulation of materi-  
als about the Rosenberg case had  
led to the widespread understanding  
that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were  
in fact innocent.

It is at this point that Stern and  
Radosh step into the picture.

Stern and Radosh claim to have  
found "new evidence" in an indepen-  
dent examination of the same FBI  
files that were obtained by the Rosen-  
bergs' sons a few years ago, and  
through a series of interviews with  
former CP supporters. The "new  
evidence," they say, shows that  
Ethel was framed, but that Julius  
was a spy for Russia.

Stern and Radosh's article falls far  
short of the authors' claims. What-  
ever is new in it is irrelevant to the  
Rosenberg case itself. The material  
in the article that is relevant to the  
case turns out to be the same flimsy  
lies served up in 1950 and discredited  
a dozen times since then.

Radosh and Stern reprint some of  
the documents that show Ethel was  
framed. But except for a tiny, and not  
particularly strong, fragment, these  
documents were published in 1975.  
The heart of Radosh and Stern's  
article is their contention and sup-  
posed evidence that Julius was a  
spy.

They don't even attempt, however,  
to prove that Julius was guilty of the  
specific acts the government ac-  
cused him of in 1950. These acts had  
supposedly taken place in 1944 and  
'45. Instead of dealing with the ques-  
tion of the "atomic bomb secret,"  
Radosh and Stern set out to "prove"  
the existence of a post-war spy ring  
and that Julius was part of it.

They then let the reader infer that if  
Julius was spying in 1948-49, he was  
probably spying earlier as well. (Just  
in case their readers can't make the  
leap, Stern and Radosh make some  
broad hints.)

But Radosh and Stern don't prove  
anything at all, let alone that Julius  
was involved in a spy ring. The best  
they can do is point to some odd,  
apparently conspiratorial behavior on  
the part of Julius Rosenberg and  
others. This "evidence" includes:

1) People disappearing in a suspi-  
cious manner. Just before and after  
Julius was arrested, several mem-  
bers of the CP club Julius belonged  
to left their homes and have not been  
heard from since.

2) Apparently suspicious activity  
referred to in allegations made by  
one James Weinstein. Weinstein is a  
former CP member, who is now

vaguely connected with the CP and  
its causes), were being persecuted.  
They were fired from their jobs and  
blacklisted, fingered and shunned by  
friends, followed and harassed by  
FBI agents, beaten up and even  
jailed. People were fleeing left-wing  
organizations like the plague. Some  
people left the country altogether.  
The CP, which had been forced into  
semi-legality, was in a shambles; its  
leaders had fled or were in hiding. A  
handful of people were trying to keep  
the semblance of an organization  
together.

When you could be turned in by  
your friends and relatives (as the  
Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell even-  
tually were), it was common sense,  
not spying, that led people to use  
phony names, to keep their political  
affiliations and beliefs private, and to  
keep quiet about where they were  
going and why. Meetings of CP  
leaders who were underground were  
often held in cars driving around the  
country. This is the only "spying"  
that James Weinstein's testimony  
could conceivably refer to. (Whether  
even this was going on in this case is  
open to question. Finestone claims  
he told Weinstein he was dropping  
out of the CP to do school work, not



Union Square the night the Rosenbergs were killed.

editor-in-chief of the social-demo-  
cratic newspaper *In These Times* (of  
which Radosh, as we've noted, is a  
sponsor).

Weinstein recently recalled that  
his Cornell University roommate,  
Max Finestone, told him in 1948 that  
he was dropping his party member-  
ship to do "secret work." Later that  
academic year, Weinstein met a man  
introduced as "Julius" at the Fin-  
estone family farm in Ithaca, New  
York, and gave him a lift to New York  
City.

In 1950, Weinstein was again living  
with Finestone, this time in Man-  
hattan, and says that he remembers  
this same "Julius" coming to see  
Max in July, but leaving when he  
found Weinstein home alone. On  
July 17 of that year, Rosenberg was  
arrested. When Weinstein saw the  
pictures in the papers, he realized  
that Finestone's friend was Julius  
Rosenberg.

This is the "evidence" Radosh and  
Stern use to "prove" that Julius  
Rosenberg was a spy.

## This is evidence?

In the first place, none of this is  
proof of anything, let alone that  
Julius was spying. In the second  
place, Radosh and Stern, who grew  
up in leftist families in the late '40s  
and early '50s, ought to know what  
this added up to.

In this period, at the height of the  
Cold War and Red Scare, people who  
were members or supporters of the  
Communist Party, or who supported  
causes supported by the Communist  
Party (or who knew anybody even

CP work. He also says "Jim is fanta-  
sizing.")

Stern and Radosh don't actually  
claim that this stuff proves espio-  
nage. It is not surprising that Stern  
and Radosh therefore look for some  
other "evidence." They "find" it in the  
reports of one Eugene Tartakow.

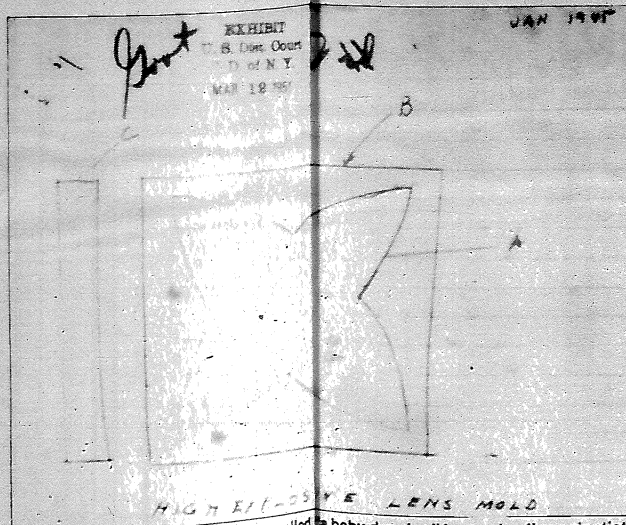
Here at last we find in Stern and  
Radosh's article someone who makes  
the accusation of spying by Julius  
Rosenberg clearly and openly: Eu-  
gene Tartakow, cell-mate of Julius  
Rosenberg at the Manhattan Federal  
House of Detention, an FBI in-  
former.

Tartakow reported to the FBI that  
Julius admitted he was indeed the  
head of a spy ring, that the leaders of  
a companion spy network left the  
country soon after his arrest, and  
that he went up to Ithaca twice for esp-  
ionage "pick-ups." Tartakow gave  
the FBI what he said were descrip-  
tions Julius gave him of his "last re-  
cruit," his last recruit's roommate,  
and even his last recruit's room-  
mate's car.

The descriptions match up with  
Finestone and Weinstein, and Wein-  
stein's memory of events. This is the  
crowning proof of the post-war spy  
ring; "the full truth—messy, compli-  
cated, unflattering to almost every-  
one involved," as Radosh and Stern  
put it.

This is pretty shoddy—especially  
for people who claim to be leftists:  
Using absolutely uncorroborated tes-  
timony of an FBI informer as the  
foundation for their contentions.  
Even the most anti-communist Har-  
vard historian would be skeptical of  
Tartakow's reports.

Why would someone charged with  
conspiracy to commit espionage and  
pleading innocent of the charges go



"Secret" the Rosenbergs "stole"—called a baby drawing" by one leading scientist.



# IRAN HEADS FOR NEW EXPLOSION

## KHOMEINI USES REPRESSION TO CONSOLIDATE RULE

By BRENT DAVIS

Eight months after the overthrow of the shah, Iran is heading for a new explosion. The entire country is in a state of upheaval. Workers have struck for higher wages and organized committees to run the factories, refineries, oil wells and other workplaces. Peasants have seized land and driven out the landlords. Members of oppressed nationalities are fighting for their rights. Soldiers in the army have also organized to defend their interests. Meanwhile, the economy is stagnant and the state apparatus is in a shambles.

Although Mehdi Bazargan is the official head of the Iranian government, the Ayatollah Khomeini is the real power in the regime that was set up when the hated shah was kicked out. After riding a revolutionary tidal wave to power, Khomeini is now trying to establish a reactionary Islamic dictatorship. But Khomeini's plans are meeting determined resistance from broad layers of the Iranian people.

### Repression, consolidation, mobilization

Khomeini seems to be following a three-pronged strategy. First, he has launched a campaign of repression against the oppressed nationalities, the working class and all his political opponents. For example, Khomeini is trying to crush, through naked terror, the heroic struggle of the Kurds for national liberation. On August 22, he sent the army and Islamic Guards to occupy all the major Kurdish towns. The Kurds fought valiantly against Khomeini's forces, who shot their way in behind helicopter gunships, fighter-bombers and tanks. After the fighting, Khomeini's firing squads murdered more than 80 Kurdish martyrs.

Meanwhile, in Tehran and other cities, Khomeini closed down all the opposition newspapers, and sent his stormtroopers, the **heshbolah**, to sack the offices of all leftist groups and beat up women without **chadors** (veils). His executioners are taking aim at the left: The government announced plans to execute 12 members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) solely for their beliefs. In late August, Khomeini's forces killed two Communist Party (Tudeh) militants in Kermanshah and beheaded two young Fedayeen (Marxist guerrillas) in Kerman simply for selling literature.

Second, Khomeini is trying to consolidate the state apparatus and build bridges to U.S. imperialism. For example, he has set up a new secret police force

called SAVAMA, modeled after SAVAK, the vile secret police agency of the shah. To get the men to staff it, Khomeini granted blanket amnesty to all the shah's henchmen, except proven murderers, on July 8. This removed one of the stumbling blocks to relations with the U.S. Now the U.S. imperialists openly support Khomeini, selling him weapon parts and oil. Iranian army officers continue to train in the U.S. Rumors persist about the return of U.S. military advisors to Iran.

Finally, Khomeini is building a right-wing Islamic movement to serve as a battering ram for his drive for power. Khomeini's main support comes from the sections of the Persian masses who are trapped by Shi'ite, Islamic fundamentalism. His movement holds great sway in the Persian slums and villages. Millions of the poorest Persians, as well as petty bourgeoisie, believe that Khomeini is the country's savior. He has built up his prestige as a leader of the struggle against the shah with demagogic use of anti-

the Islamic dictator is on the rise. The struggle of the oppressed nationalities against Persian imperialism grows daily. The Kurds (four million Sunni Muslims) and Turkmenis (500,000 Sunnis) are the most assertive. But the Arabs (three million Shi'ites) and Azerbaijanis (five million Shi'ites) are also fighting back militantly.

After pitched battles in the spring, the Kurds won basic control of their homeland, Kurdistan. Kurdish peasants drove out the landlords and seized the land and crops. They organized peasant councils, democratically elected bodies representing 15 to 20 villages, maybe 20,000 to 30,000 people. These councils then set up defense guards against the private armies financed by the landowners.

Although we know of no direct support for the Kurds in the rest of the country, that is, no strikes, demonstrations, etc., openly defending the Kurds, other nationalities are waging their own struggles against Khomeini. In May and June, the



Iranian troops prepare to execute Kurdish prisoners. The Ayatollah Khomeini wants to smash Kurdish struggle for national freedom.

(IRP) stole two seats from Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, the Azerbaijani religious leader. The fraud was so blatant and the outcry so great that even the local head of the IRP resigned in protest!

Khomeini is also meeting resistance in the army. Soldier organizations continue from the February revolution, especially among the **homofars**, the air force technicians whose mutiny sparked the downfall of the shah. Troops and officers have refused to fight the Kurds. As a result, Khomeini

leftists is large and growing among the workers. But these leftists have tied the workers to Khomeini's regime, rather than organize them to lead the oppressed masses in a struggle against him.

Throughout industry and in the public sector, the workers built committees in almost every workplace. These committees have created "dual power" in the factories. They have forced out many managers, prevented layoffs and so on. The workers have struck often, and successfully for higher wages. They have also organized sit-down strikes in which they have taken management personnel hostage.

Khomeini is afraid to tackle the workers head-on. Instead, his policy is to beat the committees by firing workers and arresting leftists and militants. At the same time, he is giving economic concessions (for example, an increase of the minimum wage from \$3 a day to \$8) to the workers and tolerates their power in the factories to keep their loyalty. But Khomeini is using up his economic reserves quickly and will not be able to continue this policy so very long.

### Economy near standstill

The economy is barely functioning. The government cannot administer it and all Khomeini's attempts to restore its health have failed. He nationalized industry and banks and paid compensation. He vowed to honor the foreign debt. His ministers even begged foreign capitalists and bankers to return. While the government collects badly needed oil revenue, it is unable to inject it into the economy. Meanwhile, oil production is sinking. Exports dropped from five million barrels a day last year, to three million in early August, and then to less than one million barrels after Arabs blew up a vital pipeline. The result has been an inflation rate over 40 percent per year and rising, three million unemployed and enormous deprivation for the masses.

### Workers are organizing

The biggest potential threat to Khomeini is the Iranian working class. The Iranian workers are well organized and militant. But the proletariat has not set itself an independent political course. The influence of



Khomeini supporters attack anti-government protest in Tehran.

capitalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric. He also enjoys the well-organized and financed support of the Muslim clergy and the bazaar merchants. Khomeini's supporters fanatically believe in holy war against sin, communism and the national and religious minorities. So far, this war has included brutal assaults on women and bans on music from the radio during a Muslim holy month, co-ed swimming and alcohol. Even though Khomeini's movement developed in the struggle against the shah and imperialism, it is extremely reactionary and is a deadly threat to working and oppressed people in Iran.

### Nationalities wage liberation struggles

In every area of the country, however, opposition to

Arabs in oil-rich Khuzistan fought battles resulting in hundreds of deaths, demanding their rights. Since then, the government executioners have piled up the corpses. Leaders of Arab oil and steel workers have been jailed. While the mass movement for Arab rights is in a temporary lull, the area is a tinderbox, with constant bombings, shootings and gun-running from Iraq.

Over the summer, the peasant movement in Kurdistan spread to Azerbaijan (and to Fars, a Persian province). In July, Azerbaijani peasants clashed with Khomeini's Islamic Guards. On August 11, youth in Tabriz rebelled, seized food stocks and distributed them in an effective anti-inflation protest. During the August 3 election (to pick a body of experts to draft a constitution), the government's Islamic Revolutionary Party

another upheaval in question is—who will be the victors in this loom? Will Khomeini (reactionary figures) in crushing the people consolidating a regime? Or will the masses, led by the class, carry the revolution to completion and establish socialist government?

### Revolutionary party has to be built

Right now, millions of people are in motion there is no unity, no common understanding of political tasks. Instead, following false leaders are fighting each other. The road forward is the working class to itself, aggressively solution to the social and win all the oppressed masses—nationalities, soldiers and poor—to its leadership. A revolutionary party like the Bolsheviks who led the workers to power in Russia in

## Nic Simo

On August 16, the Cuban government executed about 60 members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade in the country. The Brigade is a leftist group which includes revolutionaries from Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile, Argentina, and other Latin American countries. Its leader is part of the Bolshevik tradition of the United Secretariat (USec) of the Fourth International, an organization which claims to be Trotskyist.

On August 15, the Brigade organized a demonstration of 3,000 workers in the headquarters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The demonstrators demanded payment of back wages owed to them by the capitalists, which the government had promised to restore. Some carried banners saying "The Revolution is in the hands of the people," and "power to the proletariat." At least 100 members of the Populista also participated in the demonstration, demanding arms to defend the revolution.

The government denounced the Brigade as "foreign provocateurs" and "kicked them out of the country. The government charged the Brigade members with misleading workers by pretending to be Sandinistas and claiming that the Brigade wanted to discuss national problems" with Sandinista leaders.

But the real "crime" of the Brigade was not its hostility but its politics. The Brigade, led by Wheelock, a Sandinista who is also Minister of Agrarian Reform, denou-



# OSION



cuture Kurdish prisoners. The smash Kurdish struggle for

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All the signs point to

another upheaval in Iran. The question is—who will be the victors in this looming battle? Will Khomeini (or other reactionary figures) succeed in crushing the people and consolidating a reactionary regime? Or will the Iranian masses, led by the working class, carry the revolution to completion and establish a socialist government?

## Revolutionary party has to be built

Right now, millions of people are in motion. But there is no unity, no common understanding of the political tasks. Instead, people, following false leaders, are fighting each other. The road forward is for the working class to organize itself, aggressively push its solution to the social crisis and win all the oppressed masses—nationalities, peasants, soldiers and slum-poor—to its leadership. This requires a revolutionary party like the Bolsheviks, who led the workers to power in Russia in 1917.

At the present time, no such party exists. Of the various left groups, not one appears to be following a policy that could lead the workers to power. For example, the Fedayeen only recently concluded that guerrilla warfare is not the appropriate strategy for Iran. Despite this correct realization, they appear to be trapped by the theory of the two-stage revolution and have failed to come out openly against Khomeini. The result can only be to confuse the workers about their tasks.

The HKS, which is affiliated with the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International, claims to be Trotskyist and appears to be building a base among the Iranian workers and oppressed people. But from what we can tell, its political line is weak and vacillating. For example, it too seems to be afraid to come out against Khomeini, thus leaving the people unprepared to fight Khomeini's drive to religious dictatorship. In what is probably the HKS's major programmatic and strategic resolution on

the Iranian Revolution (*The Third Iranian Revolution Has Begun*—Statement of the Fourth International, published in *Intercontinental Press*, May 7, 1979), the impression is given that the decisive battles lie years ahead, rather than months. This can only lull the workers, politically disarming them in the face of rapidly moving events.

Perhaps most important, the HKS has limited itself to defending the "right" of the Iranian people to bear arms, and to vague calls for a popular militia. Instead of fighting to actually get arms into the hands of the workers. In a situation where what Marx called the "criticism of arms" is decisive, the HKS's pacifistic approach can lead to disaster. In these and other ways, it appears that the HKS is not up to the task of leading the workers and oppressed people in a struggle to seize power for themselves.

This means that the job of building a revolutionary party in Iran remains to be done. The outcome of the revolution depends on this crucial task. □

# Nicaragua Expels Simon Bolivar Brigade

On August 16, the Nicaraguan government expelled about 60 members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from the country. The Brigade is a leftist group which includes revolutionaries from Colombia, Argentina, Chile and Nicaragua. Its leaders are part of the Bolshevik Faction of the United Secretariat (USec) of the Fourth International, an organization that claims to be Trotskyist.

On August 15, the Brigade organized a demonstration of 3,000 workers in front of the headquarters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The workers demanded payment of back wages owed to them by the capitalists, which the government had promised to restore. Some carried banners saying "The Revolution is in the hands of the bourgeoisie," and "power to the proletariat." At least 100 members of the Popular Militia also participated in the demonstration, demanding arms to defend the revolution.

The government denounced Brigade members as "foreign provocateurs" and kicked them out of the country. The government charged the Brigade members with misleading the workers by pretending to be Sandinistas and claiming that the Brigade simply wanted to discuss "trade union problems" with the Sandinista leaders.

But the real "crime" of the Brigade was not its honesty but its politics. Jaime Wheelock, a Sandinista leader who is also Minister of Agrarian Reform, denounced

"the Trotskyists and all those who seek to accelerate the evolution of the Nicaraguan regime."

Although some of the FSLN leaders claim that their goal is to build socialism in Nicaragua, they are using their power to consolidate capitalist rule. They have given the capitalists a majority of the five-person ruling junta and most of the seats in the Cabinet and have promised to leave the capitalists' property untouched. Most important, they are disarming workers and peasants who do not belong to the military organizations under Sandinista control.

It was this counter-revolutionary policy that the Simon Bolivar Brigade was correctly trying to expose. And this was why the Sandinistas kicked them out.

## SWP stabs Brigade

It is not surprising that the pro-capitalist Sandinista leaders expelled the Brigade from Nicaragua. But what is interesting is the reaction of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the USec section in the U.S. Instead of supporting the Brigade, who are, after all, their comrades, the SWP leadership has given its full support to their expulsion. They have denounced the Brigade as "foreign provocateurs" and have characterized the demonstration as a "stunt." They have even tried to hide any connection between the SWP and the

Brigade, even though they are affiliated to the same international organization.

But while the SWP denounces the Simon Bolivar Brigade, it has nothing but praise for the FSLN and its Menshevik policies. The SWP calls the Sandinistas a "revolutionary current" and condemns efforts to tell the truth about the Sandinista's role as "sectarianism" and "factionalism."

The reason for this uncomradely role is that the SWP leadership is trying to curry favor with the Sandinistas. They hope to grow and gain influence by tying themselves to the coattails of the FSLN. They are hoping that some of the Sandinistas' glory will rub off on them.

To demonstrate their loyalty to the Sandinista leadership, they are even willing to sell out their own comrades in the Simon Bolivar Brigade. □



Jaime Wheelock.



## Rebellion builds in El Salvador

Shouting, "Death to Romero the assassin!" and "No to elections, long live insurrection!", 2,500 Salvadoran militants marched on September 11 to greet leftists who had just ended a two-and-a-half-week occupation of the National Cathedral in San Salvador, the capital. Meanwhile, dictator Carlos Humberto Romero ordered troops to go on alert to suppress anti-government demonstrations expected to break out in connection with Independence Day celebrations set for September 15.

Military dictators have ruled El Salvador since 1932. But in the past year and a half, the Salvadoran people have built a powerful movement to take control of their country. In the spring of 1978, the Revolutionary People's Bloc, a coalition of trade unions, peasant organizations and student groups, and the Federation of Salvadoran Peasants occupied five foreign embassies to protest government attacks on peasant militants in Cuscatlan Province. Early in 1979, post office workers, electrical workers, telephone workers and others went on strike and won substantial concessions from the regime. In May, militants occupied churches, embassies and schools in San Salvador demanding the release of political prisoners.

All of these actions have met with ruthless repression at the hands of the army and the police. But the government has been unable to crush the growing revolt. So the U.S. ruling class is pressuring the regime to grant reforms in order to prevent another Nicaragua. On August 20, the regime promised to hold free congressional elections under international supervision next March, and to allow the return of political exiles. But such concessions are unlikely to save the government.

## Imperialists hold Zimbabwe conference

Representatives of the British government, the Patriotic Front and Bishop Abel Muzorewa's regime in Zimbabwe began meeting in London on September 10. The gathering is a last-ditch attempt by British and U.S. imperialism to prevent the victory of the Patriotic Front, which is leading the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher proposed the negotiations at the August meeting of the British Commonwealth states in Zambia. Her plan calls for writing a new constitution to replace the one that allows the white minority to control Zimbabwe while hiding behind Black figurehead Muzorewa. After the constitution is rewritten, the British would supervise elections for a government to replace Muzorewa's regime.

Thatcher wants to pressure Muzorewa into curbing some of the power granted to the white minority in the present constitution. This would allow her to openly support the Muzorewa government against the Patriotic Front. It would also give the Carter government the excuse it needs to end economic sanctions against Zimbabwe.

Black African rulers have agreed to support the talks. They have also pressured the Patriotic Front leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, into attending the conference. These rulers may be preparing to junk their support for the Patriotic Front and accept an imperialist peace in Zimbabwe.

The Patriotic Front leaders are taking a hard line against the Muzorewa regime as the conference opens. But one of them, Joshua Nkomo, has said that the Patriotic Front "shares sovereignty" in Zimbabwe with the British, while a Patriotic Front position paper accepted the supervision of new elections by "impartial" observers like the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity. Such concessions will let the imperialists impose their own terms on Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe can win their independence only by rejecting any deals with the imperialists and their puppets, and by continuing to fight for control of their country.

## No tears for Mountbatten!

On August 27, members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) killed Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Battenberg, better known as Lord Mountbatten of Burma, by blowing up his yacht when he was on it. Mountbatten, who changed his name during World War I as a concession to anti-German hysteria, was a member of the British royal family, and a pillar of British imperialism. The IRA killed him to protest the continued occupation of Northern Ireland by the British.

While stationed in India during World War II, Mountbatten maintained a staff of 3,000, including a personal band of 30 musicians, while making occasional trips to the jungle to give pep talks to his troops. After the war, he negotiated the independence of India and Pakistan, including the partition plan which led to the death of hundreds of thousands of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in religious and nationalist riots. Mountbatten remained a racist to the end: He included a provision in his will banning any Japanese from attending his funeral.

—PB



# EDITORIALS

## RSL Plans Contingent for Gay Rights March

Lesbian and gay activists across the country are making final plans for the October 14 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The RSL, which has been active in the March movement since its beginning, will be marching in a revolutionary contingent in Washington. We urge all militants to join us.

The March on Washington comes at a time of sharply increasing anti-gay violence and discrimination. As a nationwide protest demonstration, bringing thousands of people into the streets of Washington, it can be a statement of our determination to prevent lesbians and gays from being driven out of jobs, off the streets and back into the closet.

Unfortunately, much of the potential strength of the March has been destroyed. It has been taken over by forces who have tied it to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. These people have kept the March limited to demands that liberal politicians are willing to support. At the same time, they are using the March as their own personal battering ram, promising votes to Demo-

cratic Party politicians in exchange for increased power and posts for themselves.

The result is that the needs of the overwhelming majority of people who suffer gay oppression—working-class lesbians and gay males, including gay youth, lesbian mothers, transvestites and transsexuals, Black, Latin and other specially oppressed gays—have been sold out. The pro-Democratic Party leadership has consistently opposed and suppressed demands relating to job security, defense against right-wing violence, defense of the San Francisco Rebellion, repeal of age-of-consent laws and laws against accosting and soliciting.

The pro-Democratic Party leadership was aided in this sellout by fake socialists of every stripe. The Socialist Workers Party did this by abandoning the gay struggle altogether following the Philadelphia conference. Members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee who are influential in the March leadership call for "pressuring the Democratic Party from within." And supporters of the Workers World Party followed their age-old strategy of voting for all

leadership proposals in order to curry the favor of whoever's on top.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has led the fight inside the March movement against the policies of the pro-capitalist leadership. At national conferences and in local March organizing committees in many cities, we have raised the need to link the struggle for gay rights to the struggle against the ruling-class attacks on the entire working class. We have explained that these attacks are the result of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system; a crisis the ruling class can solve only by beating down the entire working class. And we have fought for a strategy which unites working and oppressed people—gay and straight, Black, Latin and white, male and female, employed and unemployed—into one powerful struggle against the capitalist offensive.

The response of pro-Democratic Party leadership has been to try to drive us out of the movement. In Chicago, we were expelled from the local organizing committee. In New York, we were expelled from the Coalition for

Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR), which is controlled by the same forces who dominate the March. At the Philadelphia and Houston conferences, many of our motions were prevented from coming to the floor, and when they did, debate was cut off or entire sessions adjourned in order to prevent discussion of the issues.

Our presence in the March movement has had a clear impact. The most important result is that we have won many lesbian and gay activists to an understanding of the nature of the system that oppresses them and the need to build a revolutionary party to lead the struggle to overthrow it. In many local situations, we were able to push the March organizing committees considerably to the left. However, we have been a small minority nationally. Organizations like the National Gay Task Force have used their money and "influential connections" to put the March firmly under their control. The result is that the March on Washington will lobby, beg and even cheerlead our enemies—rather than expose them for what they are.

Nonetheless, it is impor-

tant for militants and revolutionaries to go to Washington. We must not allow the misleaders to go unchallenged as they make their claim to speak for "all lesbians and gays."

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be building an independent contingent at the October 14 March. The main slogan of this contingent will be "Lesbian and Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." We invite everyone to join us. We will be carrying banners which call for all working and oppressed people to unite to smash all oppression. We will raise the needs of gay youth, transpeople, lesbian mothers and other specially oppressed gays. We will call for a working-class struggle to smash the Ku Klux Klan. We will say loudly: "From Stonewall to San Francisco—It's Right to Rebel!"

And most importantly, we will try to educate people to the fact that the capitalist government, its cops, its courts and its politicians—from Jimmy Carter to Jerry Brown to Ted Kennedy—are our deadly enemies. They and the system they defend must be overthrown. Join us!

## August 8th Brigade Defense Ctte. Disbanded

Below is a letter from the August 8th Brigade to the RSL, with our reply. As readers know, the RSL has been active in the defense of the Brigade—who are facing charges from the August 8, 1977, rebellion at the Napanoch, N.Y., prison—for two years, and initiated the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee in July 1978. In their letter, the Brigade asks that the Defense Committee now be disbanded because of political differences between them and the RSL. On September 12, the Defense Committee met and endorsed the thrust of the RSL's reply.

To: Revolutionary Socialist League

We wish to thank you for the support your organization has given us thus far, but due to irreconcilable political differences we are now requesting that the "August 8th Brigade Defense Committee" be immediately dissolved.

This decision was not made capriciously, nor out of malice, but rather out of an intensive analysis of your past work on our cases. It is not a personal decision; it's a political decision. For even though you are enthusiastic in your support effort your narrow, sectarian view of the world (i.e. your political line) has alienated many of our supporters and has not allowed us to successfully garner the wide range, grass-root support our cases need. Your current style of work, and your inability to be strategically accountable to

us in any concrete way, can only serve to hamper our present defense efforts. It is for this reason that we must now direct you to totally disband the defense machinery you have built in our behalf.

All documents and other materials relative to our cases, personal belongings and funds raised in our behalf, are to be handed over to our attorneys.

In Fraternal Struggle,  
Frank Khail Abney  
Lorenzo (Flaco) Perez  
Andre Nieves  
Eddie Pacheco  
Felix Castro Jr.  
Ronald Tacardon

Dear Comrades,

I am writing in response to your letter dated 8/6/79 on behalf of the Revolutionary Socialist League. We have discussed your letter and will recommend to the other members of the August 8th Brigade Defense Committee that the organization be dissolved. Assuming that our recommendation is accepted, all documents and other materials relating to your case will be delivered to Mr. Bloom.

In our view, the fundamental issue is the political character of your defense. Initially, the majority of the Brigade was united on the need to put forward a revolutionary defense. We all agreed that this meant waging a political struggle to expose the rotten conditions and Ku Klux Klan organizing that was going on in Napanoch prison prior to the rebellion and the state's at-

tempt to frame you afterwards. Further, we agreed that the capitalist system was the root cause of the racism and brutality that you faced at Napanoch. Based on this common understanding, we agreed not to rely on the capitalists' courts for any kind of justice, but instead to concentrate on a revolutionary mobilization of working and oppressed people in your defense.

However, during Castro's recent trial, it was clear that the lawyers were pursuing a legalistic defense. Following the trial, you informed us that you were considering turning the defense over to the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, a reformist organization closely tied to the

Communist Party, U.S.A. This leads us to the conclusion that you have decided to abandon a revolutionary defense in favor of what you hope will be a bigger defense effort by the various liberal and reformist organizations which became interested in your case during the recent months. Although we disagree with the political decision you have made, as the defendants it is your right to determine what kind of defense you want and we respect this right.

We would like to state our disagreement with any implication that we have conducted the defense in a sectarian fashion. During the last two years we have worked on your defense, we have received endorsements

from over 40 different organizations, representing a broad political spectrum and several countries outside the U.S. While putting forward a clear revolutionary defense, we have consistently stressed that we are willing to work with and have worked with any group or individual committed to your defense.

The Revolutionary Socialist League continues to fully support the Napanoch Rebellion and your struggle against the state's railroad. If there is anything that we can do to help build your defense, don't hesitate to contact us.

Yours in struggle,  
Paul Aldridge  
for the Revolutionary  
Socialist League

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# The Case

(Continued from page 12)  
blabbing away in a jail cell about how he was really part of a spy ring?

Julius Rosenberg knew what his case represented. He knew how important it was to the government. And he knew that the government would try to get "evidence" from him in whatever way it could, including bugging his cell and planting an FBI informer in it. That Julius would admit to being a spy to anybody, even if he were one, is absurd. Much less in the realm of fantasy is the likelihood that Tartakow, to please his bosses and earn his pay, converted stories of political activity into cloak-and-dagger spy tales.

And so the "new evidence" that Julius Rosenberg was a spy turns out to be just like the old evidence and comes from the very source the other "proof" that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were spies comes from: the FBI, its agents and informers. This is really the sum and substance of Stern and Radosh's case.

Just as the execution of the Rosenbergs was a political act, so Stern and Radosh's re-assessment has political implications. The editors of *The New Republic*, in an introduction undoubtedly read by Stern and Radosh before publication, drew those implications out.

"Evidence of Julius Rosenberg's involvement in a spy network... attacks the very heart of the Rosenberg defense," they state. "... What lurks behind the reflexive defense of the Rosenbergs is the preposterous but implicit claim that the USSR did not recruit and use Americans—and particularly its faithful followers among left-wing Americans—as spies against their own country."

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# ts March

tant for militants and revolutionaries to go to Washington. We must not allow the misleaders to go unchallenged as they make their claim to speak for "all lesbians and gays."

The Revolutionary Socialist League will be building an independent contingent at the October 14 March. The main slogan of this contingent will be "Lesbian and Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." We invite everyone to join us. We will be carrying banners which call for all working and oppressed people to unite to smash all oppression. We will raise the needs of gay youth, transpeople, lesbian mothers and other specially oppressed gays. We will call for a working-class struggle to smash the Ku Klux Klan. We will say loudly: "From Stonewall to San Francisco —It's Right to Rebel!"

And most importantly, we will try to educate people to the fact that the capitalist government, its cops, its courts and its politicians—from Jimmy Carter to Jerry Brown to Ted Kennedy—are our deadly enemies. They and the system they defend must be overthrown. Join us!

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from over 40 different organizations, representing a broad political spectrum and several countries outside the U.S. While putting forward a clear revolutionary defense, we have consistently stressed that we are willing to work with and have worked with any group or individual committed to your defense.

The Revolutionary Socialist League continues to fully support the Napanoch Rebellion and your struggle against the state's railroad. If there is anything that we can do to help build your defense, don't hesitate to contact us.

**Yours in struggle,  
Paul Aldridge  
for the Revolutionary  
Socialist League**

# The Case That Won't Die

(Continued from page 12) blabbing away in a jail cell about how he was really part of a spy ring?

Julius Rosenberg knew what his case represented. He knew how important it was to the government. And he knew that the government would try to get "evidence" from him in whatever way it could, including bugging his cell and planting an FBI informer in it. That Julius would admit to being a spy to anybody, even if he were one, is absurd. Much less in the realm of fantasy is the likelihood that Tartakow, to please his bosses and earn his pay, converted stories of political activity into cloak-and-dagger spy tales.

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"Of course," *The New Republic* grants, the "Communist Party was not only or primarily a reservoir of spies." But, they warn: "All targets of the McCarthy era are sometimes unjustifiably viewed as victims.... To have gotten into trouble is not the same as having been virtuous. Hostile witnesses before the various 'un-American' committees were often

craven backers of Stalinism.... The Rosenbergs were extreme examples of the kind of people who inhabited this moral universe...."

"Unaccountably," the introduction concludes, "those in the world who have taken up the anti-American vocation still have moral authority among Americans who deny the moral authority of the American government.... These people could not be trusted, their word was their dishonor. Those who see them as heroes can't be trusted either."

If Stern and Radosh believe these are unfair conclusions from what they wrote, they have chosen to keep silent about it. (In fact, just before his article appeared in print, Radosh wrote a column in *Democratic Left*, defending *The New Republic* against a widespread opinion that it had been moving to the right.)

Why have Stern and Radosh put themselves in a "united front" with the red-baiting pro-imperialists of *The New Republic*?

While we can't know for sure, we can make an educated guess. We know that Stern, Radosh and their key source, James Weinstein, are leading figures of the political tendency grouped around *In These Times* (ITT) newspaper and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). This tendency is in direct competition with the Communist Party. Both tendencies have a perspective of reforming capitalism until it becomes what they consider socialism. Both have many friends in the labor movement; in fact, many left-wing bureaucrats are friendly to both groups. And both have the ambition to become the center of a mass reformist socialist party that is accepted as a legitimate party alongside the Democrats and Republicans.

One of the major questions that separates the two tendencies is that, while the CP supports Russian imperialism, the DSOC/ITT group supports (with some criticisms) U.S. imperialism. ITT identifies with the pro-West stance of the Eurocommunist CPs in Italy and France,

while DSOC comes from a tradition that defines "democratic socialism" as reforms plus support to the U.S. against Russia.

What Stern and Radosh imply in their article (and what *The New Republic* states openly) is that the CP is not really a legitimate part of the left, not really a reform socialist force, but is only a Russian front, a reservoir of spies, a group that cannot be trusted. If this attitude became accepted in the left, it would give a big boost to the political tendency Stern, Radosh and Weinstein support. It would also help prove to the U.S. ruling class that

they (Radosh and Stern, Weinstein, *In These Times*, and DSOC) are reliable, pro-U.S. anti-communists who call themselves socialists.

Revolutionaries should oppose Radosh and Stern's attempt to reverse the verdict on the Cold War. The Rosenbergs were killed and the left persecuted as part of the U.S. imperialists' drive to dominate the world, not to defend freedom. The RSL does not agree with the CP (or the Rosenbergs) that Russia is socialist. We do not support Russian imperialist ambitions. But the issue is not what the Rosenbergs believed, but that they

were innocent victims of the imperialists' campaign to conquer the world.

It is no accident that the Rosenberg case broke just as the U.S. began its war to prevent Korean unification and independence. As the U.S. ruling class prepares for new imperialist projects, it will try to destroy the understanding of U.S. imperialism that was gained by many in the U.S. during the Vietnam War. It will try to mobilize the nation with new frame-ups, new Rosenberg cases, new tales about subversives and spies. Part of our efforts to fight U.S. imperialism, and overthrow the ruling class, must be to keep alive the truth about the Rosenberg frame-up, the truth about "American justice." **Defend the Rosenbergs!**

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