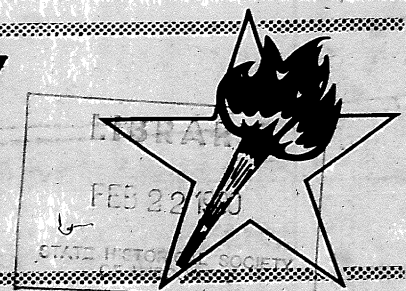


# TORCH

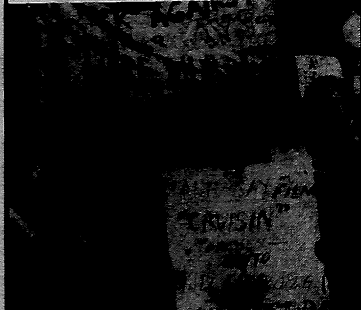
NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE



VOLUME 7, NUMBER 2

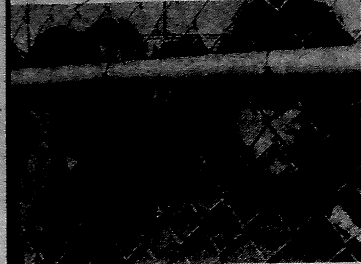
FEBRUARY 15-MARCH 14, 1980 / 25¢

**Shut Down  
"Cruising" ...  
Shut Down  
"Windows"!**



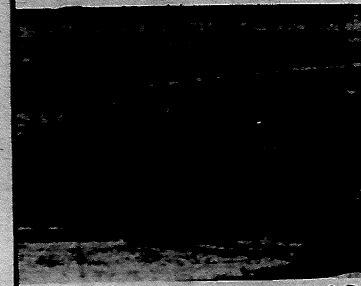
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**Santa Fe  
Prison Explodes**



See page 6

**Russian  
Invasion of  
Afghanistan:  
Crucial Test  
For the Left**



See page 10

## "We're Gonna Stop the Klan!"

### 7500 March in Greensboro

The February 2 march in Greensboro was an important step forward for the anti-racist, anti-Klan movement. Nearly 400 civil rights, trade union, left, lesbian, gay, religious and community organizations endorsed the action. People came to march from cities as far away as Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles. The size of the demonstration was also impressive; organized in less than six weeks, it was easily the largest anti-Klan mobilization since the 1960s. For full coverage, see pages 12-14.



RSL contingent at February 2 Greensboro march.

## Down With Carter's Imperialist Draft!

To strengthen its shaky empire, the U.S. ruling class is preparing for war. Its battle cry came through loud and clear in President Jimmy Carter's State of the Union message to Congress on January 23. Carter told

### EDITORIAL

Congress to increase the military budget by five percent in real—not inflated—dollars. He said more nuclear weapons would have to be built and deployed. He called for more aid to right-wing dictators, like Pakistan's Muhammad Zia ul-Haq. And he threatened direct military intervention in the Persian Gulf to protect the U.S.'s "vital national interests."

So that no one would be confused about who is supposed to pay for these war preparations, Carter spelled this out as well.

He called for working and poor people to make more "sacrifices," something he termed an "exciting enterprise." Precisely what is so exciting about smaller paychecks, colder homes and emptier bellies is something Carter didn't mention.

But Carter didn't stop at demanding that the working class pay for the bosses' war plans. After all, to wage war the government needs more than money. It needs bodies—lots of them—to fight and die on the front-lines.

To this end, Carter announced that "the Selective Service System must now be revitalized... so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise."

In plain English, they're going to bring back the draft.

Carter hoped to use the patriotic, pro-war sentiment the U.S. ruling

class has been trying to whip up as a cover for his proposal to return to draft registration. He hoped that in this climate, young people would accept the draft as necessary to "national security."

But Carter was dead wrong. Practically before the words were out of his mouth, the demonstrations began. From Boston to Los Angeles, on campuses across the country, thousands turned out to protest the plan to re-institute the draft. In the space of a

(Continued on page 16)

**SECCION  
EN  
ESPANOL**

**our  
readers  
write...**

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

## When a boss is not a boss

Dear Torch,

Enclosed is a cartoon I drew recently. I hope you can use it.

We've been running into the Socialist Workers Party quite a bit lately, and we're always on opposite sides. Since last February, the SWP has managed to stand against the self-determination of the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, actively **discourage** revolutionaries from explaining the role of U.S. imperialism in Iran at a time when it is menacing the Iranian people, take a hard line against the right of lesbian and gay youth to their own sexuality and tried to stand in the way of a mass

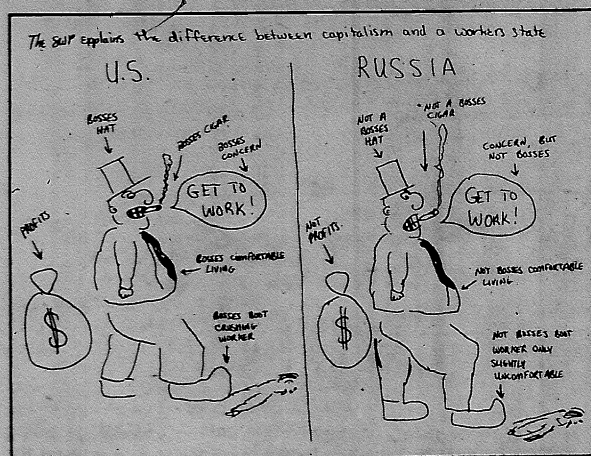
anti-racist march in Greensboro!

That's some record for one year!

All of the SWP's willingness to line up with capitalism comes from somewhere. I think it comes from their belief that socialism simply means the state running the economy. To the SWP, this is more important than whether or not people are free. In fact, they really couldn't give a damn about freedom.

Here's a cartoon I drew to explain how the SWP looks at the world.

FH  
Chicago



## Identifies with struggle

Dear Torch,

I am an inmate here at the Federal Correctional Institution for Women. I was introduced to your paper through a friend; it is a very interesting paper. I can identify with the struggle very closely, because I face some of the same situations that are talked about in the *Torch*. We as inmates have to go through a lot of changes just to get the things we feel are due to us. Our rights are violated, and we know this, but there's very little we can

do about it. The oppressor likes to keep us oppressed at all times. They succeed by keeping the inmates divided between each other.

Anyway, I don't have the funds. But I would like to start receiving a paper as soon as possible. I will also read it and pass it on to others who are interested, so that they will know what's happening inside and outside of the prisons.

**Yours in the Struggle,  
PM  
Lexington, Kentucky**

# Nazis recruiting in prisons

To the readers of the *Torch*, I am sure that by now every *Torch* reader is well aware of the Klan-Nazi threat.

This letter is concerning the National Socialist (Nazi) Movement (also known as the National Socialist Party of America), which was involved in killing five and wounding seven in the Greensboro shooting that took place November 3, 1979.

In August 1979, we formed a group of prisoners who were interested in the Revolutionary Socialist League, prisoners' rights, prisoners' labor unions, prison reform, and other related issues.

Shortly after forming our group we became aware of the National Prison Project, which is founded by the National Socialist Movement out of Greensboro, North Carolina. We tried to find out what this NSM group was about, and we were told it was for "white prisoners only." So, we had one of our white members join this group to find out as much as we could about this "white only" group.

We have been gathering information on this group ever since. We are shocked and worried about what we have learned about this group. Here is some of what we have discovered:

1. The NSM has sponsored the National Prison Project to recruit white prisoners.
2. When these new NSM members are released from prison they are to form "Nazi Cell Groups" and await orders from a higher authority, which has already been established in different communities.
3. The purpose of these Nazi Cell Groups is as follows: To recruit other white racists for the NSM; to break workers'

strikes; to attack civil rights demonstrations; and to assassinate "Commie leaders." (The NSM has termed Commie leaders as leaders in the civil rights movement, union officials, and leaders in the prison reform groups.)

4. The National Prison Project is based in Greensboro, North Carolina, and has set up recruiting and racist orientation programs in prisons in several different states.

5. These new NSM recruits

are being taught terrorist warfare.

6. The NSM is swelling its ranks with these recruits, and their membership is growing fast.

The National Socialist Movement is a very serious and dangerous threat and immediate action to stop this group, and other racist groups like it, is necessary.

**In the struggle,  
A prisoner  
Ohio**

## UAW local rejects proposed anti-Red bylaw

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

Recently the workers in my local, United Auto Workers Local 551 (Ford's Chicago Assembly plant), won a small victory over the union bureaucrats. We refused to surrender our right to invite outside speakers to meetings of the local. For over four years, anti-communists had been trying to change local union rules and require that the International approve all outside speakers. The question recently came to a vote at a well-attended meeting on proposed by-laws changes.

Local 551 President Byron Cooper said "International policy" was the reason to support the proposed right-wing rule change. And his Health and Safety Representative said: "You never know who might get in here to

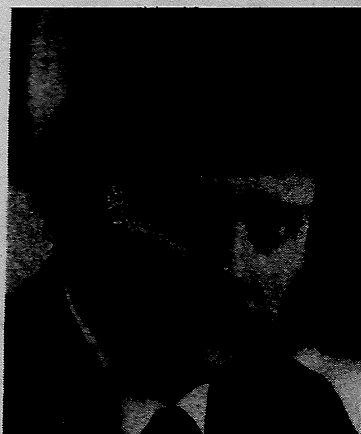
speak. They might be communists." One worker spoke against the proposed amendment and said: "Most of us are not communists, but we can decide for ourselves who we want to hear. The speaker might be a communist or a Baptist preacher."

The anti-communists failed! Ford workers rejected the restrictive rule change by a 2-1 margin. Overall, the Ford workers' decision was a slap in the face to the International UAW leadership. The International has been encouraging anti-democratic rules changes in several UAW-Ford locals. But workers in my local hung on to an important bit of control over our union.

**In struggle,  
An autoworker  
Chicago**

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Rep. Michael Myers: Assaulted a waitress while wearing a gorilla mask.



Rep. Richard Kelly: Claimed he was "investigating" his investigators.

# ABSCAM Stings Ruling Class

By WILLIAM FALK

"I was in bad shape. It was a full moon and I had three drinks. Or I had three drinks and it was a half moon."

—Representative John Jenrette, Democrat from South Carolina, answering charges that he had accepted bribe money from FBI agents parading as Arab businessmen.

\*\*\*\*\*

On February 2, the *New York Times*, *Newsday*, and NBC-TV broke the story of how FBI agents, posing as Lebanese and Kuwaiti oil businessmen, had bought votes and other favors from U.S. congressmen.

The 18-month undercover operation, dubbed ABSCAM (for Arab Scam), included hundreds of thousands of dollars in payoffs to government officials in exchange for government contracts, an inside track on an Atlantic City gambling casino license, and help in getting the "relatives" of the supposed "Arab businessmen" into the U.S.

With FBI videotapes as evidence—including one showing Florida Republican congressman Richard Kelly stuffing \$25,000 into his pockets and then asking "Does it show?"—ABSCAM is expected to result in the indictments of seven members of the House of Representatives, one member of the Senate, and a host of other public officials.

According to one FBI official, ABSCAM came to an end only because it was getting too costly. "We found people climbing all over each other to get some of the action," the official was quoted as saying in the February 18 issue of *Time*. A former federal prosecutor was even blunter: "It was like guys coming out of the bush, saying, 'Hey, give me some of the money.' They'd pay one guy and the next day five guys would be calling them, guys they didn't know."

Only one congressman, South Dakota senator Larry Pressler, is known to have been offered a bribe by FBI agents and turned it down.

In addition to ABSCAM, two other recently concluded FBI operations have come to light. One, BRILAB (for Bribery Labor), implicates several Louisiana politicians and Southwest union officials of taking kickbacks

from insurance agents. The other, Operation PENDORF, investigated the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund and will reportedly implicate Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada in shady financial dealings.

But even these are apparently just the beginning. The FBI says it has over 80 other undercover investigations into government and trade union corruption going, many of which will also be concluded soon.

## Media downplays scandal

Given the number of officials implicated, the clearcut evidence against them and the likelihood of further revelations, one might expect ABSCAM to be the biggest story to hit the streets in a long time. Yet the reaction of the media and public officials has been decidedly low-key.

Instead of focussing on the corruption revealed by the investigation, assorted columnists, editorial writers, government officials and public figures have spent most of their time trying to downplay the whole sordid affair. They have:

- Blamed the FBI for "tricking" or "entrapping" congressmen by offering them money.

- Reminded everybody that no one has been charged or convicted in a court of law, so the "public" should not jump to conclusions. "In the minds of millions these people are guilty and they haven't even been charged," frets Ralph Nader, consumer advocate. (*Wall Street Journal*, February 8, 1980.)

- Made a tremendous fuss because FBI and Justice Department officials leaked news of the investigation to the press before any official word was announced. These leaks have been called "outrageous," "shameful," and "damned offensive."

What's going on here? Eight members of Congress were caught red-handed taking bribes. Not one of the commentators or public officials protesting about "rushing to judgment" is disputing this; the congressmen themselves can barely deny it. So what's all the dust about leaks—which they all know is how the media gets

most of its news—and other non-issues being kicked up for?

## Too many "bad apples"?

The problem these honorable people are having with ABSCAM is that its sweep is so wide. While all but one of those named are Democrats, the Republicans are hardly gloating. "There's no plus for Republicans in this," said Barber Conable, Republican representative from New York. "They fear that more of their own could show up in investigations," reports the *Wall Street Journal*.

The congressmen named in ABSCAM show other diversities as well. They are from Northern states and Southern states; some have strong pro-labor records, while others are known to be viciously anti-union. There are the sleazy types, like Representative Michael Myers of Philadelphia, videotaped taking \$50,000 from the FBI agents, who pleaded "no contest" in January 1979 to charges of assaulting a waitress and a motel security guard while wearing a gorilla mask. And there are highly respected types—like Frank Thompson of New Jersey, who has been in Congress for over 25 years and was considered "honest."

In this situation, it's hard to isolate out a small, definable group as the "bad apples." "We used up that one with Wayne Hays," Representative Benjamin Rosenthal of New York has moaned. "It's no explanation now."

The problem, then, is that ABSCAM points the finger—at least implicitly—at everyone. Republicans are falling right along with Democrats. Congress's "elder statesmen" are as guilty of corruption as its newer members. North or South, conservative or liberal—ABSCAM implies it's all corrupt.

And that's precisely why the media, public officials, and the ruling class in general are so uptight about ABSCAM. It gets in the way of one of their most fervent desires: restoring faith in the integrity of the U.S. government.

Watergate, Nixon's resignation, revelations about the FBI and CIA—all these scandals made a lot of people cynical about politicians and the government as a whole. The ruling class hoped to turn this cynicism

around in the 1976 presidential elections. Both the Democrats and the Republicans ran candidates who appeared to be clean. Jerry Ford and Jimmy Carter openly competed over who could seem more trustworthy, more honest, and less like a crook. Carter won this contest largely because Ford had pardoned Nixon and therefore seemed dirty himself.

In the meantime, however, the Bert Lance affair (and now the William Miller/Textron bribes) showed that the Carter administration was not so different after all. Cynicism about politicians and the government continued to be widespread. The percentage of those eligible to vote who actually do so has continued to drop.

The takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and the invasion of Afghanistan, however, presented Carter and others trying to restore the faith with a second chance. They have attempted to use patriotism, anti-Arab racism and jingoistic war threats to build up a "new feeling of solidarity among the American people."

And for a short time, it looked like it might be working—at least a little.

Now comes ABSCAM, a bucket of cold water dumped on the public's head, spoiling the new mood and reminding everyone what kind of stuff the U.S. government is made of.

The *Wall Street Journal* summed up the frustration of the ruling class with ABSCAM in a February 5 editorial: "What Abdugate [ABSCAM] is going to parade before the public over the next months is not going to be good for government."

What is bad for government according to the *Journal* is not the corruption that has been going on, mind you, but the fact that this corruption has been exposed!

## Corruption built into system

Petty corruption is in fact built into the U.S. system of government. The heart of the ruling class is the 500 families who own and control nearly all the wealth, means of production and real estate of the country. But for the most part they don't run things directly. They hire middle class pro-

(Continued on page 17)

# Spirited Strike Closes L.A. Garment Shop

LOS ANGELES, February 13—As we go to press, the strike at Glydons, Inc., a garment shop here, enters its third day. Almost the entire workforce of 150 has stayed out. The few who have tried to go in have been turned back by a picket line of nearly 100 people.

AS we reported in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*, on December 3 the Glydons workers, most of whom are Latin women, voted, 149 to 10, to be represented by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). However, since that time the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled the election invalid. The NLRB agreed with a company claim that a union leaflet issued before the election, promising to support them "economically, legally and morally," if they went on strike, was an "unfair labor practice." The leaflet involved is a standard union leaflet,



Glydons workers celebrate union election victory last December.

one that has been used before in other Los Angeles garment organizing drives. Some other companies have complained to the NLRB about it before, but the union has always won the cases. This is the first

time that the Board has ruled in favor of the company.

The demands of the strike are: 1) The company must recognize and negotiate with the union; and 2) if the NLRB orders a new election, it must

be held within one week and must take place on the picket line. The workers know that if they have to wait six or eight weeks, the momentum will be lost.

AT least 80 workers have been on the picket line a full eight hours a day. When the few scabs try to go in, about 60 pickets mass at the main gate and shout. They also talk to them and convince many not to work. The picket line is spirited. The workers chant: "Obreros unidos jamas seran vencidos" (the workers united shall never be defeated) and "Que viva la huelga!" (Long live the strike!). Nobody is afraid of the bosses. On the third day of the strike, a group of Salvadoran workers brought coffee for all the strikers and stayed to talk to them about the struggle in El Salvador. The strikers have made two 12-foot red banners and put them out on Broadway. Big

black letters proclaim: "Huelga." Very little production is going on inside the factory.

The union is giving the strikers \$30 a week plus food parcels. There is also a separate local strike fund. The day before the strike a fund-raising dance brought in \$500. The union is there to support the strikers. Unfortunately, according to Glydons workers, the representatives of the International union have been making all the decisions. The Glydons workers have a 20-member strike committee. And that is the group that should make the decisions. □

#### Telegram to Glydons Workers:

*Torch/La Antorcha* hails militancy and courage of Glydons workers in your struggle against bosses and their NLRB servants. We wish you speedy and certain victory.

In 1910, the international socialist movement proclaimed March 8 International Working Women's Day to commemorate the struggle of the garment workers of New York. Some 30,000 workers, mostly immigrant women, struck for 13 bitter winter weeks in the first industry-wide strike this country had seen, braving arrests and beatings by police and hired thugs.

The strike began at the large Triangle Shirtwaist Factory. The company responded with a lockout. It dragged on for two months, until a general strike of the New York and Brooklyn garment workers was called on November 22, 1909. By February 15, 1910, most shops had settled with the workers, recognizing the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The great demonstrations held around the world on March 8 celebrated this victory and the place that women workers had established for themselves in the forefront of the battles of their class, fighting both the exploitation of all workers and the special oppression of women. The demonstrations also stood for the women's resolution to continue the battle.

For even the limited goal of organizing the New York garment district had not been won completely. The Triangle Shirtwaist Company, where the strike had begun, refused to settle, and the workers were forced to return to the sweatshop without union representation.

One year later, on March 25, 1911, fire broke out at the factory. The workers were locked in—the doors were kept locked to prevent union organizers from coming in and to prevent workers from leaving before their 12 or 14 hours were up. They were trapped on the ninth and tenth floors of the building. One hundred and forty three died.

Following a massive funeral march, a mass meeting was held. Ministers, lawyers and politicians got up to offer their sympathy—and their excuses.

## International Women's Day, 1910-1980



Women garment workers march in New York during 1909 strike.

The workers in the audience got more and more impatient, until Rose Schneiderman—garment worker, union organizer and leader of the National Women's Trade Union League—got up to speak. In the speech reprinted below, she states the lesson that workers have learned time after time from bitter experience—that it is the working class itself, relying on its own power and not on middle class reformers, that will put an end to the exploi-

tation that women and men workers face.

Today, the battle against sweatshop conditions in the garment industry still goes on. Immigrant women and men still are fighting company and state just to get union recognition. (See article, this page.)

On International Working Women's Day 1980, we salute the struggles of today's garment workers as we draw inspiration from the spirit of their pre-

decessors and study the lessons of the victories and defeats of women workers 70 years ago.

.....  
I would be a traitor to these poor burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship.

We have tried you good people of the public and we have found you wanting. The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumbscrews and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are today: the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews the high-powered and swift machinery close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the "fire-proof" structures that will destroy us the minute they catch on fire.

This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. Each week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers. Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. There are so many of us for one job it matters little if 143 of us are burned to death.

We tried you, citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers and daughters and sisters by way of a charity gift. But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable, the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down heavily upon us.

Public officials have only words of warning to us—warning that we must be intensely orderly and must be intensely peaceable, and they have the workhouse just back of all their warnings. The strong hand of the law beats us back when we rise into the conditions that make life bearable.

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working class movement. □

# Shut Down "Cruising" . . .

Supporters of gay and lesbian rights will be protesting the anti-gay movie **Cruising** in many cities around the country. The movie opens on February 15.

The RSL will be participating in protests in Los Angeles, Boston, Detroit, New York and Chicago. In Chicago, the protests are being planned by a broad coalition formed as a result of a call by the RSL and the Gay Revolutionary Discussion Group.

When parts of **Cruising** were shot in New York City's Greenwich Village last July, hundreds of gay men, lesbians and others protested and fought police in an attempt to stop the filming. The movie was completed, however, and is now being released.

**CRUISING** is a simple-minded, violently anti-gay movie. The director of the film, William Friedkin, based it on a novel that featured a heterosexual psychopath who killed gays. For the film, he was changed into a homosexual psychopath who kills gays.

A cop (played by Al Pacino) investigates the murders by

posing as a gay man who is much like the murder victims. In the screenplay leaked to the press during the filming last July, the cop becomes more and more uncertain of his own sexual orientation as he works undercover in the gay community. Simultaneously, he: 1) gets closer to catching the psychopath; 2) becomes "more gay"; and 3) becomes more like a psychopath himself. At the end of the film, the original killer is dead, but the cop now takes his place—a new gay psychopathic killer of gays.

According to reviews based on advance screenings, this script has been altered somewhat, no doubt in response to the mass protests in July. The result, according to the reviews, is simply an anti-gay film whose plot and characterizations are so hopelessly muddled and stupid they defy logical explanation.

What did not get muddled, however, is the film's portrayal of what gay men are supposedly like: dangerous, sick and depraved.

Roger Angell of the **New Yorker** concluded his review

of the film by saying:

"**CRUISING** leaves us feeling bad, because it scares us in a dishonest way. It presents a secret night world that looks truly strange and threatening. Each of our first forays into that world, each cruise, concludes with a scene of sudden, violent death.

"The picture then goes on to suggest that homosexuality is catching and inescapably brutal: if you hang around with gays and the leather set, you will end up dead or killing someone. No one is immune—not an upright, heterosexual cop, not a quiet, unaggressive homosexual bystander.

"Being gay is a dangerous business. This is a shocking conclusion for any movie to come to, but **Cruising**, whether by carelessness or intention, is a shocking film."

**Cruising** spreads the view that gays are examples of moral decay,

and if they are victims of violence then they are only getting what they deserve and ask for. It justifies and encourages anti-gay thuggery and gay oppression. The **Gay Activist**, newspaper of the Gay Activist Alliance, says:

"[We fear] that when it is

released, straight punks will see the film and be motivated to fag-bashing rampages. . . . Most fag-bashing goes unpunished and **Cruising** is like a call to arms." (**Gay Activist**, February 1980.)

**Shut Down Cruising and Windows!** □

Hollywood trash portrays lesbians and gay men as psychopathic killers.



# . . . Shut Down "Windows"!

By LOIS AARONS

United Artists, the film company which is bringing us **Cruising**, a movie about a gay male homicidal maniac, is giving equal time to women. Last month it released **Windows**, a film about a lesbian rapist.

**WINDOWS** appeals to the worst anti-woman sentiments and anti-lesbian prejudices. It's about a lesbian (played by Elizabeth Ashley) who is in love with a straight friend (Talia Shire). Since she loves her friend so much, she hires a man to rape her. She has a tape of the rape made, and listens to it to arouse herself. Then, she tries to repeat the rape scene herself.

The poor thing can't keep her roles straight, however—in the rape scene, she starts saying the victim's lines as well as her own. But, confused or not, she's got a knife and she's about to force sex on her friend, when . . . the male police detective who had investigated the earlier rape comes to the rescue!

In the final scene, the innocent young thing and the oh-so-sensitive police detective are trying to understand how the lesbian could treat

her friend that way. And the answer is . . . perverted love. As the ads for the movie say: "Someone loves Emily (the straight woman) . . . too much."

So rape gets turned into an expression of love, lesbians get portrayed as mad rapists looking to attack straight women, and policemen are the sympathetic saviors of rape victims.

**BASICALLY**, the movie is trash. Bourgeois critics agree that it is worthless even on its own terms—unbelievable characters and amateurish camerawork complement the weak, sensationalist plot. Even the producer won't defend its artistic merit. It's certainly not about to set any box office records. So what's the big deal about another trashy flick?

The big deal is that it's no coincidence that **Windows** and **Cruising** are opening at about the same time. In the last few years, the hard-won gains of gay people have been under heavy attack. Civil rights laws have been repealed, police raids on gay bars have started again, lesbian mothers have been losing custody of their children, and people who as-

sault and murder gay people—even the killer of the capitalists' own elected officials—have gotten off with minimal sentences. An increasingly repressive social climate is being created, and anti-gay hysteria is being whipped up.

**AT the same time**, the foes of abortion rights and legal equality for women are screaming louder and louder about morality and motherhood. The horrifying specter of femininity and motherlove being destroyed in the trenches is being raised by the very warhawks most eager to restore the draft. Now they want to force students to pray in the Boston public schools. And Pepsi Cola's market research people have decided that the '80s will be the decade of the family and that they should stress family togetherness in their ad campaign.

As the world economic and political situation deteriorates, desperate people, looking to blame anyone except the capitalist ruling class, scream hysterically about the breakdown in morality that

gay and women's rights means to them, about undocumented workers, Blacks, Arabs, Iranians, Russians, greedy workers, etc. And as the steps towards war increase, we'll be hearing more and more of this. They are trying to get "the American people" to unite behind the ruling class against everyone who threatens or challenges the "American way of life." So God, family, and country—white and straight—are the slogans of the day.

United Artists is not the cause of this—they're just looking to make a buck. Right now, they think movies that portray lesbians and gay men as dangerous maniacs are good business and they want to cash in. In doing so, they are feeding the hysterical anti-gay fears they want to exploit.

Lesbians and gay men re-

cognize the attack these movies represent. Readers of the **Torch/La Antorcha** know about the demonstrations against the filming of **Cruising**. When **Windows** opened in Los Angeles, hundreds of women and men picketed the theater, chanting "Close Windows! Open Closets!" This scene was repeated in cities all across the country.

**RIGHT now**, the movement is disorganized. There have been few follow-up actions, and they have been far smaller than the original picket lines. But as the anti-**Windows** demonstrations show, lesbians and gay men, as well as straight people who understand the importance of the issue, are not going to sit by quietly while the movie industry makes profits stirring up anti-gay prejudice. □

State Was "Playing Russian Roulette"

# Sante Fe Prison Explodes

By FRANK HOPKINS

On February 2, prisoners at the Penitentiary of New Mexico at Santa Fe took over the prison. For 36 hours they held 11 guards hostage and negotiated demands with the state. Initially, 14 or more guards were taken, but those who were injured were turned over to the state for medical attention. After lengthy negotiating, during which guards were freed, the state was able to take back the prison on the afternoon of February 3.

So far, 33 prisoners are known dead. Many of the deaths were executions carried out by prisoners. Some of these were death by torture. Prisoners went after known informers. There are also reports that prisoners who weren't informers were killed; reports say these killings were motivated by racism, sexism and gang warfare. Other deaths were the result of smoke inhalation during fires and from drug overdoses.

The prisoners smashed up the prison. State officials say that only about half the prison compound is now usable. The prisoners trashed everything they could, from reception desks, to vending machines, to inch-thick glass windows. With the start of the rebellion, fires were set throughout cell-blocks. Later, the gymnasium and the prison chapel were burned down. By the time it was over, the electricity no longer worked and water ran an inch deep throughout the prison. At least 10 million dollars in damage had been done by prisoners armed with sledgehammers, blowtorches and homemade knives.

What happened at Santa Fe was the result of years of terrible conditions and day-to-day indignities that prisoners suffered. The rebellion was a fight against the state and for survival on the part of the prisoners and should be supported. At the same time, we recognize that lack of organization and unity among the prisoners meant that many of the pent-up frustrations were released in brutal and even grotesque ways that hurt the struggle.

## What prisoners were fighting for

State officials and the bourgeois press have worked overtime to present the rebellion in the worst possible light. Almost all we've been hearing about are the "unspeakable acts" committed at the prison.



Police helicopter circles over Santa Fe prison during rebellion.

Newspaper stories make sure to list at least four different ways that informers got bumped off. And they've made the actions of thugs among the prisoner population—the rape and murder of prisoners who weren't snitches—appear to be the actions of all. Whatever gruesome stories there are about what went on during the rebellion, you can be sure we've heard them all, and then some.

At the same time, there is a lot the state and the media haven't been talking about—like what the prisoners were fighting for. First and foremost, the prisoners were fighting for respect and their humanity. That's what their demands were all about—demands for decent food, more recreation and a media investigation of the prison. That's what prisoner grievances were all about—complaints against guard brutality, overcrowding, and the lack of necessities of life.

The state and the media have downplayed the facts about the day-to-day living conditions Santa Fe prisoners faced, which sparked the rebellion. Facts like these:

- The prison was overcrowded. One-man cells held two.
- There was a shortage of food, sanitary facilities, and blankets. At night, temperatures were below freezing.
- Guards were brutal toward prisoners. Beatings were common. This was encouraged by a system of promotion that ignored the brutality.
- Hiring and promotion of prison staff were based on favors and personal connections.

• All of this demoralized the prisoners. Racism and anti-gay prejudice were intense. Thugs and snitches were encouraged by the prison keepers. The level of prisoner-on-prisoner violence was high and growing.

• Groups of prisoners filed federal suits against overcrowding and inhumane conditions.

• Just three weeks before the rebellion, the state admitted all this. A report by the attorney general of New Mexico said that prison keepers were "playing Russian roulette with the lives of inmates, staff and the public."

One purpose behind the campaign of lies and distortions on the part of the state and the bourgeois media is to isolate prisoners from support—from other sisters and brothers in prison and from working class and oppressed people in general. The state is also trying to cover up its role in provoking the rebellion. The state enforced the overcrowded conditions, the lack of food, blankets and other necessities. The state enforced brutality against prisoners by guards. The state enforced a policy of getting prisoners to rat on other prisoners. The state is responsible for every corpse in the prison. The death toll—the highest in any prison rebellion—all lies at the door of the state.

Finally, the state wants to use this rebellion to further crack down on prisoners. The state wants a free hand to hire more guards and build more "secure" prisons. It wants to tear apart any prisoner organizations that exist. And it

wants a free hand to start throwing around murder charges and butcher more Santa Fe prisoners.

## Prisons reflect crisis outside

To understand what went on at Santa Fe prison it is necessary to look at what is happening in general with prisoners these days. The capitalist crisis is taking its most



Prison pharmacy in aftermath of uprising.

brutal and open form in its attacks on the lives and rights of prisoners. The economy is going to hell. People are losing jobs and social services. More and more people face attack from the growing right wing. When this happens, the only answer the capitalists can come up with is to throw more and more of us into the prisons. But once they do that they have a harder time keeping control over the prisons.

So in recent years the capitalists and their state have launched a brutal campaign against prisoners. In June 1977, the Supreme Court ruled that prisoners had no rights to unions. In just the past year there's been a wave of attacks on prisoner organizations—the lockdown and transfers at Pontiac and Stateville prisons in Illinois are an example of this. More prisons are being built. More modern technology—from drugs to computers and cameras—are being used to control prisoners. And the state has brought back legal murder. Gary Gilmore was killed in 1977. In the past year John Spenkellink and Jesse Bishop were murdered.

The result has been a growing demoralization among prisoners. Prisoner-on-prisoner violence, including rape and murder, is on the rise. Racism and sexism is prevalent. Organizations built to defend gay prisoners like Men Against Sexism have fallen apart. And as prisoners spend more time at each others' throats, the state has more free time to further the divisions among prisoners, and to build up its repressive apparatus.

Now more than ever, the choices are very clear—fight this stuff or give in. And now more than ever it is very hard to fight—with a repressive apparatus growing all around you, your organizations getting broken up, and lots of people around you too busy jumping on each other to

figure out that the state is out to get all of them.

This is what Santa Fe was all about. The state was attacking more and more. The prisoners were very disorganized. But they would not just give in.

From what we can gather, the rebellion at Santa Fe was very spontaneous. But once it broke out, a number of prisoners tried to cohere the rebellion into a united fight against the real enemy—the

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state. They took hostages, dis-  
cussed the needs of the pris-  
oners, negotiated over them  
with the state, and then  
returned to their fellow pris-  
oners to work out an agree-  
ment. They were doing their  
best to organize the disorga-  
nized rebellion: to win gains  
from the state and ensure  
medical attention, at least to  
the hostages. Given all that  
was going on, and with the  
threat of a storming of the  
prison by the state, this was  
an awesome task. In fact it  
was too awesome for the  
people who were trying to do  
it.

### Lack of unity

From the beginning, the  
disorganization and demoral-  
ization of a large number of  
prisoners showed. Almost as

acy and got high. Drugs were  
all over the place and too  
many prisoners did too much  
drugs. At least seven deaths  
have been listed as drug over-  
doses. And evidently a lot of  
the torturing was because of  
drugs.

In addition, the killing of  
the informers divided the pris-  
oners. Some prisoners proba-  
bly got scared that it wasn't  
just the informers who were  
getting killed and began turn-  
ing themselves over to the  
state. In most cases, people  
who side with the state  
against other prisoners don't  
really deserve better treat-  
ment. But bumping off the  
informers at Santa Fe just  
added to the disunity that  
already existed among the  
prisoners there.

Finally, a number of pris-  
oners apparently were busy with  
actions which really were  
depraved. If the reports are  
true (and we believe that some

against the state proved  
something—that the state  
can't just stomp on the rights  
and the lives of prisoners  
without provoking a fight. But  
for prisoners and working  
class people in general to  
really gain something from  
this rebellion a couple of  
important things need to be  
understood.

First, the prisoner move-  
ment is in a kind of crisis.

This can be seen in the  
contrast between the revolt at  
Santa Fe and the rebellion at  
Attica in 1971.

At Attica, there was unity  
among prisoners. Food, shel-  
ter, medical attention, safety,  
and the organization to take  
care of these things, were  
there. Outside support was  
built. The state succeeded in  
suppressing the revolt, but it  
didn't get away with many of  
the frame-ups it planned for  
afterwards.

At Santa Fe, as we have  
seen, the prisoners were dis-  
organized, disunited, and the  
anger and frustration of the  
prisoners came out in brutal  
and not very political ways.  
For this reason the state has  
been able to portray the rebels  
as nothing but thugs and will  
frame up and try to get the  
death penalty for whoever  
they want.

There are several reasons for  
the crisis in the movement. As  
we said earlier, the state has  
been on the offensive. In addi-  
tion, a lot of outside support  
for prisoners fell apart during  
the mid-'70s when the class  
struggle died down and the  
radical movement declined.  
This left the political prisoners  
to organize and fight too  
much on their own. And the  
decline of the radical move-  
ment contributed to the dem-  
oralization and political con-  
fusion among the prisoners.  
As a result, the most political  
prisoners have not been able  
to carry on the political dis-  
cussion and do the organiza-  
tional work necessary to  
maintain the movement in the  
face of the state's offensive.

Second, if the prisoner  
movement is to be revitalized,  
prisoners and their supporters  
have to start concerning them-  
selves with very practical  
questions like: **How do we  
build a political leadership in  
the prisons that can unify and  
organize the struggle? How do  
we go about fighting for the  
day-to-day needs of pris-  
oners? How do we tie the  
struggles of prisoners to the  
struggles of working class  
people in general? How do we  
go about building a fight that  
can win once and for all  
against the capitalist state?**

In future issues of the  
*Torch/La Antorcha* we plan to  
address these questions. We  
welcome discussion with pris-  
oners and other working class  
sisters and brothers on these  
questions. Debate and dis-  
cussion could mean the be-  
ginning of a revitalized move-  
ment against the state's at-  
tacks on prisoners. □



### Ruiz witnesses murdered

Four prisoners who testified in the *Ruiz v. Estelle* case have  
died in the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) since last  
July. The four are Julio Nieto, Carl Reed, Daniel Qualls and Gus  
Feist. Feist was beaten to death by guards and Building  
Tenders (inmate guards). Qualls, who had no history of heart  
trouble, supposedly died of a "massive coronary." Reed's  
throat was cut by another prisoner. A note was reported pinned  
to his body in the hospital saying: "This is the first Ruiz  
witness but it won't be the last."

Several other prisoners have been subjected to reprisals—  
including beatings and stabbings—for their involvement in the  
*Ruiz* case, writ-writing or political organizing. Sam Jackson, a  
well-known writ-writer, is serving the second of three  
sentences in the hole on "discipline" charges. Johnny Swift,  
who has been in administrative segregation for over five years  
for political organizing, was denied recreation "privileges" for  
14 days in January on a "disrespect" charge.

TDC is also attacking the prisoners' right, won in the  
*Guajardo* case, to receive publications and correspond with  
media representatives. TDC is now banning the *Torch/La  
Antorcha* on the basis that "the overall theme of the paper  
advocates violence." The authorities also claim that the *Torch/  
La Antorcha* is not a newspaper, and therefore not covered by  
the "confidential media mail" provisions of *Guajardo*. All mail  
to and from this paper is read (and photocopied) by TDC  
officials, in order to identify and penalize our prisoner  
correspondents. Their aim is to set a precedent for denying  
media status to all revolutionary and prisoner rights  
publications.

### Guards beat Rastafarian

Last month we published a letter from M.S. about conditions  
in Clinton prison in New York. On January 19, M.S. wrote us  
that on the morning of December 29, he was pulled out of bed  
by five guards who then held him down and beat him. They  
fractured his skull, hand and leg, and almost broke his back.  
"They take me to the Plattsburgh hospital where the doctor put  
a cast on my hand. This still didn't stop them from beating on  
me. They also give me an assault charge and the time I get from  
this is one year solitary confinement and one year loss of good  
behavior time." M.S. is a Rastafarian. On January 19 the guards  
pulled his dreadlocks until he suffered a head injury, and then  
denied him medical treatment. The letter continues: "I am now  
in Attica prison and would appreciate it if you could publish  
this...."

### Black poet framed for robbery

This January, an all-white jury in Buffalo, New York, found  
Black poet and political activist Yusef Alhakk guilty of a July  
1977 drugstore robbery. He faces 15 years. Two other robbery  
charges were dropped because of misconduct by the  
prosecutor. Alhakk is the victim of a racist frame-up. The  
drugstore who "identified" his picture more than three months  
after the holdup could have picked any Black man.

The cops took Alhakk's picture after they stopped him on the  
street July 4, 1977. They claimed his rented car had been at the  
scene of a holdup. They then used the mug shot to frame him.  
In August 1977, detectives told him they would "pin every  
robbery in Buffalo for the past six months on him."

Yusef Alhakk is a Muslim and local secretary for the Republic  
of New Afrika. He works with prisoners in Attica. And he  
writes dangerous poetry:

i believe  
in the amerikan eagle  
its claws rake my back  
its fangs suck my life-force....  
the amerikan eagle is  
not an endangered species  
it's a dangerous species  
and i declare "open season"  
on it and will kill it  
every chance i get....

The poem is called "Patriotic."

—AL & LR

## One, Two, Many Santa Fe's?

The explosion at Santa Fe gave publicity to the conditions  
New Mexico's prisoners face. But conditions in other prisons  
aren't any different. All are overcrowded. All subject prisoners  
to constant brutality. And all are very tense.

Last week, a prisoner wrote from Green Haven prison in New  
York saying "Another New Mexico may be just over the hill!"

A prisoner from Texas writes: "This sty is long overdue for a  
purging that will make the recent Santa Fe uprising appear  
minuscule by comparison—nowhere else are men so ill-  
treated...."

In the past two months alone, there have been a number of  
prisoner uprisings:

December 6: Soledad prison, California—two dead, 17  
injured.... January 10: federal penitentiary, Marion, Illinois—a  
general work stoppage, supported by a hunger strike in the  
control unit.... January 29: Attica—a blowup in the mess hall,  
the second one that week. One prisoner and two guards hospital-  
ized with serious stab wounds, eight more injured....

The prison keepers themselves are aware that another Santa  
Fe could happen anywhere. On February 7, when prisoners at  
Rikers Island in New York City went on a sitdown strike, the  
guards—probably for the first time in history—were told not to  
use force: "The last thing we want to do, with feelings running  
high following the prisoner uprising in New Mexico, is create a  
violent situation at Rikers Island." □

soon as the rebellion began,  
75 prisoners gave up. Within  
18 hours, another 125 turned  
themselves over to the state.  
Numerous other prisoners just  
hid themselves from the go-  
ings-on in the prison. A large  
number of prisoners were  
scared, of the executions, or  
the possibility of an attack by  
troopers, or both.

There are reports that few  
Black prisoners were involved  
in the revolt—that most of the  
Black prisoners were afraid of  
what was happening. We  
don't know if these reports are  
true. But since there is no  
history of Black, Chicano and  
white prisoner organizations  
working together, it is cer-  
tainly possible there was a lot  
of distrust between prisoners  
of different races.

Because of the lack of unity  
and organization, other things  
went on during the takeover  
that increased the division  
and distrust among prisoners.

First, a large number of  
prisoners took over the pharm-

of them are) more people than  
just informers were killed.  
And these killings probably  
were motivated by personal  
vendettas, racism, and anti-  
gay prejudice. Further, there  
are reports of a series of rapes  
that went on during the 36-  
hour takeover. We suspect at  
least some of these reports  
are true too. These rapes are  
the actions of people who are  
so demoralized and dehuman-  
ized by the state, that they do  
the state's dirty work. They  
spread demoralization and ter-  
ror among prisoners. This is  
why the state usually finds  
some way to use and protect  
these people.

### Lessons of Santa Fe

What happened in the Santa  
Fe takeover, then, was some-  
thing of a mixed bag. But the  
prisoners who held together  
and tried to lead a struggle

## CHICAGO

# Teachers' Strike Ends, But Public Workers Still Battle City

CHICAGO, February 10—Public school teachers here voted today to end their two-week strike, which had closed the city's 400,000-student public school system. The teachers were fighting to get their pay and stop drastic layoffs.

Last December-21 the Chicago Board of Education failed to meet its payroll for the first time since the Depression. Teachers prepared to strike after missing a second paycheck January 4. Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) leaders worked out a last-minute deal in which the teachers got their pay, but only at the price of 1,000 teacher layoffs.

Despite this settlement, the Board failed to issue paychecks on January 25. The CTU House of Representatives met later that day and voted 700-1 against a plan worked out by union president Robert Healey that gave the Board several weeks to come up with the teachers' missing pay. The strike began the next Monday.

begin, the Board announced 600 more teacher layoffs. It also said that the week of lost school would not be made up in June. This meant that the teachers would lose a week's pay. Although the Board said it would meet its payroll, the teachers voted by a three-to-one margin to continue the walkout until these actions were cancelled. The settlement reached today "reduces" the number of new layoffs from 600 to 300. The only thing the teachers won was the restoration of nine of the 10 lost schooldays in June.

The Board of Education is turning to cutbacks and layoffs to solve a major financial crisis. Last fall it was revealed that the school board had a deficit of \$500 to \$700 million. Until then, the Board had covered up its financial problems through years of false bookkeeping. The Board's auditors say they have been privately warning for 10 years that the true yearly deficits were twice what was being reported.

A week after the strike



Striking Chicago teachers demonstrate against Mayor Jane Byrne.

A big part of the Board's deficit comes from waste and corruption. The Board, which has extensive real estate holdings in Chicago, rents out valuable property at very low rents, on long-term leases, to banks and other businesses. Moreover, many businesses have cheated for years on the corporate personal property tax, ripping off millions of dollars from the schools. And the school system is top-heavy with politically well-connected bureaucrats and administrators—twice as many, proportionally, as most big school systems have.

The Board's financial bind is coming out in the open now for two reasons. First of all, bond-rating services lowered the Board's credit rating when it tried to borrow more money to pay off its debt. The banks then announced that before

they would provide the loans, the Board would have to firm the school budget to the banks' specifications. The budget was slashed by \$60 million, dozens of schools were closed, and teachers and other employees were fired—over 3,000 in all. For years to come the school system will be controlled by the new Chicago School Finance Authority, a body set up to do the bankers' bidding.

The other reason is the racism of the Board of Education and Chicago ruling circles in general. Almost 60 percent of Chicago school students are Black. About 20 percent are Latin. White enrollment has just dropped below Latin enrollment for the first time.

On the other hand, the Board of Education is overwhelmingly white. It's hardly a coincidence that the Board's

financial crisis was revealed at the exact time that white students became one of the smaller ethnic groups in the public schools. Although Chicago has one of the most segregated school systems in the country, the Board is building more schools for the sole purpose of reinforcing patterns of school segregation, and funneling money into the white schools. Meanwhile the school system is losing tens of millions of dollars in federal aid for violating federal desegregation guidelines.

Overall, the school system cutbacks are part of a general offensive against Chicago public workers. The end of years of prosperity and the death of Mayor Richard Daley have combined to destroy the Chicago system of backscratching that was the rule in past public worker contract negotiations. Last fall, the Chicago Transit Authority attempted to take away the cost-of-living protection that transit workers have had for years. The result was a four-day strike that ended when the union agreed to arbitration. Cutbacks are planned for public hospitals, and there are rumors of layoffs in city agencies. The city's firefighters, who are unionized but have never had a contract, are currently in negotiations with Mayor Jane Byrne. She had promised them a contract earlier, but has gone back on her word. As we go to press, the firefighters are preparing to strike over the issue. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Workers storm U.S. Steel

Nearly 500 steelworkers fighting to save their jobs broke into U.S. Steel's Youngstown, Ohio, headquarters January 28 and occupied the building for several hours. The workers were from U.S. Steel's Youngstown Works. Last November 27, the company announced plans to close Youngstown Works early in 1980, leaving its 3,500 workers without jobs.

The takeover began with a rally at the United Steelworkers union hall. Then the workers marched to the nearby company offices. Chanting "We want jobs," they smashed the locked glass doors and pushed past security guards. The workers occupied the four floors and roof of the building. Paintings of steel mills were taken from the lobby, and one was displayed on the roof. A worker told reporters that the painting was placed there "to show the world what our ancestors built and what we are going to have taken from us." The workers were finally persuaded to leave the building by union leaders after the company promised to meet with the union the next day.

### Food workers fight lockout

Nearly 17,000 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union in the San Francisco

Bay area are fighting a union-busting campaign by the Food Employers Council. On January 20, the workers overwhelmingly rejected a contract offer which took away their cost-of-living increases while providing a mealy 18.5-percent raise over a three-year period. The next day workers threw picket lines around the 147 stores in the Safeway supermarket chain, which is the largest in the area. The union did not call a strike against the other area supermarkets. But three days after the strike began, the Lucky, Alpha Beta, Ralphs and Albersons stores locked out their workers. The employers' group is hiring thousands of scabs at five dollars an hour, and has brought in a professional union buster to break the strike.

Drivers belonging to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are refusing to cross the strikers' picket lines. But they are leaving their trucks outside the stores where supervisors can unload them. To shut down the stores completely, the workers need to picket the warehouses so the supplies won't go out.

### OCAW walkout in second month

On February 9, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union's strike against the oil corporations entered its second month. The 60,000 union members are demanding a 55-cents an-hour wage hike as well as a previously negotiated five-percent increase. They are also

fighting for a company-paid medical and dental plan.

The oil workers are predicting the strike will be a long one. Oil refineries are highly automated, and the companies can keep them operating with a few supervisors and scabs. On the West Coast, strikers are using picket boats to try and stop the tankers which supply the refineries. The Inland Boatmen's Union is honoring the picket lines. But the Seafarers International Union is ordering its members to cross them.

### Bitter Olin strike ends

On January 20, 1,350 workers at the Olin Corporation's Winchester plant in New Haven, Connecticut, voted to return to work after a bitter six-month strike. Olin provoked the strike by demanding the right to set daily production standards. Once the strike began, the company tried to break the union by bringing in scab workers under police escort. Pickets fought battles with the cops and scabs, but were unable to keep the plant shut down for good.

The strike ended in a standoff. The company won its demand to set higher production standards. But they failed to smash the union. Instead, the company agreed to dismiss the scab workers, and to rehire 81 militants who were fired or laid off during the strike. The workers also won an improved grievance procedure.

But three weeks after the settlement, only half the Olin workers have been called back to work. The company transferred 200 jobs to other plants. It also brought in new machinery during the strike which eliminated still more jobs.

—PB



## New York

# City, Unions Head for Showdown

By EUGENE V. LEE

New York City's municipal workers have their backs to the wall as their contracts come up this spring. Over the last five years, these workers have suffered defeat after defeat. But this year a fight-back is building. A strike is a real possibility, especially by transit workers. Their contract expires March 31. The other city unions' contracts expire at the end of June.

Since the New York City fiscal crisis began in 1975,

system alone. This is in addition to the city's ongoing plan to close four municipal hospitals, throwing thousands more out of work and depriving many working class people easy access to needed health care.

In the negotiations, the city is demanding a continuation of the four-percent ceiling on wage increases of the last contract. It wants a free hand to lay off people and move them from job to job at will. It wants no improvements in health and safety conditions. The Transit Authority is demanding reduced pay differentials for night and weekend work. It also wants to expand the hiring of part-time workers, who will get no fringe benefits.

### City wants to smash unions

The city's attack is an integral part of the capitalists' long-term strategy: Rebuild New York for capitalism. This comes after a long period when a large part of the capitalist class wanted to move to the Sun Belt or the suburbs and let New York sink. Now the capitalists have united to rebuild New York as the financial, intellectual and cultural capital of U.S. imperialism. They want to make New York a city where capitalists and their white, middle class friends can live, play and make profits.

Koch is carrying out this strategy in the name of restoring "confidence" in New York City. What he means is the "confidence" of the capitalists that New York can wring enough out of its working class to give the city a profitable business climate and enable it to repay its debts to the banks. Koch made this clear when he announced that the reason for the latest 13,000 job cuts was to enable the city to return to the capital markets a year earlier than planned.

To reach their goal the capitalists have to beat down the working class: Close hospitals, slash social services, cut jobs and wages, and batter the unions. Until the layoffs and fiscal crisis, New York had a reputation as a union town. But the years of attacks have greatly weakened the unions. Things have deteriorated so much that last spring Koch felt there was little or no political risk in calling out the New York police to break a strike of dairy truck drivers. This was the first time in years the police were used to break a strike in private industry. Koch & Co. also want to

make New York a white city. Their attacks on municipal workers—many of whom are Black and Latin—along with their closings of schools and hospitals, are designed to break what power Blacks and Latins have had in the city, if not drive them out of New York altogether.

### Contract fight could reverse trend

The city workers' contract fight provides the opportunity to smash the capitalists' plans and win job security and a living wage, and to keep New York a union town. A victory by New York municipal workers would also strengthen the fight against Koch's racist plan to whiten New York.

This will not be easy. Among many workers, the years of defeats have caused a lot of demoralization. For example, the people attending a recent meeting of activists from various locals in District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees reported that there was little or

no strike sentiment in their locals.

The transit contract is key to what happens to all the municipal unions this contract round. The contract historically has been a pattern-setter for these other unions. A transit strike has the power to tie New York in knots. A victorious strike on the transit system would therefore turn around the demoralization which many workers feel.

### Transit strike likely

Transit workers are restless and angry. One indication of this came in the union elections held late last year. The incumbent, John Lawe, won with only 40 percent of the vote over three militant opponents. Dissatisfaction with the '78 sellout was the principal reason.

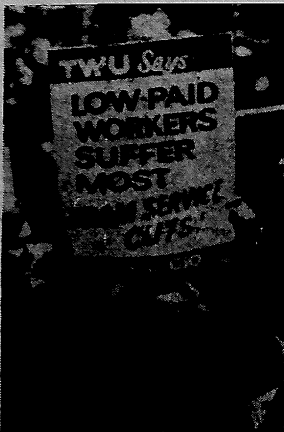
Right now militant rank and filers in transit are organizing to prevent another sellout. They may well be able to force Lawe to call a strike to save his own skin.

At this time Lawe seems to be leaning to calling a quickie

strike for the rank and file to blow off steam. After one or two days, he would then go along with derailing the fight into arbitration, where the city government and the transit bosses hold the high cards.

The final outcome of the suburban commuter Long Island Rail Road (LIRR) struggle will play a big role. (See accompanying article.) The LIRR is owned by the same Transit Authority which runs the city subways. A victory on the LIRR would give a big boost to the city transit struggle. However, the LIRR non-operating unions have already settled for a wage increase of seven percent, including a cost-of-living allowance, and no guarantees against job overloading. The Transit Authority is now trying to force this sellout on the operating unions.

Whether this sellout—or worse—will be shoved down the throats of city workers will depend a lot on the rank-and-file transit groups now organizing. They think they can force Lawe to call a strike. But they are not sure whether they can beat an arbitration scheme and carry the struggle through to victory. The test comes on March 31. □



1977 protest against transit cutbacks.

30,000 jobs have been lost. At that time wages were frozen. Over the last two years, real wages have fallen by 12 percent. In 1975 New York transit workers had the highest wages in the industry. Today they are about 40th. Among clerks, typists, messengers and hospital workers, salary levels now run \$8,000-\$10,000—with workloads that have been greatly increased since 1975. Many municipal workers now qualify for food stamps. One worker we talked to, a messenger in the Social Services Department, grosses only \$8,700 after seven years on the job.

The defeats have gone deeper than layoffs and wage cuts. At a health and safety conference this January, about 75 women city workers protested the radiation coming from the video display typewriters they work at. In addition, many had been hired as computer operators, but they were assigned as clerk/typists to cut their pay!

In spite of all that the workers have given up already, the city has made it clear that it's out for much more. Even before negotiations began, Mayor Edward Koch unveiled a new wave of cutbacks and layoffs. Koch wants to sack 13,000 workers over the next two years, including 7,000 in the school

## LIRR Workers Stripped of Right to Strike

As we go to press on February 14, Long Island Railroad (LIRR) workers face a court battle to defend their right to strike against the New York Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA).

The LIRR, which is the nation's largest commuter railroad, employs 6,500 workers. They have been working without a contract since January 1, 1979. This past December 6, they went on strike to enforce demands for a 33 percent wage increase over three years (about 10 percent a year), retroactive to when their contract expired. They also demanded improved pensions and working conditions.

The non-operating workers settled for a package that fell far short of these demands, but the union representing the workers on the trains did not. They were forced back to work on December 14, when President Carter invoked the Railroad Labor Act and ordered a 60-day cooling-off period.

SHORTLY before the cooling-off period was to end on February 13, the MTA attempted to bust another strike by changing the legal definition of the company that runs the railroad. On February 8, they re-incorporated it as a public service corporation. This means that New York State's Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees, now applies to the LIRR workers. It means the MTA can call in the police and state militia to break "illegal" strikes, and ask the courts to impose

heavy fines and jail terms against union leaders who call a strike.

On February 13, the last day of contract negotiations, the MTA got a temporary restraining order banning a new walkout under the Taylor Law. After negotiations collapsed, union officials said they would "obey the law" and go to court to overturn the restraining order instead of calling a strike. They are surrendering the union's right to strike into the hands of the capitalist courts, which have already ruled in favor of the MTA. Meanwhile, the trains continue to run, and MTA chairman Richard Ravitch maintains he will not return to the bargaining table "for a good long time."

THE MTA's strike-busting maneuver is the first step in an offensive directed against all New York City public workers. In addition to the LIRR, the MTA oversees New York City's bus and subway system, and operates most of the rail lines into the city. Its attack on the LIRR workers is important not only in its own terms, but also because it will set the pace for a settlement between the MTA and city transit workers, whose contract expires on March 31. The transit settlement, in turn, will set the pace for all other New York City public workers. In other words, if the MTA defeats the LIRR workers, there will be hell to pay for all New York area public workers later on. The MTA must be stopped. Support the LIRR workers. □

# Russian Invasion of Afghanistan: Crucial Test For the Left

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan represents a serious test for revolutionaries and the left in general. In addition to raising the question of what "position" to take (that is, for or against the Russian occupation), the invasion also poses some fundamental questions about the goals and values of the left.

To see why this is so, it is first necessary to review the events in Afghanistan that led to the Russian invasion.

Since World War II, Afghanistan has been a buffer state between the Russian state-capitalist regime and U.S. imperialism and its allies in the region. While both Russia and the U.S. have supported the Afghan government, Russia, which shares a 1,000-mile border with Afghanistan, has had the greater influence in the country.

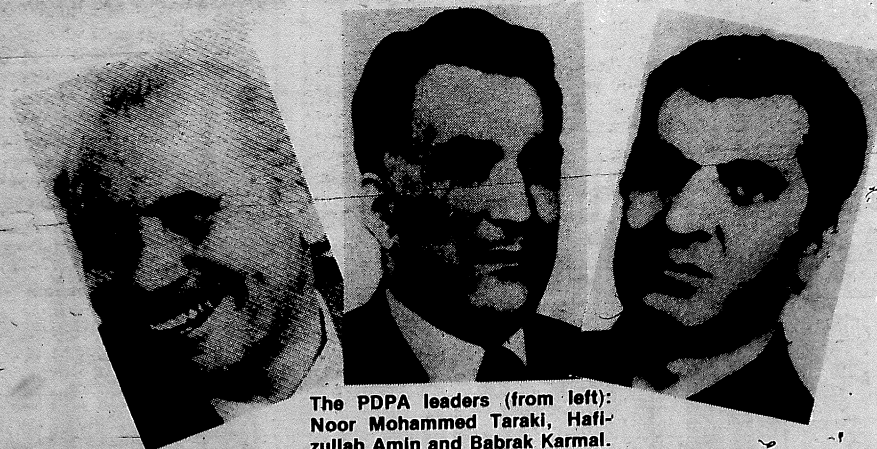
This situation was upset in April 1978, when the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), led by Noor Mohammad Taraki, overthrew the right-wing regime of Mohammad Daud. The PDPA was a small, pro-Russian Stalinist party, led by westernized intellectuals, which numbered 4,000 members at most. It had no base among either the tiny Afghan working class or the peasants and nomads who make up 85 percent of the Afghan population. The PDPA



Afghan refugees in Pakistan after Russian invasion.

came to power through a coup, carried out by sections of the Afghan army in Kabul, the capital. The April 1978 "revolution" was in no sense a popular insurrection.

When it seized power, the PDPA was divided into two factions. The program of one wing, the Parcham (Banner) faction, aimed to set up a pro-Russian regime, without making major changes in Afghan society. The other grouping, the Khalq (Masses) faction, proposed a more independent and radical line. Soon after



The PDPA leaders (from left): Noor Mohammed Taraki, Hafizullah Amin and Babrak Karmal.

the coup the Khalq faction moved against the Parcham forces, jailing or exiling many of the Parcham leaders (including Babrak Karmal—now Afghan president—who was sent to Czechoslovakia). Hafizullah Amin, the leader of a wing of the Khalq faction, became prime minister and the actual ruler of the country. Taraki continued as president and nominal leader of the PDPA.

Once he had gotten rid of his Parcham comrades, Amin launched a campaign to break apart Afghanistan's tribal society to pave the way for building a more modern cen-

tures of Afghan society.

How they were carried out, however, was something else. Instead of trying to mobilize the oppressed people—workers, peasants, nomads, women—to fight for their rights, the PDPA tried to implement its program through a campaign of terror. Moreover, this terror was not only aimed against the landlords, mullahs and tribal leaders; it was also directed against the peasants and nomads themselves.

Eyewitnesses have reported that villagers in Kerala and elsewhere were lined up against a wall and shot for refusing to support the PDPA. (Christian Science Monitor, February 4, 1980.) Other villages were bombed into rubble by the Afghan air force—which included Russian pilots acting as "advisors" to the PDPA. As a result of the PDPA's brutal methods, between 350,000 and 500,000 people fled their homes and sought refuge in Pakistan. While some of the refugees were landlords, mullahs and tribal leaders, most were poor peasants or nomads.

The PDPA's policies provoked a mass popular rebellion against the government and its Russian "advisors." Tribal groups such as the Nuristani, Hazari and others took up arms against the government's efforts to smash their traditional autonomy. Army garrisons in Herat, Azar and Kabul mutinied and joined the uprising.

Many, if not most, of the current leaders of the rebellion are mullahs, landlords and tribal leaders who want to use the masses to protect their own power and privileges. But the people are not mere pawns or stupid tools of these right-wing forces. They are fighting to defend their way of life and their right to determine it.

By the fall of 1979, the rebellion had become so widespread that the insurgents

controlled most of the countryside. Amin tried to save his regime through desperate maneuvers such as appealing to "patriotic capitalists" and doubling the pay of army officers and enlisted men. But his defeat was only a matter of time.

The course of events inside Afghanistan was watched closely, and with considerable anxiety, by the Russian ruling class. The Russians' main goal in Afghanistan was to make sure the country was ruled by a government friendly to themselves. This was far more important to them than any bourgeois democratic reforms, let alone a state-capitalist transformation of Afghan society.

The Russian rulers grew more and more anxious as they saw Amin's stupid policies drive the Afghan masses into the arms of right-wing leaders. So worried were they that after trying to get Amin to moderate his policies and bring some opposition figures into his government, the Russians finally staged a plot to get rid of him. Unfortunately for the Russians, on September 16, 1979, Amin's men beat Taraki to the draw in a shootout in the government building in Kabul.

At this point the Russian rulers decided they had to take more effective measures to prevent Afghanistan from falling into hostile hands. The more effective measure they chose was the invasion of Afghanistan by 50,000 troops on December 25, 1979. Although they claimed to be responding to a plea for help from Amin, they let the cat out of the bag by murdering Amin and installing a more pliant stooge—Babak Karmal—airlifted straight from Eastern Europe.

Today, Karmal's Russian "advisors"—backed up by over 100,000 troops and a lot of guns—are the real rulers of

Afghanistan. At Karmal's first press conference in January, Russian officials supervised the registration of reporters, arranged the seating (putting the Russian and Eastern European reporters in the front rows) and decided which reporters would be allowed to ask questions and when. Russian troops guard the police compound in Kabul and disarm Afghan soldiers before letting them enter. The Afghan police chief and his aides spend their time on the second floor watching TV, while his Russian "advisors" occupy the ground floor and do the work. The same arrangement exists in the other government offices.

## Russians try to wipe out rebellion

Far from furthering "the revolution," the Russians and their local clients are trying to stabilize the new regime by working to win the support of Afghanistan's small capitalist class. They have brought pro-capitalist politicians and military officers into the government. They are compensating merchants and other capitalists whose property was confiscated by the "counter-revolutionary" Amin regime. They are also promising that "in the next ten years the private sector will have a more important role." They are even removing leftist slogans and posters set up in Kabul and other cities by Amin.

Meanwhile, the Russians are pursuing the war to wipe out the rebellion in the countryside. Tank columns are trying to smash rebel strongholds in eastern Afghanistan and Russian pilots are dropping napalm and phosphorus bombs on villages in the region.

The Afghan people, who had never before been conquered by foreign invaders, naturally regard the Russian troops as conquerors, not liberators. In Kandahar, in southwestern Afghanistan, thousands of people poured into the streets on December 31 chanting "Death to the Russians," while all shopkeepers except those selling food shut down their shops for a week. In Herat, in northwestern Afghanistan, the entire population of about 10,000 people has climbed to the rooftops every evening since December 28 chanting "Allah akhbar" (God is great) to protest the invasion. Meanwhile, resistance to the invasion is continuing in the countryside, although it is hampered by the rival ambitions of the right-wing leaders.

For its part, the U.S. ruling class is shrieking bloody murder and using the invasion as

# WORLD IN REVOLUTION



## El Salvador on verge of civil war

On January 22 at least 20 people were killed and hundreds wounded during a battle between leftist militants and National Guardsmen in the streets of San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador. The fighting started when National Guardsmen and right-wing sharpshooters opened fire on 150,000 marchers, who were calling for the overthrow of the military junta led by Colonel Jaime Abduk Gutierrez.

Such battles are becoming common in El Salvador. The country is on the verge of civil war. On one side are the workers and peasants, organized in mass organizations like the Revolutionary Popular Bloc, the United Front for Popular Action, and the February 28 People's League. These groups united to form the United People's Movement (MUP) on January 11. On the other side are the capitalist class, the landlords, and their army. They have the backing of U.S. imperialism, which is rushing \$50 million in military and economic aid to Gutierrez's regime. They also have the support of right-wing gangsters organized in the Orden, the Falange, and the Union of White Warriors.

In the middle are the reformist political parties in El Salvador, like the National Revolutionary Movement and the National Democratic Union (NDU), the legal organization of the Salvadorean Communist Party. These groups originally supported Gutierrez when he took power in a military coup last October. But they have been forced into opposing his regime in order to maintain some credibility with the masses. The NDU, which was condemning the "ultraleft" organizations only a few months ago, has since joined the MUP.

The MUP itself is appealing to the reformists to join its coalition. And the United Front for Popular Action is calling for a new government based on the mass organizations, the reformists and the left wing of the pro-capitalist Christian Democratic Party, which split after Christian Democratic leaders entered the government in January. This is a serious mistake. The Salvadorean workers and peasants are nearing a showdown with Gutierrez. They have the chance to smash capitalist rule in El Salvador and take over the country for themselves. They have nothing to gain by offering deals to pro-capitalist politicians who will sell out to U.S. imperialism and its stooges in El Salvador as soon as they get the chance.

## U.S.-Iran deal near?

On February 13, President Carter announced his support for the formation of an international commission to investigate Iranian charges against the deposed shah and the U.S. On the same day Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, the new president of Iran, said the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had approved a secret plan for the release of the hostages captured in the U.S. embassy takeover last November.

Bani-Sadr, a member of Khomeini's Revolutionary Council who opposed the embassy takeover from the start, won 76 percent of the vote in Iran's presidential election held January 25. With Khomeini's support, he is trying to stabilize capitalist rule in Iran. He wants to make peace with U.S. imperialism to strengthen his regime against the Russian troops which have invaded neighboring Afghanistan and are massing along the Iranian border.

To carry out this policy Bani-Sadr and Khomeini want to eliminate competing power centers in Iran, and build a strong central government. On February 6 Bani-Sadr received full authority over Iranian affairs from the Revolutionary Council. He vowed to "dissolve certain Islamic Committees that have been uncontrollable in the past." He also warned leftists that "mixing Marxism and Islam will not be tolerated."

In particular, he attacked the students holding the hostages as "lawless children." He has ordered radio and TV stations not to broadcast statements from the students without government authorization. And he declares that the government may soon take over control of the embassy from the students.

These attacks have put the students and their supporters on the defensive. On February 4, they called off a demonstration scheduled to conflict with Bani-Sadr's inauguration as president. The militants holding the hostages say they will not obey orders from Bani-Sadr to release them, but that they would be "forced to accept" a similar demand from Khomeini himself. It appears that Khomeini may soon issue such orders.

—PB

an excuse to mount an imperialist offensive of its own. President Jimmy Carter is re-instituting the draft, increasing the military budget, and seeking bases in the Middle East and Central Asia. He is also shipping arms to reactionary rulers such as Pakistan's Mohammad Zia ul-Haq and trying to organize the rival rebel groups into a more unified force under U.S. control. At the same time, Carter is hard at work whipping up war hysteria among the U.S. population to justify building up the U.S. war machine and to get himself reelected.

## Tasks of revolutionaries

The tasks of revolutionaries in the U.S. should be clear from these facts. Our first job is to oppose Carter's war maneuvers. Revolutionaries must counter Carter's war propaganda, fight against the draft and the other concrete steps being taken to strengthen U.S. imperialism, and expose the efforts to use the Russian invasion to get the workers and other oppressed people to pay for the capitalist crisis.

But our job doesn't stop there. The left must not use Carter's imperialist offensive as an excuse to support the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The Russian invasion was not a progressive step designed to protect the Afghan people and their "revolution"—as the Russians would wish the world to believe. It was a mass invasion of foreign troops to crush a popular rebellion of the Afghan people who, because of the brutal policies of Amin, were following right-wing leaders. The Russians wanted a friendly government on their border and when one method of getting it appeared to be failing, they chose a more efficient way.

By invading Afghanistan the Russian ruling class has trampled on the Afghan people's right to self-determination, to control their own country. Revolutionaries should unconditionally defend the independence of Afghanistan against this attack and should call for the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan.

With the exception of a handful of groups, however, the U.S. left has responded to the Russian invasion in a horrifying manner.

Some Maoist groups, such as the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) are overtly supporting U.S. imperialism. These groups claim that the Russians are taking over the world and have to be stopped by any means necessary.

In its newspaper *The Call*, the CPML states: "... at this juncture in world history, when the Soviet juggernaut is steamrolling across Asia and

Africa, a limited, restricted U.S. role in helping nations stand up to Russian expansionism—as well as a halt to U.S. aid to Moscow—can be in the interests of the world's people." Other articles complain that "little concretely has been done [by the Carter Administration] to stay the Kremlin's aggression," and accuse Secretary of State Cyrus Vance of "appeasing Soviet expansionism."

The CPML supports the Chinese state-capitalist ruling class which has moved into a direct alliance with U.S. imperialism. The Chinese government is supporting any regime that supports the U.S. against Russia no matter how many crimes that regime commits against its own people.

The CPML is obediently parroting this line, calling for arms to Pakistan's Zia and



U.S. envoy Zbigniew Brzezinski meets with Pakistan's dictator.

other dictators, and applauding the rulers of Oman, Somalia and Kenya for offering sites for military bases to the U.S. In short—the CPML has simply chosen to support one imperialist oppressor—U.S. imperialism—over another, the Russians.

## Cheerleaders for Russian invasion

Other groups, such as the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL), are supporting the Russian conquest of Afghanistan. While the details of their positions, and how they argue for them, differ, they all contend that the Russians invaded in the interests of freedom, democracy and social progress.

The Communist Party, which never shrinks from defending the most brutal Russian policy or repeating the most brazen lie, got caught a little flatfooted by the Russian invasion. Up until the invasion, the CP defended the Amin regime as a peaceful, democratic government that was doing wonderful things for the Afghan people. The new Russian line, however, was a bit different. After the Russian troops got to Kabul, occupied the city and murdered Amin, the Russians denounced Amin as a counter-

revolutionary and a CIA agent who was plotting to turn the country over to U.S. imperialism. After an embarrassing silence, the CP regained its bearings and dutifully began echoing the Russian line.

Thus, we find the *Daily World* (CP newspaper) somewhat belatedly announcing to the world: "The timely action taken by the Soviet Union in giving aid to the hard-pressed national democratic revolutionary government of Afghanistan, has secured the territorial integrity and upheld the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan." (*Daily World*, January 5, 1980.)

The Socialist Workers Party has taken more or less the same position, although putting it forward with a bit more finesse. Its argument comes down to the contention that

the PDPA regime (including under Amin) came to power through a popular revolution. The PDPA's attempts to implement democratic reforms, according to the SWP, provoked a counter-revolutionary struggle which was led by the landlords, mullahs and tribal leaders, sponsored and financed by the CIA, and enjoying the support of only a tiny handful of Afghan people. For some reason, this tiny counter-revolutionary movement became a mortal threat to the popular PDPA regime. The Russians then invaded to protect the Afghan people and defend the gains and conquests of the revolution.

Not content to leave its fairy tale without the happiest possible ending, the SWP proclaims the Russian invasion an aid to all oppressed people fighting for freedom. In its newspaper, the *Militant*, the SWP writes: "The major Soviet and Afghan offensive to defeat the rightist bands is an aid to the oppressed in their battles against imperialist domination, not only in Afghanistan, but also in neighboring Iran and throughout the entire region and the colonial and semi-colonial world."

In short, the SWP supports the Russian ruling class's effort to crush Afghan independence. It claims the Afghan people welcomed the Russian troops as liberators when, as

(Continued on page 17)

# "We're Gonna Sto

By ROD MILLER

**GREENSBORO**—Chanting "Who's Gonna Stop the Klan? We're Gonna Stop the Klan!" more than 7,000 people marched in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2. Called to counter the sharp rise in Klan-Nazi racist terror, the march took place in the same city where on November 3 a caravan of Nazis and Klansmen attacked an anti-racist rally, killing five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) and wounding several others.

The February 2 march also commemorated the sit-in which took place 20 years ago—February 1, 1960—at the "white only" lunch counter of Greensboro's Woolworth's.

The march in Greensboro was an important step forward for the anti-racist, anti-Klan movement. Nearly 400 civil rights, trade union, left, lesbian, gay, religious and community organizations endorsed the action. People came to march from cities as far away as Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles. The size of the demonstration was also impressive; organized in less than six weeks, it was easily the largest anti-Klan mobilization since the 1960s.

The Revolutionary Socialist League mobilized supporters from around the country to take part in the demonstration. Carrying red banners and flags, the 100-strong RSL contingent chanted: "The Cops and the Klan Work Hand-in-Hand," "Gay, Straight, Black and White—Workers of the World Unite!" and "What's the

Fight?—Smash the Right! What's the Solution?—Revolution!" Members of the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) marched with the RSL as did many people who joined along the route of the march, attracted by the contingent's militancy.

## Government tries to stop march

The demonstration took place in the face of a determined effort by government officials to stop it. Ever since the November 3 murders of the CWP members, the ruling class has been trying to paint the armed Klan-Nazi assault on an anti-racist rally as nothing but "a fight between extremist groups."

In addition, immediately after November 3, civil rights organizations like CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) were contacted by representatives of the Justice Department and told: "Stay out of Greensboro—This is not an issue of race."

George Holmes, chairman of Harlem CORE, told a meeting of the New York February 2 Mobilization Committee of his reception in Greensboro following the murders. "When we [representatives of CORE] came to Greensboro, they met us at the airplane. Not the airport, mind you, but the air-

plane. We were whisked into a private conference room and warned—'This is not your issue. Go back home.'"

For weeks following the announcement of the February 2 march in Greensboro, the press in North Carolina churned out warnings of "communist subversion" and "plans for violence." Black student groups at campuses throughout the state were visited by representatives of North Carolina's State Bureau of Investigation (SBI—the state's "red squad") and asked if they knew that "communists who planned violence were in control of the march. Many groups reported that they were marching despite warnings not to attend.

Mobilization committees from several cities around the country reported that bus companies had canceled charter contracts at the last moment due to pressure and warnings that the marchers would be "armed and violent."

A permit to march and permission to use the city's coliseum for a rally were only granted at the last moment. Even then, in an effort to scare people from coming, Greensboro Mayor E.S. Melvin declared a "state of emergency" the day before the march. At the same time, North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt announced that the National Guard was being mobilized. (Hunt is backed by the Klan for re-election.)

All along the route of the march itself, riot-equipped state troopers with rifles could be seen on rooftops, while National Guard helicopters circled overhead.

Even with this campaign of harassment and intimidation, thousands came and thousands marched. Participants saw the mobilization as the beginning of a new offensive for equality, freedom and liberation. The spirit of many of those marching was captured at the rally by Ben Chavis of the Wilmington 10, recently released from a North Carolina prison after serving four years on arson charges stemming from a racist frame-up. Speaking to enthusiastic applause, Chavis said:

"I want to send a message to Jimmy Carter—there ain't going to be no reinstatement of the draft. We're not going to fight no more wars for capitalism. We're not going to fight no more wars for impe-

# 7500 March in Gre



rialism. We're going to be drafted into the freedom struggle. We're going to march; we're going to tear this system down."

## SCLC red-baits the left

Despite Chavis's words, despite the militancy of many marchers and despite the strong presence of many left-wing groups, much of the day's activities were dominated by reformist ministers and politicians. Right from the December conference in Atlanta which issued the call for the march, organizations like the SCLC and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) tried to keep the entire march movement tightly under their thumb. IFCO and SCLC continually put the issue of their own narrow control of the event ahead of the effort to mobilize as many people as possible. From the outset, the SCLC imposed—as a condition for its participation—guidelines for building the march that provided for the expulsion of any group that raised issues the SCLC didn't agree with.

Following the Atlanta conference, the SCLC and IFCO waged a heavy red-baiting campaign against the CWP. In the final days before the march, the SCLC and IFCO expelled the CWP from the national planning committee

of the February 2 Coalition. Only widespread protest from around the country prevented the SCLC from expelling the CWP from the coalition altogether.

Though this expulsion attempt failed, the reformists were successful in controlling many aspects of the mobilization. Strong emphasis was placed on "turn the other cheek" pacifism in all of the march's official literature and statements. Even slogans agreed upon at the Atlanta conference, such as "Unite! To Stop Klan-Nazi Terror!" were removed from march posters and leaflets and replaced with the empty statement: "We Will Never Go Back." References to the need for a militant mobilization against the growing right-wing and government attacks, which had been in the initial call for the march issued by the Atlanta conference, vanished from all march literature. In fact, virtually all mention of the Klan disappeared in the final week before the march.

## Reformists want limited movement

Reformist leaderships like the SCLC want to keep the anti-racist, anti-Klan movement narrow and limited. Their aim has always been to win limited gains for a limited number of people. "Give us (middle class Blacks) a bigger

share of the capitalist pie, the real program of the SCLC."

However, groups like SCLC have an increasingly tricky road to walk. The reality that the gains of the 1960s were both limited and tenuous is today being driven home to the mass of Black people. With Black income still less than 60 percent of that of whites and the gap widening, it is little comfort to working class Blacks to know that Andrew Young is eating well. As capitalism's economic crisis deepens, more and more people are being thrown out of work, the cities are crumbling and life—already bad enough—is getting worse. Meanwhile, the deepening crisis is producing a marked resurgence of extreme racist forces like the Klan and the Nazis.

All this is putting groups like the SCLC under enormous pressure to do something. It was this pressure that forced the SCLC to join—and try to lead—the February 2 mobilization. But the dilemma facing the SCLC is that there is no guarantee that the movement can be kept under its control. This is particularly true today, when Black people are under the gun from both capitalist and right-wing attacks.

As people begin to struggle, they will not long be satisfied with empty rhetoric and a strategy of begging for crumbs. They will know that meaningful struggle against the Klan must become a militant fight for jobs, housing



CWP contingent in Greensboro.

# Stop the Klan!"

## March in Greensboro



Torchfield/Eugene V. Lee

February 2 Coalition. A read protest from country prevented from expelling the coalition alto-

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As people begin to struggle, they will not long be satisfied with empty rhetoric and a strategy of begging for crumbs. They will know that a meaningful struggle against the Klan must become a militant fight for jobs, housing,

schools and a decent standard of living, as well as against all forms of overt and covert racial discrimination. Such a struggle cannot limit itself to what the corporations, the government or the so-called "friends of Black people" in the Democratic Party are today willing to accept.

This prospect—masses of people fighting militantly for their rights, refusing to bow down to capitalism's attacks—scars the SCLC to death. The SCLC wants to protect its image as a "Black leadership," but it doesn't want a movement that it cannot control.

This dilemma was clear at the rally following the march on February 2. The SCLC intended a rally free from revolutionary speeches. Much of the motivation for expelling the CWP from the national planning committee prior to the march was to make sure there were "no communists" on the speakers' platform.

For a time, the rally proceeded as if people had come to Greensboro to go to church rather than to fight the Klan. However, the militancy of the people at the rally began to have an impact.

Moderate speaker after moderate speaker got little response from the crowd. But when SCLC leader Joseph Lowery attacked Iran, he was roundly booed amid chants of "Death to the Shah."

And when the reformists brought the widows of the five slain CWP militants up to the platform to be put "on dis-

play," all hell broke loose. Led by the CWP and the RSL, people began chanting "Let them speak!" As the chanting gained support, the reformists were unable to bring the rally back to order. Finally, they backed down and allowed CWP leader Phil Thompson to speak.

Thompson attacked the reformists for their red-baiting and bureaucratic maneuvers and explained the importance of armed self-defense in the struggle against the fascists. Thompson pointed out that it is decaying capitalism that is the source of growing racism and increasing attacks on Black people in general. Thompson ended his speech to loud and enthusiastic chants of "Death to the Klan! Avenge the CWP Five!" and "Socialist Revolution is the Only Solution!"

### United front wins victories

Central to the strength of revolutionary forces inside the February 2 mobilization was

the united front established by the RSL and the CWP. Too often, the revolutionary left has pursued a sectarian course, refusing to unite when and where concrete agreement exists. This weakens the strength of the left and often allows the reformists to dominate the movement far more easily than they would otherwise. At times, this sectarianism has been so extreme that deadly enemies such as the Klan and the Nazis have scored cheap victories where unity could have prevented them.

The RSL and the CWP demonstrated that another course is possible. Despite many important disagreements between our groups, the RSL and CWP agreed that:

1) The February 2 coalition should be open and democratic. No organizations should be excluded and, most importantly, all red-baiting should be condemned and fought.

2) It was essential to do everything possible to actually organize and mobilize for the February 2 march, rather than follow the SCLC/IFCO strategy of contacting "well-placed people" for their endorsements.

3) Revolutionaries should demand and defend the right to carry their own banners, distribute their literature, and raise their own chants and slogans in the demonstration.

4) It is essential for revolu-

tionaries to explain that to be effective, the anti-Klan movement must adopt a strategy of armed self-defense. Moreover, this position should be put forward openly and aggressively within the movement.

Through this unity, important victories were won. The CWP and RSL prevented the SCLC from expelling the CWP from the February 2 Mobilization Committee by mobilizing support in many local mobilization committees around the country. We were able to bring many busloads of people to the demonstration. Our two groups made revolutionary slogans, chants and banners such a prominent part of the demonstration that many reports in the press emphasized the strength of the revolutionary forces.

Most importantly, the CWP and the RSL had a major impact on the rally itself. Through joint chanting we were able to maximize our impact and move the rally to the left. This was reflected in the successful effort to force the SCLC to allow the CWP to speak. It was also evident from the very militant speech given by Ben Chavis at the end of the rally. Chavis—who favors "electing someone better than Carter to the White House"—picked up on the strong left-wing sentiment present and talked about

(Continued on next page)

## Malcolm X on Armed Self-Defense

Fifteen years ago, on February 21, 1965, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz—Malcolm X—was assassinated as he spoke to a New York City meeting. Malcolm X was killed because the ruling class needed to silence his strong uncompromising voice at any cost.

Throughout his political life, Malcolm X stood for Black people relying on their own strength and fighting, never begging, for freedom from oppression. For this he was vilified and slandered, called an extremist and ostracized by nearly every established Black leader.

But there was one position that earned Malcolm X more hate—and admiration—than any other. That was his teachings on the necessity for armed self-defense against racist terror. Below is a selection that deals with this subject from a speech Malcolm X made in Detroit on February 14, 1965, just one week before his assassination.

"This society is controlled primarily by the racists and segregationists who are in Washington D.C.; they exercise the same forms of brutal oppression against dark-skinned people in South and North Vietnam, or in the Congo, or in Cuba or any other place on this earth where they are trying to exploit and oppress.

"Look right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi and in the Congo

and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. But all that violence they display at the international level; when you and I want just a little bit of freedom, we're supposed to be nonviolent. They're violent in Korea, they're violent in Germany, they're violent in the South Pacific, they're violent in Cuba, they're violent wherever they go. But when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings, they tell us to be nonviolent.

"That's a shame. Because we get tricked into being nonviolent, and when somebody stands up and talks like I just did, they say, 'Why, he's advocating violence.' Isn't that what they say? Everytime you pick up your newspaper, you see where one of these things has gotten into it that I am advocating violence. I have never advocated any violence. I have only said that black people who are the victims of organized violence perpetrated upon us by the Klan, the Citizens Councils, and many other forms, should defend ourselves. And when I say we should defend ourselves against the violence of others, they use their press campaign to make the world think that I am calling for violence, period. . . . So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary." □

# Klan

(Continued from last page)  
"tearing down the capitalist system."

## We must go forward

February 2 was a victory for the anti-Klan, anti-Nazi movement. But to deal with the growing fascist threat, we must go forward. Already, the Nazis (National Socialist Party) have announced that they are building an "anti-communist rally" in Greensboro on April 19. Nazi leader Frank Covington stated that

"All right wing groups will be invited to participate."

It is crucial that this new right-wing threat be dealt with. It would be a significant victory for the fascists if they were able to march in Greensboro unopposed. On the other hand, a massive counter-mobilization of tens of thousands of anti-fascist militants could deal a severe blow to the Nazi-Klan recruitment drive.

The RSL calls on the National Anti-Klan Network, which initiated the February 2 march in Greensboro, to begin now to organize a mass, militant anti-fascist rally in Greensboro on April 19. We urge all groups in the Network who support this call to meet to map out plans for a coordinated national organizing drive.

Using actions like this as a focus, the anti-Klan movement can reach out to many thousands of new people, educating them about the nature and role of the Klan and the Nazis, the reasons for their growth and the strategy needed to defeat them.

There are additional ways to take the anti-Klan movement forward. We propose that the National Anti-Klan Network organize a series of regional conferences for the late spring or early summer. Everyone who wants to oppose the Nazis and the Klan should be invited. The local mobilization committees formed around the February 2 demonstration can provide the skeleton of an

apparatus that could pull these regional conferences together. These conferences would be an additional way of drawing thousands of new people into the movement.

Equally important, the conferences would be an important opportunity to discuss and debate the many questions of strategy, tactics and program which face the anti-Klan movement. Full, open discussion of these issues will provide the basis for the most lasting, effective unity.

In addition to discussion and education, the regional conferences could initiate a series of coordinated national activities; for example, a national week of anti-Klan struggle. Teach-ins, rallies, conferences and similar activities

could be organized, culminating in a series of marches held on the same day in major cities throughout the country.

The RSL has put these ideas forward in a position paper titled "Which Way Forward for the Anti-Klan Movement?" The paper outlines our views on the strategy necessary to actually defeat the Klan, Nazis and other racist, fascist groups. We encourage a full debate inside the anti-Klan movement of this and other position papers on strategy and tactics. Such a discussion is an important part of building a strong movement. **Torch/La Antorcha** readers who would like a copy of this position paper should write: RSL, P.O. Box 562, NY, NY 10036. □

## Greensboro Demo Exposes Role

# SWP: Opportunists in Action

A large number of left-wing groups participated in the February 2 anti-Klan march in Greensboro, North Carolina. In addition to the RSL, supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), Workers World Party, Gay Activist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist Party, National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and other groups took part in the demonstration.

As the accompanying article explains, the government made a determined effort to sabotage the February 2 march. One of its main methods of disruption was to red-bait the February 2 Mobilization Committee, sponsor of the action. Repeated charges were made that "violence-prone communists" were in charge of march organizing. The Communist Workers Party was the primary target of the government's red-baiting.

The reformist Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) quickly knuckled under to government pressure and began its own campaign against the CWP. The SCLC also tried to limit the influence of other revolutionary groups inside the mobilization. The red-baiting campaign reached its peak when, on January 27, just a week before the march, the CWP was expelled from the coalition's national planning committee and threatened with expulsion from the march altogether.

The CWP and the RSL consistently fought back against these government/SCLC-led attacks. Unfortunately, other left-wing groups played markedly different roles. Some joined the witch-hunt against the CWP. Others remained conspicuously silent. But the

actions of one group—the Socialist Workers Party—deserve special mention.

## SWP joins red-baiting

On January 28, immediately following the expulsion of the CWP from the national planning committee, the RSL and the CWP called an emergency meeting of the New York February 2 Mobilization Committee. The meeting was attended by approximately 30 people from the many groups active

**Communist Workers Party. We condemn any and all red-baiting inside the February 2 Mobilization Committee.**

This was not the only support the CWP received. Many mobilization committees around the country passed resolutions condemning the expulsion. Major figures in the mobilization effort such as Anne Braden and the Rev. Ben Chavis also opposed the expulsion and condemned all red-baiting. The opposition was so widespread that the SCLC was forced to back off its plan to throw the CWP out

of the coalition take and publicly advocate the position that the march be "peaceful and non-violent."

The intent of this motion was unmistakable. Everyone at the meeting understood that it was a resolution in support of the effort to expel the CWP. Moreover, the SWP resolution echoed the government's attempt to red-bait the CWP for its position in favor of armed self-defense. In fact, the resolution actually joined with the government by implying—as the media had been doing for weeks—that the burden of violence rested not with the racist Klan and Nazis ... but with the anti-Klan movement itself!

After the SWP's motion failed, also on a 14-14 tie vote, supporters of the Workers World Party introduced a compromise resolution. This motion, supported by both the RSL and the CWP, was an effort to hold the coalition together so that it could proceed with the important work of building for the march. The motion simply stated that "We are all opposed to the Klan and should go forward to February 2nd in the spirit of unity based on that opposition."

The SWP voted against this call for unity and then walked out of the meeting!

But the SWP did not leave the matter there. Following the January 28 meeting, the SWP leadership decided to withdraw from the February 2 Mobilization Committee altogether. In addition, the SWP leadership declared that the SWP would boycott the demonstration in Greensboro—and would encourage others to do the same. The reason the SWP gave for all this was that the "safety of the march" could not be ensured, given the presence of so-called "ultra-left" groups that advocated

armed self-defense.

This, it will be remembered, was the line the government had been using for weeks to try to break up the march!

On the very eve of the march, however, the SWP apparently concluded that it would have no more success than the government in preventing what would be the largest anti-Klan mobilization in recent years from taking place. The SWP reversed its position and sent a small contingent of people to the demonstration.

## MILITANT lies

All this might be chalked up as an error—a serious one—on the part of the SWP. And one might therefore expect the SWP to indicate publicly that it had made such a mistake, explain why it had done so and why it had reversed its position. This would seem reasonable enough.

But this is not what the SWP did.

Instead, the February 15 **Militant** (the SWP's newspaper) carried articles on the Greensboro demonstration which do not contain a single hint of the SWP's role. In fact they actually suggest that the SWP led the struggle against government/SCLC disruption and red-baiting.

Thus, in the lead article, the **Militant** describes the February 2 march as: "A victory over the state and city authorities, who had done everything they could in the weeks before the action to sabotage it, resorting to red-baiting and baseless warnings that violence would occur."

The government certainly did this. But what about the SWP? The SWP also resorted

(Continued on page 16)



SWP's main slogan at Greensboro called on government to deal with Klan.

in building for the march. At the meeting, the RSL introduced a written resolution stating:

"The New York February 2 Mobilization Committee condemns the action of the national planning committee of the February 2 Mobilization Committee in expelling the Communist Workers Party from the national planning committee. We call on the national planning committee to immediately reinstate the

of the march.

The SWP, however, voted against the motion condemning the red-baiting. As a result of the SWP's opposition (it brought seven people to the meeting), the motion failed on a tie vote, 14-14.

But the matter didn't rest there. Determined to make clear exactly where it stood, the SWP then introduced its own resolution, "reaffirming" the SCLC's dictatorial guidelines and demanding that all

# R Tov

On Sunday, rebellion broke out in Oklahoma.

Fighting against the rebellion broke out in Oklahoma. Fighting against the rebellion broke out in Oklahoma. Fighting against the rebellion broke out in Oklahoma.

In the rebellion, eight Black men were injured. The police used tear gas and shotguns against the protesters. The protesters were demanding the release of the Black Panther Party members who had been arrested.

WHAT TOUCHED THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE was a racist night before. Five Black men were killed at an all-white rally called the Black People's Party. This social club is one of the Black community organizations. Racists at the club from the Black People's Party have had their run. But this time it was



Funeral of Henry

fight—young Joe had a chance. He had the head.

The murderer and his followers are the only racists in the city, however. The city's local businesses and opinion are all in the core. The town is gated (Blacks a quarter of the town's population of 10,000) with people's side of town mostly of shacks and factories consisting of cruminate against

# Rebellion in Oklahoma Town Over Racist Murder

On Sunday, January 20, rebellion broke out in Idabel, Oklahoma.

Fighting against racist murder and abuse, Black people burned down a social club. They tore up a gas station, then shot up and broke store windows. State troopers, armed with automatic weapons, were called in to suppress the revolt.

In the rebellion two people died and four more were injured. The police arrested eight Black men, charging them with vandalism and gun code violations. The capitalists, whose first concern is property, are busy grieving over \$100,000 in damages.

WHAT touched off the revolt was a racist murder the night before. Fifteen-year-old Henry Lee Johnson was killed at an all-white social club called the Black Cat Club. This social club is on the edge of the Black community. The racists at the club and people from the Black community have had their run-ins before. But this time it wasn't even a

ple in hiring and in promotions. And Black people get only three things from the Idabel cops—brutality, brutality and more brutality. The cops don't even pretend to investigate crimes against Black people.

THERE was clearly more than enough cause for a rebellion in Idabel. The racist policies of the whole town promote and back up the murder of youth. But even with all of this, the initial response of the Black community was very mild. The first thing that people tried was a march to city hall. There, they demanded that the city government investigate the murder. But as usual, the city government ignored the needs of the Black community.

So some more direct action was taken.

The rebellion got a response from the city government—and the response has been vicious. First from the cops, firing automatic weapons at demonstrators. Out



Funeral of Henry Lee Johnson in Idabel.

fight—young Johnson never had a chance. He was shot in the head.

The murderer and the members of the social club aren't the only racists in Idabel, however. The city government, local businesses, and "local opinion" are all racist to the core. The town itself is segregated (Blacks are about a quarter of the town's population of 10,000) with the Black people's side of town made up mostly of shacks. The area's factories consistently discriminate against Black peo-

and out terror was used to restore law and order. Next, a white man, Walter Anthony DeShazo, was arrested and charged with the murder of Johnson. People who saw the killing say DeShazo didn't do it. The city government knows this. But they want to pretend that they're doing something about Johnson's murder.

AT the same time, the state is going out of its way to ensure that their frame-up victim doesn't face any real threat of being punished either. They are now attempt-

ing a big cover-up of the murder and their own racism. Now that the rebellion is over, they think they can get away with lies as well as murder.

Now they are claiming that Johnson was killed for burglarizing cars. And now they claim that there was never any

fight against racism going on. They say what happened was a war between two groups of drug dealers.

EIGHT Black men face trial for fighting racism. The city government is busy protecting a racist murderer. And Bill Wilkinson, head of the Invisi-



ble Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, plans a trip to Idabel to "teach white people how to defend themselves."

What has begun in Idabel is nowhere near over yet. □

## Boston Cop Beats Black Woman; She Took Shelter From the Cold

By a  
BOSTON CORRESPONDENT

On December 31, 1979, Bellana Borde, a 21-year-old Black woman, became the latest-known female victim of police brutality in Boston.

While waiting for a bus, Ms. Borde took shelter from the cold in the lobby of an apartment complex for the elderly. As she was standing there, a white man came along and told her to move. He

claimed she was trespassing. Borde explained that she was only waiting for the bus, and continued to stand there.

A few minutes later, a cop, Officer Kineavy, arrived on the scene. The man told him that he had asked Borde to move and that she had refused. Sensing trouble from the cop, Ms. Borde proceeded to leave the building. However, this wasn't good enough for Kineavy. He grabbed her arm and handcuffed her, then threw

her to the ground and pinned her down. Borde pleaded with him to leave her alone, but this only made him angrier. A crowd was beginning to gather and one witness called to the cop: "You can't treat her like that. Kineavy yelled back: "Mind your fucking business."

Kineavy continued to abuse Borde on the way to the police station. When she was asked her name at the station, Borde refused to answer, knowing that she hadn't done anything. But Kineavy wasn't finished with her yet. After locking her up, he came in and said: "I'll fix your ass," and then sprayed mace directly into her eyes. He continued to abuse her, and finally Ms. Borde managed to bite him in self-defense.

After dealing out abuse upon abuse on Bellana Borde, this racist cop had the gall to charge her with assault and battery on a police officer and trespassing.

Borde, who is a member of the National Black Student Association (NBSA) at Northeastern University, wasn't about to take this lying down. A leaflet was written by the NBSA and a lot of publicity was done to bring her case to the community.

On the day of the trial, January 17, the courtroom was packed with supporters. The judge ruled that Ms. Borde was legitimately seeking refuge from the cold and that she had bit the cop in self-defense. This probably wouldn't have happened if Bellana Borde and her supporters hadn't done so much organizing around her defense. Not only was Borde acquitted but Officer Kineavy is now being brought up on charges of assault and battery. His trial is scheduled to start on February 20. □

## "We Couldn't Find Any Deer to Shoot"

By ADELE LOHMAN

Two white men who shot a Black man to death last year said at their trial that they killed 22-year-old Jimmy Lee Campbell because they were on a hunting trip and couldn't find any deer to shoot. James T. McCarter, 20, and Marvin D. Noor, 19, recently pleaded guilty in California to first degree murder. They will be sentenced February 27.

McCarter and Noor told the court that on January 13, 1979, they went hunting near their hometown of Oroville, California. When they didn't sight any deer, they looked for a cow to shoot, but couldn't find one. Their mind was set on a kill. And so they drove to the town of Chico to hunt a different kind of victim.

The public defender at the trial asked these two: "You decided to go to Chico. Why?" McCarter answered: "To shoot a Black man."

No lies, no excuses—like it was the most natural thing in the world. McCarter said he was driving when they spotted Campbell walking along the railroad tracks. They stalked him in their car. McCarter made two U-turns to get behind him and then Noor aimed his .30-.30-caliber deer rifle and shot Campbell in the back.

These racist murderers thought nothing of taking a Black man's life. But they prize their own lives dearly. That's why they pleaded guilty to murder. Under California law that means they won't get the death penalty. The most they face is life imprisonment, which most likely would add up to 20 years in jail.

# Down With Carter's Imperialist Draft!

(Continued from page 1)

few short weeks, dozens of demonstrations have been held, and organizations and coalitions have sprung up to organize the fight. A national anti-draft march has already been scheduled for March 22 in Washington, D.C.

Much of the current anti-draft sentiment is not yet based on a conscious opposition to imperialist war or the capitalist system. Many people simply do not want to be drafted to go fight and die in some foreign country. But this sentiment itself signifies a healthy distrust of the corporations and the government. "Why fight and die for Exxon?" is a popular slogan at many anti-draft protests.

## Support anti-draft movement

The RSL fully supports the growing movement against

the draft. There are a number of reasons for this.

We stand with all those young people who—whatever their reason—do not want to go fight and die for U.S. imperialism. We do not believe that the capitalist state should have the right to force anyone to serve in the military. If Carter wants war—let the members of Congress, the Justices of the Supreme Court and the people who sit on the board of directors of the major corporations go and fight it.

Second, we think the fight against the draft can be an important part of the fight against U.S. imperialism. In the 1960s, for example, draft resistance contributed to widespread opposition to the U.S. ruling class's war against the Vietnamese people. It was initially by fighting the draft that thousands of young people came to see that the root cause of the war, of the napalm, bombs, death and destruction, was the capitalist

system. Many of these people became dedicated activists in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and capitalism.

We also oppose the registration and drafting of women. We fight all sex discrimination. But the draft is not a question of equal rights—it is simply one more form of oppression. We oppose drafting women: not women, not men—not anyone!

Finally, we do not oppose the draft out of moral opposition to war or military training. Quite the contrary, we are for the working class and all oppressed people having as much arms and military training as is possible. We believe that the struggle against imperialist war—and the capitalist system behind it—will be armed and violent. This is why we raise the slogan: "Not imperialist war, but class war!" But the fact that we are not pacifists in no sense means we accept the right of the capitalist state to forcibly draft young people into the military.

draft movement that it is not enough to simply oppose the draft. To stop the draft, to stop the drive to war—perhaps to World War III—the fight must be broadened into a struggle against the entire capitalist system.

2) Our second main task is to show the anti-draft movement who its real allies are. Liberal Democrats like Ted Kennedy or Jerry Brown—no matter what they say about the draft—are 100 percent committed to U.S. capitalism and U.S. imperialism. When push comes to shove, they will always support U.S. imperialism's war drive. We must be clear that all capitalist politicians are the deadly enemies of any genuine anti-draft, anti-war movement.

We have different allies. First, our allies are the millions of people throughout the world who are struggling against imperialism. The people of Iran, Afghanistan and Nicaragua—fighting for the right to control their own lives and countries, free from foreign domination—are our allies. The anti-draft movement must unite with working and oppressed people from Asia, Latin America, Africa and elsewhere in a common struggle against imperialism.

We also have allies inside the military. The majority of those forced to fight and die for U.S. imperialism are working and oppressed people. Whether they join the services voluntarily—looking for a decent job, training or other opportunity—or whether they are drafted, the armed forces are made up overwhelmingly of our own brothers and sisters.

During the Vietnam War, rebellion inside the military played an important role in fighting the U.S. war effort. Many Black and Latin soldiers led struggles over racism. Servicemen organized anti-war protests, even in the face of harsh repression. And—in far greater numbers than the U.S. ruling class has ever reported—soldiers shot their

own officers rather than go to their death for the profits of IBM, General Motors and U.S. Steel.

Revolutionaries recognize the importance of organizing inside the military. This is why we encourage the most class-conscious militants in the anti-draft struggle to consider entering the armed forces in order to organize on the inside. In taking this position, we in no way lessen our support to the anti-draft movement and all individuals who choose to resist the draft. Both are tactics that can help build the struggle against imperialist war.

## For a unified struggle

Finally, our allies are the millions of working and oppressed people here in the U.S. The U.S. ruling class is waging a war on many fronts. The same crisis which is leading the U.S. rulers to return to the draft is forcing them to attack working and oppressed people in other ways. Layoffs, hospital closings, inflation, the rise of racist groups like the Klan and the Nazis, attacks on undocumented workers, on lesbians and gay males, and on young people are all part of this ruling class offensive.

We need to say to the anti-draft movement: "If Carter is waging a coordinated offensive, we should wage a coordinated offensive too." We need to explain that if we link the struggle against the draft to the growing movements against the other attacks—our movement will be far stronger.

The building of a united movement is the key task facing us. We expect young people to be in the forefront of this struggle. It is for this reason above all that we welcome the birth of a new anti-draft movement at the start of this new decade. **Down with the imperialist draft! Down with imperialist war!** □

## SWP

(Continued from page 14)

"to red-baiting and baseless warnings that violence would occur." And as we have seen, the SWP tried to sabotage the march by withdrawing from the coalition and advocating that people not go. But no word of this can be found in the *Militant*.

The *Militant* goes on to say: "Central to the government disruption plan was to single out the CWP as 'violent' and thus sow division among the march organizers."

The government certainly did this as well. But what about the SWP? The SWP also singled out the CWP as "violent." It even went further and demanded that the CWP publicly renounce its position in favor of armed self-defense. But no word of this can be found in the *Militant*.

Finally, the *Militant* states emphatically:

"...to exclude the CWP from the coalition on this basis [its refusal to renounce the right of armed self-defense] was a serious mistake. It lent credence to the violence-baiting of the CWP..."

Serious mistake? Violence-baiting? Exclusions? Sounds bad. Whoever did it ought to own up.

But not the SWP. Instead, it has chosen to demonstrate that if its opportunism knows no bounds, neither does its capacity to lie.

Apparently, the SWP leadership thinks that people are truly stupid. Or else they have come to believe that saying it in the *Militant* really makes it so. At any rate, the SWP leadership is clearly more than

willing to lie to its own membership—to say nothing of the rest of the world—about the actual role of its own organization in the Greensboro anti-Klan mobilization.

This type of behavior is not new for the SWP. The SWP has a history of lies and opportunism that is probably rivaled only by the Communist Party. For years, the SWP has made a profession of allying with reformist liberals and attacking the left.

Just one year ago, the SWP played the same role as it did around the Greensboro march. This time, the issue was not the fight against the Nazis and the Klan, but the closely related struggle for lesbian and gay rights. Following a national conference held in Philadelphia on February 24-25, which proposed a national march on Washington for lesbian and gay rights, the SWP devoted two pages of the *Militant* to denouncing the proposed action. The reason? The march raised demands which, in the SWP's view, "make it impossible for groups like NOW [National Organization of Women], civil rights groups, trade unions or socialists to endorse." (*Militant*, April 13, 1979.) The SWP's denunciation notwithstanding, more than 100,000 people—including NOW, civil rights activists, trade unionists and socialists—went to Washington for what was one of the largest marches for lesbian and gay liberation ever held in this country. And, quite opportunely, the SWP "changed its mind" at the last moment, then too, sending a small contingent to Washington.

It never said a word about that change of position either. □

## Capitalism is the real enemy

In addition to playing an active role in anti-draft struggles, revolutionaries have several key tasks inside the broad movement.

1) We must clearly explain that behind the draft lies the real enemy—the capitalist system itself. We need to explain why the draft is being brought back now. We need to explain why the U.S. ruling class is making preparations to go to war. We need to explain to people that capitalism cannot survive without imperialist wars of conquest. To young people in particular, we need to explain why a system which offers no jobs, no opportunities and no future, now wants to use them as cannon fodder in its wars for profit.

In sum, our first task is to convince people in the anti-

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Revolutionary Socialist League

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Address all correspondence to:

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PO Box 562

New York, NY 10036

Subscription Rates:

(U.S., Canada, Mexico)

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# ABSCAM

(Continued from page 3)  
professionals and careerists who do the day-to-day running of the corporations, the schools and universities, the media, the entertainment industry, the trade unions, the military—and the government.

If the capitalists ran the government directly, petty corruption would not be so much of an issue. Nelson Rockefeller would have no reason to bother with that 25 grand Kelly so eagerly stuffed into his suit pockets, for example.

But the typical politician is an upwardly mobile member of the middle class, who believes in the capitalist system—and wants to climb to the top of it. Politicians climb for power, fame, prestige, and most times for wealth. They socially mix with the more wealthy capitalists and aspire to live like them.

This type of person is found at the fringes of the ruling class proper in many areas, not just in politics. "I find it useful," said a congressional staff member, "in trying to

figure out how a congressman will react to something, to ask myself, 'How would Frank Sinatra react?'"

Politicians usually form direct connections with the specific capitalists who are important in their district or state, and then fight for advantages for them against both the workers and other capitalists. Senator Henry Jackson, for instance, fights for big purchases of military planes and is often called the "Senator from Boeing."

The line between getting advantages for "their own capitalists" and unethical conduct by politicians is an arbitrary one; it changes with the mood and standards of the day. And since most legal capitalists have some dealings with the underworld capitalists, and since organized crime nearly always has some "legal" divisions, the line between "legitimate" buyers of influence and those beyond the pale is usually too thin for anyone to see.

It was this overlap, says the FBI, that led them into an investigation involving members of Congress. The FBI's investigation was originally an attempt to recover stolen art

and phony certificates of deposit. We were just looking for stolen goods, says the FBI, but when the same middlemen handling the art deal offered to make arrangements to meet and influence congressmen, "we did not back away."

Just why they didn't back away is a story with some pieces missing.

It is an interesting question because the cool reception ABCAM has received shows that the FBI was, to some extent, acting independently of other sections of the ruling class and of the government.

One possible reason is that right-wing types inside the FBI are interested in nailing people willing to be bought by Arab, as opposed to U.S., businessmen. That is, ABCAM was part of the racist

anti-Arabism that has grown in the past few years.

Another motivation seems more likely, however. During the Watergate, COINTELPRO and related scandals, the FBI and the CIA were attacked for many of their activities. Congress took the lead in this. Public hearings revealed and condemned the CIA's assassination plots and covert coups, the extensive FBI wiretaps and dirty tricks squads.

In fact, the FBI and the CIA were being scapegoated for the policies of the entire ruling class. To prevent blame from being sent to the correct address—U.S. imperialism and capitalism—liberals and even some conservatives pointed the finger at what they called the out-of-control FBI/CIA.

In particular, the preroga-

tives and priorities of the FBI were criticized. The agency was told to drop its long-standing concentration on infiltrating "subversive organizations" and tracking down auto theft and bank robbery. Instead, the FBI was told to go after white collar crime and political corruption. They have now done so with a vengeance and shown the holier-than-thou politicians just what can happen.

Whatever the exact mix of motivations of the FBI, however, the ABCAM scandal is a symptom of the fact that the ruling class is increasingly divided and unable to maintain discipline in its own ranks.

"It's a bad show," Congressman Barber Conable concluded, "and we're all going to lose from it." □

officers rather than go to bath for the profits of General Motors and U.S.

revolutionaries recognize importance of organizing the military. This is to encourage the most conscious militants in anti-draft struggle to centering the armed in order to organize on. In taking this position in no way lessen our to the anti-draft and all individuals pose to resist the draft. The tactics that can help the struggle against war.

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gle

y, our allies are the of working and oppressed people here in the U.S. ruling class is a war on many fronts. Some crisis which is the U.S. rulers to the draft is forcing to attack working and people in other layoffs, hospital clos-

inflation, the rise of groups like the Klan and attacks on undocumented workers, on lesbians, gays, and on young are all part of this class offensive. need to say to the anti- movement: "If Carter is a coordinated offensive should wage a co-offensive too." We explain that if we link struggle against the draft growing movements the other attacks—our effort will be far stronger. building of a united front is the key task us. We expect young to be in the forefront of struggle. It is for this above all that we welcome the birth of a new anti- movement at the start of decade. Down with imperialist draft! Down with imperialist war! □

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# Afghanistan

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all but those reading only the Russian press know, this is ridiculous.

## "Hail Red Army"???

Perhaps the most gruesome position is that of the Spartacist League. Under a blaring headline "Hail Red Army" Workers Vanguard, the SL newspaper, ran an article that gushingly defends the Russian invasion.

"There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army. In fact, although it is surely uncalled for militarily, a natural response on the part of the world's young leftists would be an enthusiastic desire to join an international brigade to Afghanistan to fight the CIA-connected mullahs." (Workers Vanguard, January 11, 1980.)

The SL, in contrast, to the other apologists of the Russian invasion, is somewhat more honest about its analysis and prejudices. The SL es-

entially supports the PDPA regime and the Russian occupation as necessary means to impose "progress" on the "backward and ignorant Afghan people." If it's necessary to use force and kill and torture some people to do it, the SL will "principledly" refuse to shrink from defending such measures: "But in the military confrontation pitting the Soviet soldiers backing the nationalistic Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against feudal and pre-feudal forces aided by imperialism, Marxists side with the Russian tanks. Hail Red Army!" (Workers Vanguard, January 11, 1980.)

## Left must stand for freedom

What all these organizations have in common, whether they support U.S. imperialism or Russian imperialism, is a thoroughly elitist and totalitarian outlook. They don't believe workers, peasants and other oppressed people can carry out socialist

revolutions. They don't believe people are capable of fighting to free themselves.

Instead, they look to other forces—capitalists, state-capitalist bureaucrats, middle class intellectuals—as the agents of social progress.

These organizations don't stand for socialism. Socialism means freedom, the right of all people to run society and determine how they will live. These groups don't stand for socialism because they don't fundamentally believe in freedom. Instead, they have some abstract notion of "social progress" and they want to cram it down people's throats.

The left should stand for freedom not tyranny. It should stand for socialism not state capitalism. And it should stand for self-determination for all people, not imperialist conquests.

We must oppose every form of capitalist tyranny no matter what name it goes under. We must recognize that workers and oppressed people are not looking for condescending saviors but for the freedom to control their own lives. And we must reaffirm that revolutionary Marxism does not stand for this or that reform, but for the liberation of the people by the people themselves. □

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