

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

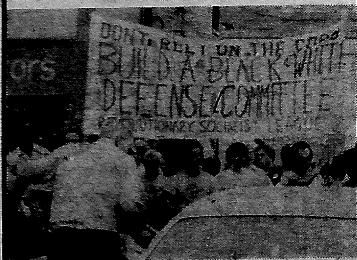


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**SMASH,
THE KLAN!**



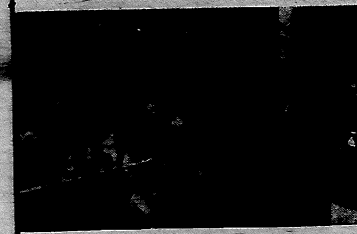
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**The FSLN and
the Nicaraguan
Revolution**



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**The Heritage
of Malcolm X**



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**SECCION
EN
ESPANOL**

ZANU Sweeps Zimbabwe Election

By WILLIAM FALK

In elections held February 27-29, the Black people of Zimbabwe voted overwhelmingly for the most radical nationalist candidates for parliament they could—members of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe.

The elections were part of a peace plan in which Zimbabwe reverted to its old status as a British colony, and will now become an independent country. In the eyes of the U.S. and British rulers, the purposes of the plan were to 1) end the 15-year war of national liberation; 2) set up a Black government friendly to U.S. imperialism; and 3) above all, prevent ZANU and Mugabe from coming to power.

But ZANU won 63 percent of the vote (with 94 percent of eligible voters actually voting), giving it 57 seats in the 100-member parliament, and automatically making Mugabe prime minister of the new government.

ZANU received the most votes because it was seen as the party most

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Supporters of Robert Mugabe celebrate his election victory.

Bosses Campaign to Bust Unions

•In 1955, one out of three workers was in a union. Today that has dropped to one out of five.

•In the last four years, the AFL-CIO has lost 200,000 workers. The largest independent unions are not doing much better; in 1967, 67 percent of all coal was mined by United Mine Workers (UMW) members. Today only half of all coal is union-mined.

•Fifteen years ago, unions won 60 percent of their certification elections. Today, they are winning only 46 percent.

•Companies are increasingly calling for elections to decertify unions already established as the bargaining agent. The result of 80 percent of

these elections is decertification.

In an ever more desperate effort to shore up their sagging system, the U.S. capitalists have been waging an across-the-board offensive against the living standards, working conditions and political rights of workers and oppressed people.

A crucial aspect of this campaign has been a powerful assault on the trade unions. The capitalists correctly recognize that the trade unions, no matter how poorly led, are a major obstacle to their goal of driving down the living standards of the workers.

Union organization brings higher wages, better working conditions and other benefits for workers covered by union contracts. It also limits management's right to transfer, discipline or fire workers who fight management on the shop floor. In general, therefore, unions give the workers at least a minimum amount of organizational unity and strength in the struggle against management.

Even though the unions only embrace a minority of the working class, they also help bring up the living standards of the unorganized workers. In industries that are largely unionized, such as auto and steel, the pre-

(Continued on page 10)

**our
readers
write...**

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

Texas prisons deny TORCH, harass readers

Dear Editor,

I write to inform you that I and other inmates who receive your valuable publication are being denied its delivery, and even further, that we are being harassed and retaliated against because we dare to voice our discontent.

Your publication is very informative and is a source of identification for the inmates here. But the officials do not want the inmates here to seek any form of knowledge except to pick their cotton and to shuffle around like a seventeenth century plantation slave.

Thanks for showing me some truths'

Dear Friends:

I am at present incarcerated in Unit 14, the segregation housing division here at Clinton Correctional Facility. A brother let me read his January issue of your magazine recently. I read with special interest the letter you printed from another brother here at the box. I'd like to see more of your newspaper but unfortunately, the man who had a subscription was moved off to another gallery. Can you see your way clear to giving me a subscription? I am sorry that I cannot make a donation but the only money I have is what I earn in here (average \$3.50 per two weeks). However, I don't even have that income now as I am serving box time.

I'd like to thank you friends for showing me some truths. What I learned from your January issue alone shall stay with me throughout my lifetime.

I grasp your hands,
JE
Dannemora, NY

The conditions here are well-known, but yet how does an inmate seek knowledge when the officials cut off any source of information that does not praise their primitive oppression?

Your newspaper said to inform you if the authorities cut off delivery. Well, they have and unless you can do something, we will not be allowed to receive it. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States means nothing to the officials here.

I would file a 42 U.S.C. Section 1983 Federal Complaint, but after what I saw happen to another inmate, well it just is a life and death situation to try to seek redress from the courts while you are in this snake pit.

Be assured that the inmates here do appreciate the efforts of your publication and we understand if you cannot help us to receive your publication. The prison system here is a giant of paperwork coverup and to seek justice from them is a farce and a sham.

I thank you, we thank you...
Peace and Release,
A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas

[Editor's note—The Torch/La Antorcha has been pursuing various legal avenues to stop the banning of our newspaper in Texas prisons. Unfortunately, as the brother points out, the idea of getting justice from the prison system as a whole is a farce. However, outside support and pressure sometimes makes the keepers nervous enough that they ease up for a while. We'd appreciate it if our readers wrote to Ronald D. Taylor, Assistant Director for Treatment, Texas Department of Corrections, Huntsville, TX 77340, protesting the denial of the Torch/La Antorcha and the harassment of our subscribers. Thanks.]

Fight reformism in anti-Klan struggle

Dear Comrades,

Allow me to commend you on your coverage of the February 2nd Anti-Klan march in Greensboro. Your coverage has provided us here with a reservoir of useful strategical and tactical information that will be implemented in our ongoing struggle against fascist terror, carried out at the hands of these Klan-Nazi guard dogs, who function as the front line stormtroopers for this repressive regime.

The emphasis you placed on liberating this struggle from the influence of the reformists and the fake revolutionaries will really do us some justice. Because there are also those types here, too, who believe that the struggle against fascist Klan-Nazi terror can be won through legal and pacifist means. And that this struggle is an isolated issue, separated from the many other forms of repression and violations of human rights—when all repression and violations of human rights here are a direct result of the overall prison system, which protects the interest of the capitalist system.

Your successful efforts to establish socialist politics and class consciousness within the march committee played a major part in making the march a success. Had the march remained under the dictates of the SCLC, IFCO and other reformists it would have dealt a dangerous blow against the working class, by further binding it to the useless strategy of working within the system to find a solution to the effects of the system. The set-back would have had a dual effect on Blacks, especially those who have not yet understood the necessity of breaking with Black bourgeois leadership, which only serves the interest of U.S. imperialism and capi-

talism. Although your relentless revolutionary stance was not supported by many of the forces who claim to be on the left, I'm sure many who would be reformist were won over to socialist politics.

With most so-called left forces in the march committee capitulating to SCLC and government red-baiting, the need for other left forces to join the National Anti-Klan Network is urgent, so that the united front established by the RSL and the CWP can be strengthened. This will influence the NAKN to start organizing around the RSL's position

paper titled "Which Way Forward For The Anti-Klan Movement."

This anti-Klan movement must also raise issues that will support the struggles of prisoners against fascist Klan-Nazi terror, and unite the prison movement with the anti-Klan movement.

Smash the Nazis and the Klan!

Comradely yours in struggle,
Wadood Abu Majjed
Soledad, CA

[Editor's note—For a copy of the RSL position paper mentioned above, write to PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.]

INCAR: unity doesn't include gays

Dear Friends,

The sixth annual midwest conference of the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR) took place at Washington University in St. Louis March 1. INCAR, a front organization for the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), achieved the astonishing feat of ignoring, not only Anita Bryant and "Cruising," but the entire phenomenon of gay liberation. It was not surprising that I was the only gay activist at the conference. Challenge, the official newspaper of PLP, has never carried a story on a gay issue. "There is no decadence or decay in Challenge," Jeff Lazar, one of the organizers of the conference, said.

Star Ashford, the keynote speaker, emphasized the need to build a multi-racial army in the '80s. "We are in open support and alliance with the Progressive Labor Party," she said, "because they are the most militant fighters against

racism." Homosexuals are excluded from this army because they are "unreliable and incapable of forming lasting relationships." PLP's line on homosexuals is a secret. Here is the secret. Homosexuality is the result of capitalist decadence and will vanish after the revolution. Thrilling, isn't it? When I suggested that this position might bear some examination I was told that "we are not here to discuss PLP party positions or homosexuality." Since the workshop on community organizing which I attended was being run by Star in the same manner as a third grade class, it was difficult to make any headway with the heterosexuals. So when Star started lecturing on alienation I decided it was time to leave. I learned my lesson in alienation a long time ago.

In Freedom,
Bary Mehler
St. Louis, Missouri

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By ADELE LOHMAN

Arson-for-profit murders 1,000 people every year in the U.S. and injures 10,000 more. It leaves countless numbers homeless and destitute. Inner-city neighborhoods throughout the country are being destroyed by landlords who burn down their buildings for the insurance money. Growing at a rate of 25 percent a year, arson-for-profit has become big business.

Arson is so widespread that in areas like New York City's South Bronx—where arson fires reached an average of over 3,000 a year—there is now little left to burn. Here, arson, has actually decreased by 61.7 percent over the past five years. But elsewhere around the country, this dirty business is booming.

Arson is a highly profitable and safe business—for the landlords. Large insurance policies are taken out on older buildings. Landlords then arrange to have the buildings torched. The result? Vast sums of money are paid out to the landlords.

One convicted arsonist told a U.S. Senate committee in 1978 that his landlord used to tell him to set fires at 4:30 p.m. so that the rush hour traffic would delay the fire department. The bigger the destruction, the bigger the insurance claim.

Landlords don't get burned

For landlords, arson is an "easy" crime to commit. Prosecutions are rare and convictions even rarer. Less than one percent of all arson cases that even go to trial result in convictions. No landlord has ever been indicted for murder in an arson-related incident.

A landlord can arrange a fire one day and, before he has even collected his insurance money, return the next day to begin "repairs." He takes out an insurance policy on what's left of the building and then burns it down again. It can be his tenth fire, but he still collects on his "losses."

Insurance companies readily sell landlords over-inflated policies. The larger the policy, the more money the companies get, and the higher the commissions the agents who write the policies get. When a building burns, the insurance company is bound by law to pay off, unless it can prove beyond a doubt that the landlord was responsible. Most companies find it too costly to investigate even the most "fire-prone" landlords.

Even when an arson fire is investigated, the landlord rarely has much to worry about. Few landlords set the fires themselves. A youth from Philadelphia told an investigating committee that his landlord had first asked him to torch an old abandoned house to pay for his back rent.

"In exchange for burning the house down," related the youth, "he said he would cancel my \$200 debt." He described how the landlord would give him odd jobs to do, but never enough to cover the rent. The landlord would regularly ask him to torch buildings to keep from being evicted. In this way, the landlord kept his own hands "clean."

"My children were petrified"

If arson-for-profit is a safe and profitable business for landlords, it is something else again for its victims. Overwhelmingly, the victims of arson-for-profit are working people, forced to live in the

special vengeance when they are the victims of arson-for-profit. Rosa Boyd's apartment on Loring Place in the Bronx was destroyed by fire in June 1978. When she was forced to relocate, welfare refused to give her any money. The reason? She, like so many others, had been burnt out of another apartment three years earlier. In the twisted view of the welfare agencies, this made her suspect of having torched her own apartment in order to get money for new furniture!

A well-organized racket

Arson-for-profit has been going on for years. But only recently has it begun to

Roberts, made \$565,000 from 28 fires over a five-year period. Schmiegal and Roberts set up dummy corporations in order to trade the buildings back and forth at higher and higher prices. Eventually, Schmiegal and Roberts took out large insurance policies on the buildings—for more than they were worth—burned the buildings and collected their money.

When the Malden apartments burned down last December 29, seven people were killed. When the Ellis Hotel burned down, two tenants died. Schmiegal and Roberts owned both buildings. Sixteen people have died over the past five years in burned-down buildings owned by these two killers.

Arson-for-profit rings are,

Minneapolis to Nashville, Tennessee, before the fire began!

One of the favorite methods of a Tampa, Florida, arson ring was to place a plastic container filled with flammable liquid on top of an electric hot plate. The electricity in the building would be turned off, the equipment set up and then the current switched back on as the arsonist left the building. If fire marshalls investigated, they would find only a glob of plastic and a charred hot plate. Perfectly innocent.

But arson-for-profit rings don't like to leave anything to chance. In Tampa, fire marshalls didn't investigate the "hot plate fires," because the ring included fire officials who shared in the loot. It also included an insurance adjuster who made sure the claims were paid promptly and with no questions asked. And two of the city's most prominent realtors financed the purchase of worthless buildings and covered the operation with the necessary paper work.

In one operation, this gang forced an elderly, blind Black woman to sign over her property to them for \$50. They then insured the house for \$38,000. Two arson fires later, they had collected \$27,000. The building was later estimated to be worth \$8,000.

For four years, the Tampa ring burned building after building, raking in hundreds of thousands of dollars. When the gang was finally prosecuted by the federal government, the investigation showed that every arson fire in Tampa involved property that was insured far above its actual value.

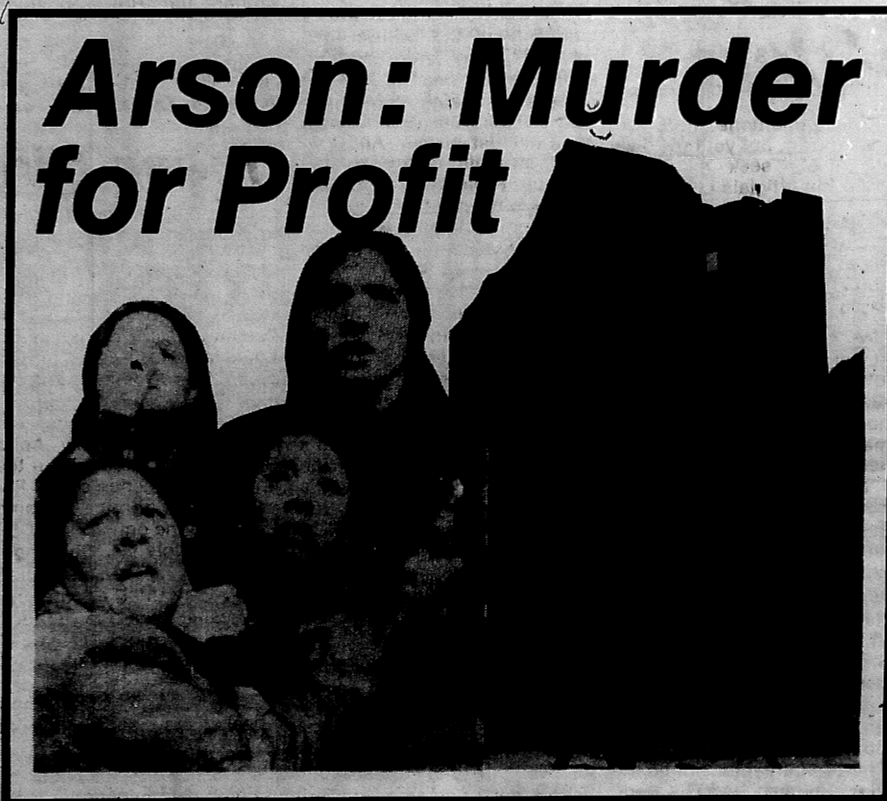
Destruction is good business

Arson-for-profit says a lot about the system we live in.

Just what constitutes a crime depends on who is committing it and who suffers from it. For years, when the chief victims were working class people living in the inner cities, nobody gave much of a damn about arson-for-profit. People died or their homes and belongings were destroyed, as they were forced to move from building to building in fear and terror of the next fire. Only when the insurance companies became the "victims" has anyone even started to take serious notice.

Under this system, what matters more than anything else is making a buck. If landlords can make more money burning a building down rather than fixing it up, the building burns. If insurance companies can sell big policies, why not look the other way? And so it goes, right on down the line.

Destruction—if it is profitable—is "good business" under capitalism. □



steadily rotting housing which exists in every major inner-city in the country.

Many victims of arson lose their homes and all their possessions. Some lose their lives. Very few tenants have fire insurance and those who do find that it is rarely enough to replace what they lost.

In areas targeted for arson, tenants live with the threat of fire every day. They don't know whether they will have to run from the flames before the morning. Sometimes, the landlord sets warning fires to chase the tenants out. Sometimes, he does not.

Hedy Byrd, who was burned out of two apartments in upper Manhattan, told the Senate committee: "My children were petrified that if we live in another tenement, it too will burn. I doubt things will ever be the same..."

Tenants on welfare suffer a

receive publicity and attention. As long as the victims were poor and working people living in places like the South Bronx, nobody cared much. It was called petty vandalism—and usually blamed on the tenants themselves. Individual landlords made their money while the state looked the other way.

But now arson-for-profit has become big business. No longer is it a matter of a landlord here or a landlord there disposing of unwanted property. Well-organized rackets, set up for the sole purpose of acquiring property, taking out large insurance policies and then burning the property to the ground have become common. Arson-for-profit rings have been uncovered in cities from Chicago to Tampa, Florida.

Two realtors in Chicago, John Schmiegal and Charles

often highly elaborate conspiracies. In many cases, they involve people whose sole profession is arson. These are creatures who know how to set up "delayed-action fires"—fires which don't even begin until the arsonist is safely miles away and leave little or no evidence.

Setting a lighted candle on top of a box of wood shavings is a simple and common method of starting a fire that leaves no traces. But it is not the only one. An arsonist who operated in Minneapolis for seven years liked to remove the safety switch from the hot water heater, turn the gas all the way up and snuff out the pilot light. When the built-up gas reached a kitchen pilot light it would explode, setting off a major fire. This arsonist had even worked out a way of adjusting a building's thermostat to allow him to drive from

No to Carter's Draft!

Demo Set for March 22

By RICHARD ALLEN

The movement against Carter's imperialist war drive is building steam across the country. A national anti-draft march on Washington, D.C., has been called for March 22, with simultaneous marches set for Los Angeles, San Francisco and Eugene, Oregon.

The national march was announced at a February 14 press conference called by the Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD). Sponsors of MAD include the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), United States Students Association, Mobilization for Survival, Americans for Democratic Action, War Resisters League and Students for a Libertarian Society.

March organizers are cautiously estimating a turnout of 25,000 people. The RSL will be participating in the demonstration.

Most current anti-draft activity is aimed at building for March 22. This follows an initial wave of demonstrations that swept the country in the

first weeks after Carter's January 23 speech.

The demonstrations began on the campuses—2,500 at Berkeley, 1,000 at the University of Minnesota, 1,000 at Harvard, 1,000 at the University of Oregon, 800 at Columbia, 800 at the University of Illinois, 700 at the University of Michigan—plus countless others.

Citywide demonstrations were also organized. On February 8, 5,000 people attended a candlelight vigil in Los Angeles, protesting a Carter fund-raising dinner. On February 9, the New York Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (N.Y. CARD) held a rally of 3,000 people. One thousand people demonstrated in Chicago.

In addition to the many anti-draft demonstrations, several regional conferences have been held. Representatives of anti-draft groups from over 20 campuses in the Northeast met at Wesleyan College on February 9-10. About 200 people attended a Midwestern conference of CARD in Kalamazoo, Michigan, on February 16. These confer-



January anti-draft protest in Washington, D.C.

ences have helped to organize and cohere the movement nationally. They also provide an important opportunity to discuss the questions of political strategy which confront the anti-draft movement.

Which way forward?

An effective anti-draft movement cannot limit itself simply to opposing the draft. The movement must become part of a broader fight against

U.S. capitalism and imperialism. There is talk today of bringing back the draft because the entire capitalist system is entering a deep crisis—a crisis which the ruling class plans to solve through new wars.

To fight the draft effectively, therefore, we must fight the capitalist system behind it.

The leadership of the March 22 demonstration—liberal pacifists and social democrats like Michael Harrington's DSOC—have no intention of building this kind of a movement. Already these leaders have made their support for U.S. imperialism crystal clear. The "Call to March 22" says: "We believe that a standing army of two million backed by ready reserves of 800,000 and the most technologically advanced military machine this world has ever known is more than sufficient to protect any legitimate security interests."

In other words, the sponsors of the March 22 demonstration do not oppose U.S. imperialism's efforts to crush people throughout the world who are fighting for freedom and self-determination. This is what "security interests" mean in the double-speak of the capitalists. They merely

think that the armed forces are sufficiently strong already to do the job. "No draft!" they shout today. But, if U.S. imperialism really does need more cannon fodder in the future—well, that's another matter.

None of this should be too surprising. Harrington and his followers in DSOC were longtime supporters of the war in Vietnam. They did not oppose the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism then—and they do not today either.

An article on the anti-draft movement in the March 1980 issue of the DSOC newsletter, **The Democratic Left**, spells this out. The article warns of the dangers of the anti-draft movement becoming "too left-wing." It also stresses that the anti-draft movement must not oppose the "legitimate needs" of U.S. imperialism.

These leaders have further tied the anti-draft movement to U.S. imperialism by inviting liberal Democratic Party politicians to address the rally. These politicians oppose the draft for a variety of reasons, but not a single one of them opposes the capitalist system which makes imperialist war a necessity. Their appearance at the anti-draft rally is designed to convey the message: "Work within the system! Vote for us!"

We need to build a very different kind of anti-draft movement. Rather than working within the system, we need a movement which fights against the system. We need a movement which rejects fake allies like the Democratic Party politicians who will try to channel our movement into support for capitalism.

Our allies are the millions of people—in the U.S. and throughout the world—who face attacks—inflation, unemployment, rotten housing, attacks on their political rights, imperialist aggression against their countries—from the same ruling class that is bringing back the draft. We need to build an anti-draft movement which unites all people struggling against capitalism and imperialism. □

Only a "Personality Disorder"

NY Judge Okays Killing Gays

By BEN FREIBERG

On February 14, Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Arthur Blyn sentenced Richard Schreiner to probation for brutally slaughtering a gay man, Edward Maloney. Maloney was found strangled with a rope at his Manhattan apartment the night of the slaying. His hands and feet were bound, and he had a kitchen knife plunged into his chest. At the trial Schreiner testified that he did not remember killing Maloney and said that he frequently blacked out after drinking an average of 18 cans of beer a day and smoking four joints. Because of his testimony, Schreiner was convicted only of "non-intentional manslaughter."

The prosecutor in the case requested a sentence of up to 15 years from the judge. Blyn, however, said that Schreiner had a "personality disorder" when drunk and would not benefit from jail. Blyn apparently decided that since Schreiner's crime was killing a gay, it was no big deal. So he simply ordered Schreiner to get treatment from a mental hygiene clinic and discontinue using alcohol and drugs.

Schreiner's case is just like what happened to ex-cop Dan White, who murdered Harvey Milk, a gay San Francisco city official. White claimed that "eating too many Twinkies" had led him to kill Milk. This noteworthy defense resulted in reduced charges (voluntary manslaughter) and a light sentence. Twinkies and beer are apparently good cause for murder—if the victim is gay.

However, if a working class or gay person commits the pettiest crime just to survive, they're not entitled to any excuses. They don't get compassion—they go to jail.

Let's face it. The courts are there to maintain the plight of all working and oppressed people. As for us gays, someone could shoot us all and these judges wouldn't even bat an eyelash. □

Gay Rights March in Albany, April 12

By STEVE ROSE
N.Y. GAY ACTIVISTS ALLIANCE

A statewide march on Albany, New York, for lesbian and gay rights will be held on April 12. The march demands are as follows:

- 1) Repeal all anti-lesbian/gay laws, including consensual sodomy, solicitation, loitering, prostitution and any others which are used to harass and victimize lesbians and gay men, and free all people now in prison because of these laws.

- 2) Pass a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill in the New York State Legislature.

- 3) Force Governor Hugh Carey to honor his campaign pledge and issue an executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in New York state government.

- 4) End discrimination in lesbian mother/gay father child custody cases.

- 5) Defend lesbian/gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs or social environment.

Two planning meetings have already taken place in which the conservative Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights has tried to soften the demands supported by the majority of people involved in

building for the march. In particular, they have said that to defend the rights of transvestites and transsexuals is a slap in the face of "decent" lesbians and gay males. They want to make our march a campaign rally for the Democratic Party.

The next planning meeting will be on Sunday, March 16. The Gay Activists Alliance, with the help of our brothers and sisters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, have and will continue to work to make this march a people's march on Albany. A march to defend the rights of all lesbians, gay men and transpeople. We hope everyone will join the march. For more information, call GAA at (212) 674-4198. □

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n particular, they and the rights of sexuals is a slap lesbians and gay take our march a Democratic Party. Meeting will be on the Gay Activists of our brothers utionary Socialist continue to work to people's march on end the rights of and transpeople. Join the march. call GAA at (212)

Kokomo, April 26: SMASH THE KLAN!



Sept. 1979 demonstration against the Klan, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The Ku Klux Klan has announced it will march in Kokomo, Indiana, on April 26. The RSL is organizing a counter-demonstration to turn the Klan's recruiting march into an anti-KKK demonstration.

The Klan has been on a major recruiting drive in Indiana. Last year, they held demonstrations in both Muncie and Ft. Wayne. Both times, the RSL led counter-demonstrations which surrounded the Klan march. The Klan was unable to address the crowd as chants of "Smash the Ku Klux Klan" filled the air. In Muncie, large sections of the racially mixed crowd joined the anti-Klan demonstration. In Ft. Wayne, anti-Klan demonstrators addressed the mostly white crowd, convincing many people to oppose the Klan. In both cases, the Klan was unable to recruit as they had planned. Their silent supporters in the crowd were demoralized, while the anti-Klan forces grew in numbers and determination.

The Klan's national membership, however, has at least doubled in the past year. They are becoming more of a threat to Blacks, undocumented workers, lesbians and gay males, and the entire working class. Last November they murdered five militants of the Communist Workers Party in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina. They specifically targeted union organizers in the textile mills for assassination. It is important to build the anti-Klan movement before the Klan grows bolder and stronger.

The RSL is inviting other organizations and individuals to join us in the Kokomo demonstration. We expect people to come from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and other parts of Indiana. For more information about the mobilization, contact either the Detroit or Chicago RSL branches (see page 18).

Unite to smash the Klan! Join us in Kokomo on April 26!

"We Will Not Return to the Back of the Bus!"

Below we are reprinting a leaflet put out by the October 30th Revolutionary Collective of Lexington Park, Maryland. As the leaflet points out, the Klan is active in southern Maryland, as it is elsewhere in the country. The October 30th Revolutionary Collective is planning to hold an anti-Klan demonstration soon.

We Black brothers and sisters, along with all working class people of Lexington Park, Maryland, need to join with our comrades around the country to stop the terror of the Ku Klux Klan. We need to build right here in Lexington Park an organization dedicated to completely destroying the Klan and the capitalist system that supports them. We need to start now to build a revolutionary party here, but we will need outside help. This help could come from the RSL, the most revolutionary organization in the world today. The RSL is already fighting the Klan all over the country.

The Klan is here in St. Marys County. If you don't believe this, just ask the young brothers at Great Mills High School or ask the first Black sheriff of St. Marys. Or look around this racist town—they don't hide it anymore. There have been cross burnings right here in Lexington Park.

Not too long ago some brothers and I were standing in front of a white club. We were just talking and having a few beers. This white guy comes out and pulls a gun and says we better pick up some beer cans that we didn't put there. We didn't pick up the

cans so he called the pigs. We told the pigs the man had pulled a gun. One of them said we better forget what happened, so we said, "you Klansmen sure look out for each other," and the pig said, "you better remember that we do."

There are acts of racist Klan violence all over St. Marys County, but we just stand and look. We must no longer do this, we must let the Klan and their backers know that we, the Black and poor people of Lexington Park, will not be intimidated any longer by their terror or divided by their racism.

President Carter is behind the Klan, the cops are a part of the Klan. If you don't think so, ask yourself what happened to the Black Panther Party or the Black Muslims who are dead because the government wanted them killed, while the Klan is stronger than ever.

We must have armed self-defense guards in our community because the cops will not protect us or our kids from these racist pigs. The shots that killed five anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro were aimed at all working class people, regardless of color. The shots were aimed at anyone who desires justice in the American empire.

We comrades of the October 30th Revolutionary Collective of Lexington Park refuse to be silenced by KKK terror, government repression and those who would tell us to close our eyes, hoping that the terror will go away.

Brothers and sisters, as we enter the 1980s we find our-

selves in a situation where even the limited gains achieved during the '60s are under increasing attack. The Klan is a part of this attack. We will not return to the back of the bus. Twenty years after the sit-ins and the passage of much legislation, the deep yearning for freedom, justice and liberation of Black people has yet to be satisfied. Increasing poverty and a grow-

ing income gap between Black and white and lack of real political power necessitates that a new era of struggle for the 1980s be ignited. We Black and working class people of all races here in Lexington Park must get in the struggle now; we must fight the Klan now; we must fight the cops when they fight us; we must stand up to whoever attacks us; we must not fight

the rich man's wars.

We all should become revolutionaries and build a socialist world that will be for the working class and not against it. The system we live under now creates the Klan, racism, sexual oppression and poverty. The RSL and October 30th Revolutionary Collective's purpose is to destroy—not reform but destroy—the capitalist system, the Klan and all other forms of oppression. Join the RSL and read the *Torch* now. We must protect our kids and each other so let's get together in Lexington Park.

—Jomo Kenyatta
October 30th Revolutionary Collective

"Unite Black and White for the Common Fight"

The following statement was issued by the Boston Coalition of the National Anti-Klan Network as a response to a planned march by the racist South Boston Marshals. The coalition will be holding a fund-raiser to continue its activities on April 5. The benefit will be held at the George Washington Carver Lodge in Roxbury and will start at 9 p.m. For more information, call (617) 445-3658.

The Boston Coalition of the National Anti-Klan Network, on the occasion of the South Boston Marshals' annual so-called "men's march against desegregation" on March 2, disputes the Marshals' claim to speak for working-class and poor white Bostonians. We denounce their attempts to mislead white people away

from the real causes of the growing economic crisis. We dispute their lie that the problems of oppressed whites are due to their even more oppressed Black neighbors. To the Marshals' racist propaganda, we counterpose this message: **Unite Black and white for the common fight!**

The economic crisis means high inflation, unemployment and rotting cities for all working and poor people and oppressed nationalities. But for the rich and powerful, our sacrifices mean higher profits, as they slash our living standards and attack our rights. To take the heat off themselves, the bosses seek to divide and mislead us through the convenient scapegoat of racism, and other forms of prejudice. As the crisis deepens, the attempts to

misdirect the blame onto those who are hit the hardest by it will grow.

The bosses' lackeys like the Ku Klux Klan and the South Boston Marshals claim that white unemployment is caused by affirmative action, urban decay is caused by desegregation, and white suffering is caused by Blacks and other oppressed people. We say these are lies. Unemployment, urban decay and increasing misery all have one cause: a system which places concern for profits over concern for human needs.

The KKK and Marshals claim that white workers have common interests with white corporate heads and politicians. We say such "common interests" are exactly skin-deep. We say that working-

(Continued on page 17)



19 charged in Soledad rebellion

A prisoner writes from Soledad: "Today 19 Black prisoners were charged in Monterey County with murder for their alleged participation in the December 6, 1979, riot here. Eight have been charged with murder and the others with conspiracy to murder. If convicted they face the death penalty. The media and the head guard dogs are also saying that the defendants could have connections with the 'Black Guerrilla Family.' This claim is always used by the state whenever Blacks come together to defend themselves against attacks. . . ."

The media and the keepers claim the December incident was in retaliation for an attack on Blacks last August 19 by racist white prisoners assisted by the guards. Charges of assault and attempted murder against 12 white prisoners were later dropped because the guards claimed they couldn't identify anyone. The letter continues: "Now if any of these brothers are convicted it will show that it's legal for whites to assault and kill Blacks, and a crime for Blacks to defend themselves, which was proven in the August 19 incident when all Blacks who were assaulted were prosecuted at the institution level and sent to the hole. . . ."

George Merritt freed

George Merritt, a Black prisoner accused of killing a Plainfield, New Jersey, cop in 1967, has been freed by a federal court as a result of new evidence. A police report that was "lost" for 12 years and "found" on the order of a federal judge, proved that the eyewitness whose testimony convicted Merritt lied in court.

The cop, John V. Gleason, was beaten to death by a crowd of 30-40 people after he shot an unarmed Black youth. The media and the cops' union screamed for a scapegoat. As a result, 12 Black people arrested at random were forced into a mass trial. Two were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment: Merritt and Gail Madden, a mother of two. Twice a higher court reversed Merritt's conviction because the evidence was flimsy and the sole witness unreliable. But in 1977 an all-white jury convicted him for the third time on the same evidence. George Merritt is now free as a result of an international campaign. Gail Madden is still in prison. She must be freed!

Gay prisoner raped in detention

Russell Smith, a gay prisoner who has fought against prison rape for years, was raped February 10 in the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. This is the second time he has been raped while in administrative detention, where he is supposed to be safe. Smith writes: "I was raped and robbed last week by a piece of shit whom I could easily kill. But what happens to me if I kill him?" In 1978 Smith was found guilty of assault with intent to kill for defending himself against a prison rapist. He said he was lucky to get only three years added on to his time.

Smith is one of the original Marion Brothers, who fought against behavior modification in the infamous control unit. He brought a suit against the ban on gay literature in federal prisons. He is an organizer. That is why he has been dragged from one prison to another, harassed, abused and set up to be raped. In our September 1979 issue we reported that he was beaten unconscious by 10 guards who threatened him with rape. This happened in the presence of the warden. X-rays show that the many beatings have left Smith with a permanent back injury.

Pontiac trial starts April 14

CHICAGO—The trial of the Pontiac 17 is set for April 14, at the Cook County Courthouse here, in a special courtroom designed to isolate the prisoners from the public. Meanwhile, the trials of the Pontiac 14, charged with lesser offenses than murder, have begun in downstate McLean County. The first two prisoners tried, Manuel Santiago and Luis Perez, were convicted of mob action and a misdemeanor charge of battery. They were acquitted of the federal charge of aggravated battery.

The following is based on a talk prepared by Elizabeth Volkes of the RSL for a New York branch discussion group on Sunday, February 10.

A new movement seems to be growing and the Greensboro, North Carolina, march last February 2 showed it—a movement against the Klan. Blacks, whites, Asians, young people are on the move again, looking for allies, mobilizing.

There were many forces involved in Greensboro: reformist people who just want to make some changes in the system; people who are for non-violence, like the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), the old Martin Luther King, Jr., organization; and the reformist left, fronting for SCLC; and the revolutionary left, like the RSL. The only kind of groups that didn't show up were the Black nationalist groups, like the AAPRP (All African Peoples Revolutionary Party), the Black United Front, the Baraka group, etc.

As the movement grows, many of the old questions, the old debates of the civil rights and Black liberation movements are being debated again. Should the movement be non-violent or should it stand for armed self-defense? Should it rely on Black politicians? Should it be pro-capitalist or anti-capitalist?

This is why we are studying Malcolm X. What he stood for is relevant today—these same questions are coming up again in this new movement that's starting up now.

Let's step back in time to the days of the civil rights movement. The forces leading the movement were reformist. For example, you had SCLC, which stood for non-violence, leading masses of people, while the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) focused on legal action in the courts. The two biggest socialist groups, the CP (Communist Party) and SWP (Socialist Workers Party), were also reformist, despite what they claimed.

Black Muslims were abstentionist

At the same time, there was also the Nation of Islam, known as the Black Muslims, founded by Elijah Muham-

mad. The Nation of Islam did not take part in political activity. It didn't take part in any struggle other than stopping people from drinking, smoking and so on, trying to get Black people to be independent and have more self-respect. The Nation was for moral reform; beyond that it did nothing. But it talked such strong talk that it put the moderate Negro organizations on the spot. The most powerful spokesman for the Muslims was Malcolm X.

One of the main things that Malcolm X and the Black Muslims emphasized was armed self-defense. They attacked the civil rights groups for wanting to be non-violent. The Muslims had contempt for the sit-in tactics. They said Black people should stand up

the capitalist system.

Black capitalism, nationalism and separatism added up to **abstentionism**. This is just a fancy way of saying that they were not getting involved in the struggles of Black people.

Malcolm X wanted to fight system

During this time—the late '50s to early '60s—there was a mass movement going on. Everybody was getting involved in the struggle for civil rights. Even if you didn't actually get in there, you saw it every night on TV; thousands of people marching and sitting in and it was really something.

As time passed, Malcolm X saw the need for the Muslims to get involved in the movement. He wanted to be involved in the fight for civil rights, to take on the Klan, the cops. He saw how King was leading all these people—young and old—down South. He saw how the police dogs attacked the marchers, saw how they bombed a Black church and killed four young girls. He saw how the cops put water hoses on demonstrators, while the only thing the civil rights leaders did was to sing "We

Shall Overcome." Malcolm X thought they should fight back.

Malcolm X wanted to take all of this on. Take on the rulers, the power structure. But Elijah Muhammad stopped Malcolm X from getting involved. The clearest example of this is what happened in Los Angeles on April 27, 1962. On that date the Muslim mosque got attacked by the cops. They shot down seven unarmed Muslims in cold blood, and one of them got killed. The Black people in the community came to the Muslims calling for unity against the cops. But the Muslims did nothing. Now remember—the Muslims claimed to stand for armed self-defense. Here the cops were coming down on them and Blacks in the community wanted to help defend them. Their own people got shot down, but Elijah Muhammad said they shouldn't do anything about it. When Malcolm saw that, he couldn't deal with it. That was one reason why he left the Nation of Islam. In fact, I really believe that was

(Continued on page 16)

The Heritage of Malcolm X

and fight back.

They hated the SCLC and other civil rights groups for relying on the government. They said Black people could and should only rely on themselves. The Black Muslims built an army inside the Nation for armed self-defense.

The only problem was—this all sounded good on paper but the Muslims weren't doing anything.

The Black Muslims stood for Black nationalism and separatism. To them this meant that they weren't about to involve themselves in the daily struggles of Blacks for civil rights. The goal they were fighting for was to separate from this country, to build a Black Nation some place else. This is what they were concentrating on. Meanwhile, they were in fact building Black capitalism. The Nation of Islam's leader, Elijah Muhammad, built a big business and became richer and richer. The Nation made big profits by exploiting the workers who worked on the farms and in factories and other businesses it ran by paying cheap wages. By doing this they became more and more tied to

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ABC'S "ATTICA" BLAMES PRISONERS FOR MASSACRE

By PAT NELSON

On Sunday, March 2, ABC presented a two-hour made-for-TV film called *Attica*. The movie, based on the book *A Time To Die* by Tom Wicker, deals with the rebellion at Attica prison in upstate New York, September 9-13, 1971. Wicker, an associate editor of the *New York Times*, was one of the outside observers called to Attica by the prisoners after the rebellion. These observers became the negotiators between the prisoners and the state.

Wicker and ABC-TV claim that their version of the Attica rebellion is a truthful one. But even those few times it manages to touch on the real issues, the resulting pictures are lies. *Attica* does not show what really happened on those five days in September 1971.

The Attica rebellion grew out of the conditions under which prisoners throughout the U.S. prison system are forced to live. The prison, like most, was badly overcrowded, with 2,300 men squeezed into space designed for 1,600. The prisoners spent most of their time locked in their cells. With an allowance of only 63 cents a day per man for food, the meals were hardly fit to eat. Attica's industries were run on slave labor. The average monthly wage at Attica in September 1971 was \$7.50. The men were denied even simple needs. For example, they were allowed only one shower per week.

The guards, hired from the area around Attica, were all white and from small towns. Racism was thick. Most guards considered the Attica prisoners to be little more than animals. Beatings were common and prisoners were thrown into solitary for petty infractions.

Prisoners rebelled at Attica to say to the world: "We are MEN! We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." The men of Attica were organized and had tried to win their demands through "channels." When this failed, they rebelled.

The high degree of organization that had been achieved earlier was evident from the start of the rebellion. The prisoners set up a leadership team and various committees. They had security squads, both to protect themselves and to ensure the safety of the 39 guards they had taken hostage. They distributed food and water, dug latrines, provided medical care and distributed bedding, first to the hostages and then to the rest of the men. Despite their grievances, they provided better care to their hostages than

they had ever received from them. When a decision had to be made, the prisoners took a voice vote whenever possible before action was taken.

Attack planned from start

Right from the start of the rebellion, the state began planning a massacre. It massed an army outside the prison walls. New York State's then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller, whose very name meant wealth and raw power, was determined to set an example at Attica for prisoners and oppressed people throughout the country. His message was that anyone who fought back would be crushed. And he was willing to sacrifice 39 guards, his own agents, to make that point perfectly clear.

When it became obvious that an attack was coming, the prisoners moved eight hostages up to the front of the yard, hoping that this might

delay the attack. Two hundred and eleven troopers attacked D-yard with guns blazing. No attempt was made to prevent casualties of prisoners or hostages. Only two of the guards killed were among those on the "front lines." The others were deep in the yard surrounded by prisoners. The men in D-yard were mowed down in a bloodbath which left 29 prisoners and 10 guards dead and close to 100 prisoners wounded—all at the hands of the state's hired killers.

Film ignores prisoners' case

Wicker and ABC's story of Attica is very different from all this.

In the first place, like the book on which it was based, *Attica* is not really about the prisoners: It is more about Tom Wicker. The theme of the movie is the personal turmoil of a liberal (Wicker), who is

forced to confront a system where prisons are "necessary," but should be "nicer." Wicker, of course, takes it for granted that the prisoners (at least most of them) belong exactly where they are—locked up behind bars. He takes the same attitude toward the men at Attica as he would toward animals in a zoo: He wishes they did not have to suffer any "unnecessary cruelty." Throughout the movie, we constantly witness Wicker's anguish and frustration over the fact that no one—the prisoners or the state—seems willing to be as "reasonable" as he is.

Second, while the opening scene of the movie mentions the overcrowding and shows a prisoner spokesman rattling off a list of grievances, only one other speaker in the movie makes any references to the brutal conditions inside. No attempt is made to show the actual conditions in the prison, or to let the men present their own case.

Third, *Attica* ignores the high degree of political understanding and organization the prisoners achieved. Instead, it shows them to be the blind followers of three leaders: a hot-head, a cynic and a hustler. In this threesome, the cynic, an older jailhouse lawyer type, is seen as the smartest and strongest leader. He doesn't believe the prisoners can win much, so he tries to hold back the hot-head and manipulate the hustler to cut a deal. On the last day before the attack, the cynic says, "I don't know how long we can hold this together... they [the observers] might come back with a little something to sweeten the pot and if the suckers do, we're gonna need some words to make the brothers take it." To which the hustler replies, "Yeah, to make it look like we won instead of like we rotted over."

Correction: Commissioner Russell Oswald, on the other hand, is shown as a good-hearted public official caught between two non-negotiable positions. He didn't want bloodshed but the prisoners were unreasonable and it was inconceivable to leave the prison in the hands of "out-laws."

Finally, ABC white-washes Rockefeller's role in the slaughter. Observers urge Rockefeller to come to Attica to continue the negotiations. We hear Rockefeller's voice decline, saying it would set a dangerous precedent. Pretending to support the 28 points, he then adds a warning: If the prisoners would not accept them, he'd "have no

choice but to tell Commissioner Oswald to reopen the institution." His true intentions, however, were clear all along in the massive fire-power assembled at the prison gates. *Attica* bends the truth until it becomes a lie.

"Reason failed"?

If Rockefeller was not responsible and the troopers were only carrying out orders, who then does ABC point the finger at? Apparently this was left obscure when the film was made. No one was all right or all wrong. But when the U.S. embassy in Tehran was occupied and its personnel taken hostage, producer Lewis Rudolph added a two-minute voice-over at the end of the movie to leave no doubt where ABC's sympathies lay and where they thought the blame belonged—squarely on the prisoners themselves.

"The rebellion at Attica," we are told, "was begun by powerless men protesting the condition of their lives. But in seizing hostages, the inmates themselves adopted the violence and inhumanity they were protesting. The rebellion was ended by a powerful state. Troopers sprayed the yard with buckshot which killed unintended victims. . . . At Attica, the sanctity of human life was forgotten. Reason failed, violence triumphed."

So, ultimately, the victims were shown as having brought it on themselves. Of course, ABC assures us that the massacre at Attica was "regrettable." The state over-reacted, but then nobody's perfect.

That's a bitter pill to swallow when you consider that these prisoners died because they refused to "live like dogs." □

State to Seek Death Penalty for Santa Fe Uprising

In the aftermath of the Santa Fe rebellion, the state of New Mexico has launched a systematic attack on the prisoners. State officials and the news media shed a lot of light over the death toll—33 dead and 46 injured, according to official figures. But the fact is, they don't give a damn whether prisoners live or die.

After they took the prison on February 4, the authorities left the men in the yard in freezing weather with no medical care and almost no food. Only when it snowed on February 5 did they finally bring them inside. On February 6, prisoners' families who came to demand information about their relatives inside were denied any help. Guards, state and national guards, and police shot at them.

The women from the prisoners' families found the state's treatment of prisoners was inhuman. In many cases, the women were treated as if they were the prisoners. They were kept in the same conditions as the prisoners. They were denied any help. Guards, state and national guards, and police shot at them.

The state's treatment of prisoners was inhuman. In many cases, the women were treated as if they were the prisoners. They were kept in the same conditions as the prisoners. They were denied any help. Guards, state and national guards, and police shot at them.

SUPPORT THE PRISONER LITERATURE FUND

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

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

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

Send contributions to:
Prisoner Literature Fund
PO Box 882
New York, NY 10008

International Harvester Longest Walkout in UAW History Continues

By an AUTOWORKER
CORRESPONDENT

CHICAGO, March 4—One week ago, the United Auto Workers (UAW) strike against International Harvester (IH) became the longest national strike against a major company in the union's history. Harvester is one of the country's big three producers of agricultural implements, and the leading manufacturer of heavy-duty trucks.

The 35,000 Harvester workers walked out last November 1, when the one-month extension on their contract ran out. Their strike has shut down 17 plants in nine states, costing the company \$222 million in its first three months alone.

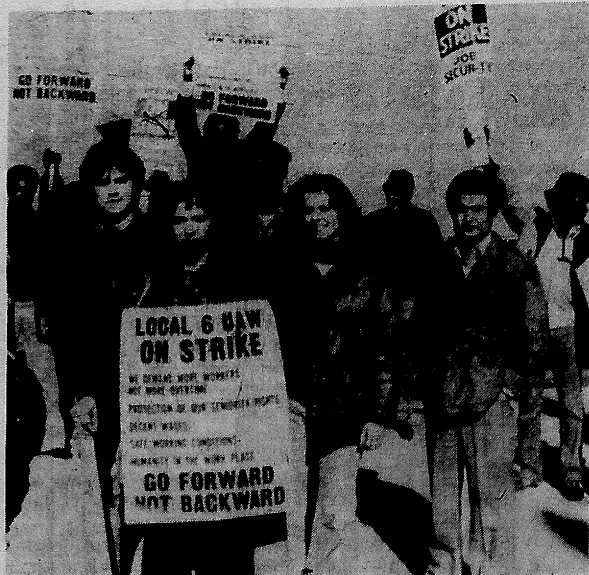
THE main issue in the strike is Harvester's demand that the workers give up their right to refuse overtime, a gain they won in 1950. In particular, Harvester wants to be able to schedule mandatory overtime 14 Saturdays every year per worker. The company wants to be able to make the workers slave the long hours presently allowed in most UAW contracts.

Since the strike began, Har-

vester has said that it would withdraw its demand for mandatory overtime on one condition: that the union allow it to hire part-time, non-union workers. The workers, understanding that this non-union

force would be used to try to bust their union, have resoundingly rejected the proposal.

In addition, the company is demanding another takeaway. It wants to limit the workers'



Harvester strikers picket the company's Melrose Park, Illinois, tractor plant.

right to use seniority as the criteria for promotions, transfers and shift changes.

Harvester claims that all these changes are necessary to ensure the company's profitability. The company posted a profit of \$370 million last year.

The determination, unity and organization of the Harvester workers have prevented the company from breaking their strike. The workers organized militant demonstrations of several hundred people at Harvester's headquarters in Chicago in November and December. They have also held plant-gate rallies to keep up the fighting spirit of the strike.

SUPPORT from other workers has also helped. Chicago-area auto and steel locals have given money to the strikers. And in February, weekly plant-gate collections were taken at some Chicago-area auto plants.

Unfortunately, the top leadership of the UAW has teamed up with the capitalist courts to sabotage the strikers' efforts to build solidarity.

UAW Local 6 and five other striking IH locals began organizing a demonstration to take place at the IH Stockholders Meeting in Chicago on February 21. In a show of solidarity, members of Ford Local 551 voted to take part in this demonstration.

But the flunkies of UAW Solidarity House began a wrecking operation as soon as the date was announced. At

the Agricultural Implement Conference, International staffer Seymour Kahn argued with local union presidents to call off the rally. And as the rally date grew closer, Andy Anderson (administrative assistant to Pat Greathouse, head of the union's agricultural implement department) phoned local unions to stir up fears of "provocateurs" if the demonstration went ahead as planned.

The misleaders of the UAW got help from the capitalist courts. Federal Judge Martin Aspen placed one legal roadblock after another in the way of the proposed demonstration.

Eventually, the six local presidents caved in to the pressure from the International. On February 20, they canceled the demonstration less than 24 hours before it was scheduled to start.

As a sop to IH workers the UAW bureaucrats got a federal restraining order against IH so that UAW members could attend the IH Stockholders' Meeting. This concession didn't fool many militants from UAW Local 6. They organized a militant mass picket on February 21 at Gate #1 of IH's Melrose Park Tractor Works. This action received coverage from at least two TV newscasts.

THE IH strikers have set an example for all workers. To be successful in this strike, they will have to continue their fight for more control over their union. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Truth out on jobless youth

Last year, the U.S. Labor Department hired Ohio State University to find out whether Labor Department statistics on youth unemployment had any relation to reality. The Labor Department then suppressed the study when it showed just how bad the youth job situation really is. A summary of the report was leaked to the **New York Times**, which published a brief description of it in its February 29 issue.

According to the **Times**, the report says that while the official figure for youth unemployment is 14.1 percent, the true figure is more like 19 percent. The official unemployment rate for Black youth is 28 percent, but the study says it is actually about 39 percent. The **Times** quotes the report as saying that young people are now taking any job they can get, whatever the wages or working conditions. "Black and Hispanic youth are significantly worse off than white youth," it says, and young women of all races are the first workers to be laid off.

Miners wildcat ends

The nation's largest coal strike since 1978 took place last month in West Virginia. Over 6,000 miners walked out in defense of the president of United Mine Workers Local 4060, who had been fired from his job at the Four States Mine in Marion County. The strike ended in defeat after 12 days when miners returned to work under the

threat of heavy fines.

The strike began on February 21 when Mike Zemonick was fired for playing a leading role in a work stoppage that took place on February 18. That one-day strike was a protest over the company's violation of the seniority agreement. In filling an open job slot, the mine operators, Consolidation Coal Company, had passed over the worker whose seniority entitled him to the job, because he was a well-known fighter for mine safety. Instead, they gave the job to a less militant worker with lower seniority.

When Zemonick was fired, and two other local officials suspended, the miners struck. Roving pickets spread the strike to other mines. By the third day seven of them were closed.

The company got an order from a federal district judge saying that if the strikes continued beyond March 3 the locals involved would be fined \$3,000 per shift missed, and each local official would be fined \$200 per shift. On March 2, a federal arbitrator ruled that Zemonick's firing and the suspensions were allowed by the contract. Meanwhile, UMW President Sam Church sent a telegram ordering the workers to resume work. Pushed on all sides, the miners gave in, and were back on the job March 3.

Unsafe job rule upheld

On February 26, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a worker's right to refuse an unsafe job without penalty. The court's decision was based on a lawsuit filed by Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall on behalf of two workers at Whirlpool

Corporation in Marion, Ohio. Whirlpool had disciplined the workers in 1974 for refusing to work on a job where a co-worker had just been killed.

The ruling let stand an Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulation that gives workers the right to refuse unsafe work if 1) the worker has already "sought from his employer, and been unable to obtain, a correction of the situation," and 2) "a reasonable person would conclude that there is a real danger of death or serious injury and that there is insufficient time, due to the urgency of the situation, to eliminate the danger through resort to statutory channels" (that is, an OSHA complaint).

The court also upheld the bosses' power to refuse to pay workers who walk off unsafe jobs. In practice, therefore, workers must continue to choose between the hazards of work and the pressure of facing a rising cost of living without a full paycheck.

NYC transit strike likely

With a contract deadline of March 31, the city of New York seems bent on provoking a strike by its transit workers. The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) is stonewalling on all demands of the Transport Workers Union. Despite 18 percent inflation, the MTA is trying to force subway and bus workers to accept increases of four percent per year. The MTA is also trying to force the workers to accept a long list of take-away demands that will cut benefits and worsen working conditions.

—WF & EVL

“We Have to Win”

Glydons Workers Hold Firm



LOS ANGELES, March 10— After more than a month on strike against Glydons, Inc., 150 garment workers, most of whom are Latin women, are holding firm in their demands for union recognition.

An organizing drive by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU, commonly known as the ILG) was successful when workers voted last December 14-10 in favor of the union. But Glydons refused to negotiate and since then the election results have been invalidated by a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). No date for a new election has been set, and it is possible that the NLRB will rule that the present strike is illegal.

“No contract, no work!” and “Down with the boss, power to the workers!” are some of the slogans heard on the picket line as an estimated

125 scabs enter the factory each day under close police protection. Although the picket line itself has been limited to four people by a court injunction, dozens of strikers and their supporters gather every day across the small street directly in front of the factory's main gate.

Can they win?

“We have to win!” declared one 18-year-old striker after a full day on picket duty. “We can see the company weakening. Now we have to do more to show the boss we are together. Yes, we're going to win.”

Support rally planned

Momentum has picked up in recent days as news of the strike has spread throughout the city and plans have begun

for a major strike-support rally at the factory gates on March 14. Plans for the support rally were first initiated by the Revolutionary Garment Committee/Comite Revolucionario de la Costura (CRC). The CRC is made up of garment workers from several different factories, including Glydons, and is politically affiliated with the RSL. CRC supporters have been active throughout the Glydons organizing campaign and strike. The strike-support rally should boost the strike by raising morale, involving a broader layer of workers from around the city, and increasing publicity for the strike. Some local ILG officials have supported the rally by calling for March 14 to be a day of solidarity with the Glydons strikers. They are inviting other union members to attend.

One striking worker who had won a favorable NLRB ruling on an earlier grievance was sent back to work inside the factory by the strikers' organizing committee. His task was to report on conditions inside the factory and attempt to talk to the scabs.

He reported that production was very limited. Many of the scabs are inexperienced and all are unsettled by the anger and militancy of the picketers they have to pass through twice a day. The boss has felt it necessary to hold on-the-job meetings to reassure the scabs of their safety and job security.

The boss also isolated the striker who went back inside, preventing him from talking to anyone. But even this wasn't

enough, and after only a few days the returned striker was set up for an attack by a scab. He was struck in the face, then fired “for fighting.”

ILG tops hold back struggle

The future of the strike is uncertain, but after a month several things can be said:

1) The strikers are not weakening, although some have had to look for work elsewhere. Among those who come to the picket line each day, morale is as high now as it was a month ago.

2) The boss is having trouble. Little is being produced. Some trucks and deliveries are being turned away and the scabs inside are worried.

3) Support for the strike is growing daily. This can be measured by the increase in press coverage, the response from leafletting other factories, and the response to the support rally.

4) Union leaders themselves have generally been slower than the strikers to take initiative in broadening the strike. They are nervous about having revolutionaries involved in the strike, prefer a more moderate strategy (boycotts, instead of support rallies), and are reluctant to give the striking workers too much power to make decisions for themselves.

For example, it was only pressure from the strikers that led the union to call a meeting of the Glydons organizing committee, the rank and file group that should be running the strike. For the first two weeks, all decisions were being made by the union officials alone. It was the organizing committee which first endorsed the idea of a broad support rally, over objections from union officials about “outsiders interfering.”

“The truth is,” says one striker, “it looks like the union is not too interested in this strike. So now some workers are beginning to complain.”

Union organizers are themselves divided over what strategy is best for building the union in the garment industry. Some are angry over a recent decision by top ILG bureaucrats to support repressive policies against undocumented immigrant workers. Many garment workers are undocumented and the union has previously worked hard to attract and organize these workers. The ILG's present views are a giant step back. The union leadership now officially calls for strengthening La Mígra, establishing a sys-

tem of counterfeit-proof identification cards showing the citizenship of all workers, and penalizing bosses who hire undocumented immigrants.

This is certain to have a powerful effect within the union, especially on the local level, where many honest ILGWU organizers will reject the views of their leaders and will want to continue to link union organizing with the fight for greater rights and protection for undocumented workers.

Workers must control strike

To win the Glydons strike, and to build the union throughout the garment industry, local ILG organizers and rank and file union members should speak out against the corrupt, racist policies of the ILG top bureaucrats. This doesn't mean rejecting the union, which is a basic organization for workers' self-defense. But it means fighting for workers' control inside the union, for a union

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Stearns Coal Company in Kentucky used cops and scabs to break a union organizing drive. Above, police stand guard over arrested pickets.

BOSSSES CAMPAIGN TO BUST UNIONS

(Continued from page 1)
vailing level of wages and benefits, even in the non-union shops, is higher than in unorganized sectors. Similarly, where a given state or region is highly unionized, the wages of all workers in the area, against including those not in unions, tend to be higher than in areas of weak unionization.

The unions are also important politically. Although their political power is largely gutted by the class-collaborationist policy of the labor officialdom, some of it does serve to defend workers' interests. For example, the bureaucrats may put pressure on the capitalists to pass various reforms, such as minimum wage laws.

Perhaps most important is the potential power of the unions. The unions are mass organizations, embracing millions of workers and having at their disposal millions of dollars. If led by militants and revolutionaries committed to a serious fight against the capitalists, the unions could mobilize broad sectors of the working class and oppressed people in a powerful struggle against the capitalists.

Capitalists bought "labor peace"

The capitalists' anti-union offensive represents a significant shift in tactics on the part of the ruling class. For nearly 30 years, relations between the capitalists and the union leadership have been characterized by a kind of gentleman's agreement.

This deal was based on the tremendous political and economic power of U.S. imperialism. With their coffers over-

flowing with loot from their imperialist empire abroad, the capitalists bought "labor peace" at home. Their part of the deal was job security and higher wages and benefits for the unionized workers (especially skilled tradesmen) along with power and privileges for the labor bureaucrats. In return, the bureaucrats gave management a free hand on the shop floor to enforce new work-rules, discipline the workers and generally boost productivity. They also agreed to ignore the needs of the unorganized workers; for example, by 1948 the CIO had ditched "Operation Dixie," an ambitious drive to organize the South, approved two years before. Finally, the labor hacks committed themselves to defend U.S. imperialism throughout the world. The AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, for example, became little more than a CIA front to sabotage workers' struggles in other countries.

A writer for the *New York Times* characterized this arrangement in a recent article:

"Many big companies decided that strong secure unions could be a constructive force in preventing wildcat strikes, fostering productivity and equalizing labor costs within each major industry. In return, employers became the principle recruiting agents for a union movement that had run out of steam. A type of push-button unionism developed, in which tens of thousands of members were handed over automatically through union-shop contracts and company check-off union dues."

In the past few years, however, the material basis for this deal has been crumbling. U.S. imperialism has been beating a retreat. Now

the entire system, rotten at its core and burdened by a mountain of debt, is ready to collapse. This is the origin of the capitalists' union-busting drive.

The bosses' dirty tricks:

One of the main ways the capitalists have weakened the unions has been "runaway shops." Capitalists with unionized plants in one area, say the Northeast, will close them down and open new—and non-union—plants in another area, particularly the South and Southwest. This has been going on for years. Until recently, however, this ploy was mostly used in more labor-intensive industries, such as garment and textiles. Today, even the auto companies have been resorting to the runaway shop to weaken the United Automobile Workers. This is the essence of General Motors' "Southern Strategy."

The result of runaway shops is that a highly skilled and once highly unionized trade such as printing is today 70 percent non-union.

Another focus of the capitalists' anti-union offensive is to smash union organizing efforts before contracts are signed. Key to this has been the creation of dozens of so-called management consulting firms, more accurately known as professional union-busting outfits. These people are specialists at all the dirty tricks—legal and illegal, non-violent and violent—that help to prevent workers from organizing unions.

The largest of these consulting firms is Modern Management Methods, Inc. (MMM),

based in Deerfield, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago.

When MMM is hired by a company trying to prevent union organizing, it plays a leading role in running the company. However, it stays out of the sight of the workers.

One of its tactics is to organize company supervisors into a little anti-union army. The supervisors are instructed to have 10-25 private talks with each worker during a given organizing drive, "persuading" workers not to join the union. Needless to say, a lot of this persuasion consists of outright lies about unions, as well as threats, veiled and open, against the workers. The supervisors make written reports on each worker and harass and discipline the most active organizers.

MMM also likes to try to form a committee of anti-union employees, whose special job is to make phone calls to other workers and distribute anti-union literature. MMM teaches its companies to keep careful track of union organizers and to look for opportunities to complain to the NLRB about trespassing. Meanwhile, they advise management to violate the labor laws and worry about the consequences later.

Many of the anti-union tricks advocated by the professional union busters have a slickness learned from Madison Avenue. During the recent organizing drive at Glydons, a garment factory in Los Angeles, the boss ran a raffle in which each employee was asked to guess how many votes the union would receive. The prize for the raffle was a big pile of groceries on display inside the factory whose value, management claimed, was equal to one year's union dues.

James Pettigrew, an employee of West Coast Detective Agency, testified that he used a cruder method to try to stop a union drive: Posing as a worker, he encouraged union supporters to steal from the company and set up opportunities for them to do so. When the workers took the bait, they were, of course, caught and fired.

Common to MMM, West Coast Detective Agency, and all consulting firms is that they advise companies to stall elections as long as possible and challenge the validity of any elections in which the union is victorious.

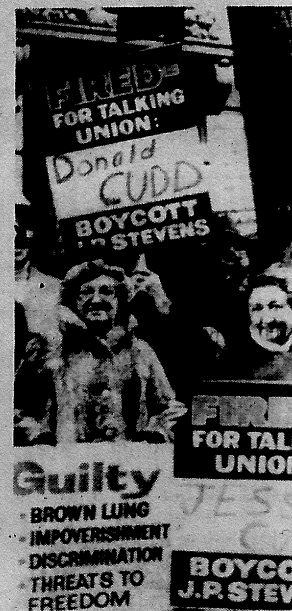
If, despite this, the union wins, they advise companies to carry on "surface bargaining," that is, to offer virtually nothing in a contract and force the newly-formed union to strike. Then, the union busters urge management to hire scabs and either ignore the union, or force a new union representation election in which the scabs can vote.

This has been the tactic of management in the bitter Justus coal miners' strike against

the Stearns Mining Company. Soon after a hard fought but successful unionization struggle, the company forced the UMW local into a strike. With the protection of the courts, the police and company armed guards, scabs began to work the mine.

In May of 1979, Stearns forced a new union representation election. Not too surprisingly, the scabs working in the mine voted 110-0 to be represented by the Justus Employees Association, a company-union, rather than the UMW. A UMW appeal against this phony election is now making its way through the courts. Meanwhile, the original miners are out of jobs and the mine is operating at a profit.

Surface bargaining is a common anti-union tactic. For years, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU—formerly the Textile Workers Union) has been attempting to unionize



J.P. Stevens, the nation's largest textile manufacturer. Stevens has used every trick in the book to stop the union, including proven collusion with local police, to harass and intimidate union organizers.

Stevens' last resort, however, has been to recognize the union but not bargain meaningfully. Of the 11 J.P. Stevens plants that have been unionized, none have contracts.

Construction unions weakened

Perhaps the most dramatic aspect of the capitalists' anti-union drive is an attack on one of the labor movement's strongholds: the construction industry.

In the post-war period the construction workers became one of the most privileged sections of the working class. The wages in construction are

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By DARRYL CLARK

Chicago Firefighters End Militant Strike

CHICAGO, March 9—After 23 days of a very militant strike, 4,000 firefighters returned to work yesterday. The settlement was a partial defeat, following setbacks for transit workers who went out in December and teachers who struck for their overdue paychecks in January (see *Torch/La Antorcha*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2).

THE firefighters struck to get their first contract. They came back with an "interim agreement," with a number of issues put into a one-sided fact-finding and arbitration process (essentially binding on the firefighters but not on the city). All firefighters will work one to four days without pay as part of the agreement. When the strike broke out, the biggest issue was the bargaining unit—the union wanted lieutenants and captains included. This has not been settled. Fines against the union—now totalling nearly \$1 million—and a five-month jail term for union local President Frank Muscare may not be withdrawn. The firefighters apparently won nothing solid on their demands for seniority. Strikers will keep their jobs; but so will 700 scabs.

Most firetrucks will have five-person crews, up from four. The settlement calls for a new minority hiring program for Blacks and Latins. Presently, there are 400 Blacks and 60 Latins in the force of 4,000. The hiring program called for in the settlement is supposed to increase those numbers to 1,200 Blacks and 600 Latins.

Pay was not an issue in the

strike.

Most experts agreed that the settlement was worse than what Mayor Jane Byrne offered on February 22—maybe even worse than what she offered before the strike began on February 14.

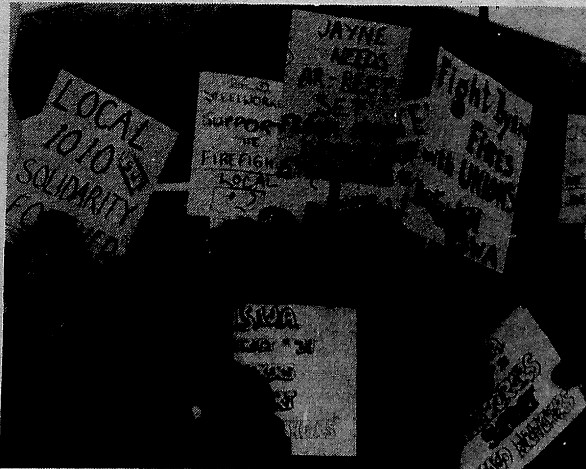
Mayor Byrne's conduct in the strike was straight-out union-busting. She hired hundreds of untrained people to staff the firehouses, and ordered cops to keep strikers from helping to fight the most serious fires. She used every legal weapon against the strikers—injunctions, fines, a jail term for the local president, mass dismissal proceedings, etc. She threatened to replace the whole fire department with new recruits off the street.

BYRNE was continuing the attack on workers involved in the earlier transit and teachers' strike. She was also defending the patronage system. Firefighters, like most Chicago city employees, get their jobs through political pull. They are forced to do work for the Democratic Party machine to get decent treatment and promotions. Any move among city workers to unionize and get a written contract represents an attack on this system.

Byrne's strike-breaking was so blatant that the media kept their distance from her. They

reported that her claims of plenty of firefighters on duty were obviously false. They also reported that witnesses blamed the incompetence of scab firefighters for many of the 22 fire deaths that oc-

could have been defeated. For a day or so there were rumors of a general strike of city employees. The firefighters repeatedly asked the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) to tell its members to respect



Steelworkers joined support rally for striking firefighters on February 23.

curred during the strike. They portrayed the strike as a needless one, caused and prolonged by the stubbornness of both Byrne and the union leaders. A lot of public opinion followed this lead.

Byrne's strike-breaking

union picket lines at city offices and buildings. Bill Lee, head of the CFL, refused. When the firefighters turned down the offer he helped to negotiate, Lee told them to get lost. He didn't want to disrupt the long-term cozy

higher than in most industries and the unions have a lot of power over hiring, training and up-grading, and many work-rules. They have viciously discriminated against Black and Latin workers. As a result, the building trades are almost all white. The unions are very pro-imperialist and the construction trade has been one of the most racist and right-wing sections of the working class. On balance, the building trades unions have been among the most reliable allies the capitalists have had in the labor movement.

But the capitalists have paid a price for this loyalty in high labor costs and the tremendous power of the unions. For 10 years they have been moving to cut these costs.

The capitalists know that if they can weaken strong unions such as those in construction, it will make it easier for them to go after all the less powerful unions.

In 1969, the Construction Users' Anti-Inflation Roundtable was formed in order to weaken the construction unions and to keep them from organizing unorganized con-

struction workers.

The membership list of this group, now called the Business Roundtable, reads like a Who's Who of U.S. capitalism—Exxon, GM, Dow Chemical, Bethlehem Steel—a total of over 200 corporations with assets totalling well over \$2 trillion dollars.

The Business Roundtable has organized thousands of construction users into regional and national construction users' councils to provide the muscle to make construction completely non-union. One tactic of these councils has been to encourage construction bosses to go "double-breasted." This means that a unionized firm will set up a non-union division. It will then channel work to its non-union division until the union division is drained dry. This is one way to get around the provision in most union contracts that requires an employer to employ only union workers at every company construction site.

These councils also try to undermine union hiring halls and apprenticeship programs and to keep down overtime pay.

The Business Roundtable is also behind the fight to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act. This act guarantees that the prevailing wage rate in an area (and, in union areas, this is often the union wage), is paid on all federal and federally funded construction projects—a total of 30 percent of all U.S. construction. If this act were repealed, all wages would go down because contractors would be forced to cut wages in order to get government contracts.

The result of these attacks has been substantial. In 1973, only about 30 percent of the construction industry was non-union. Today, the figure is 60 percent according to Roundtable sources.

This attack has hit construction workers from specially oppressed groups particularly hard. For example, there are even fewer Black and Latin workers in non-union apprenticeship programs than there are in union programs. Non-union construction companies try to keep the total number of minority workers down to the legal minimum to avoid pro-union sentiment. Surveys show that a majority

of Blacks and Latins say they would join a union if they got a chance while only one-third of a cross section of all workers say that.

As a result of all these attacks, today one out of every two union construction workers is unemployed. Even union workers find that they have to work non-union if they want to work at all.

United action needed

The capitalists are putting millions of dollars and a lot of time and energy into busting the unions. Off in the universities, sociology, law and political science professors are being paid to do anti-union research. Firms like MMM are given top dollar to bring union-busting knowledge and experience to the companies.

And then scabs, local police and "detectives" like James Pettigrew are bought to put all the plans into action. To set up machine gun nests to aim at strikers—as at the Justus strike. To shoot and kill active union organizers—as the Klan

relations between the CFL and the Democratic Party. The Chicago Transit Authority workers' unions played no visible part in the strike.

OTHER unions showed more solidarity. Leaders of United Steelworkers locals in District 31 mobilized steelworkers to attend a rally of over 2,000 firefighters and supporters in downtown Chicago on February 23. Alice Peurala, president of Local 65, gave a militant speech. Norm Swenson of the Cook County College Teachers Union, which faces a strong strike-breaking attack this fall in the city colleges of Chicago, voiced strong support. Black leader Jesse Jackson, head of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), helped to organize a demonstration in support of the firefighters. He also used the opportunity to push for the hiring of more Black firefighters.

Jackson was acting as a go-between when the settlement was reached. During negotiations, he threatened to tell Black firefighters to scab if the union didn't go for the minority hiring program.

The firefighters and their union showed signs of being pushed away from their long-time conservatism. After the transit and teachers' strikes, they went into their strike in a very militant, fighting mood. Facing discontent from Black firefighters, they placed a Black on the Executive Board for the first time. When one of their rallies came close to an anti-draft demonstration, the traditionally conservative firefighters showed friendly interest and support. □

Photograph by Dave Warren

did in Greensboro, North Carolina, or to simply assault them—as scabs have done at Glydons. To arrest union supporters—as local police have done dozens of times in the J.P. Stevens struggle. And to charge at and break up picket lines—as police and National Guard did in the recent strike at the Newport News Shipyard.

Against the thugs and experts of the ruling class, the workers have the weapon of united action. Wherever and whenever the union-busters begin pushing, workers must organize themselves to fight back. Workers everywhere should support all strikes and job actions against the capitalists. And workers who are union members must demand that their unions actively and aggressively organize in non-union shops until 100 percent of the workforce is union. Politically conscious workers should take a leading role in defending the trade unions—despite their rotten leaders and all their faults—both for the protection they offer today and the revolutionary potential they can have in the future. □

By PAUL BENJAMIN

In July 1979, thousands of Nicaraguan workers poured into the streets of Managua to welcome the leaders of the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front), who had led the victorious struggle to overthrow the brutal dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

Six months later, on January 29, the Nicaraguan workers were once again marching to show their support for the FSLN. But this time their banners read "Death to ultra-leftism" and "Death to Trotskyism."

These demonstrations were organized by the FSLN as part of its campaign to suppress a leftist opposition group, the Movimiento de Accion Popular (MAP—Popular Action Movement), and its trade union wing, the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front). On January 23, FSLN security forces shut down the FO's newspaper, *El Pueblo*, and jailed seven MAP/FO leaders. Eight days later they were charged with "destructive criticism," which "seeks to damage the popular interests and abolish the conquests achieved by the people." Three were eventually sentenced to two-year prison terms. On February 22, seven MAP/FO members were also charged with "illegal possession of firearms," as well as other violations of the Public Order and Security Law.

This campaign against "Trotskyism" and "ultra-leftism" is an integral part of the FSLN's strategy for heading off a socialist revolution in Nicaragua.

The FSLN, which began an armed struggle in the countryside against Somoza's National Guard in 1961, played a leading role in weakening Somoza's regime. But it was the workers and peasants themselves who actually carried out the Nicaraguan revolution. They rose up in a series of armed insurrections which forced Somoza to flee the country. This allowed the FSLN to march into the cities and set up a new Government of National Reconstruction.

The Nicaraguan people paid an enormous price for their victory. Over 40,000 people were killed in the struggle against Somoza and the country itself was devastated. Somoza and his henchmen systematically wrecked the country before fleeing into exile. They bombed cities like Managua and Estelí into rubble. They looted the banks and the government treasury. They even sold off the cattle herds on their plantations.

As a result, hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans today lack elementary means of survival such as housing and food. The Nicaraguan people suffer from an unemployment rate of 50 percent, a 60 percent rate of inflation, and a government debt totalling around \$1.5 billion.

If the workers and peasants are to rebuild Nicaraguan society in their own interests—free from imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation—they will have to carry their revolution through to the end.

This means they will have to seize the state power in their own name.

It means taking over the factories, the mines and the banks from the capitalist class.

It means seizing the plantations that remain in the hands of the landlords.

It means organizing factory and land committees, armed militias, workers' and peasants' councils and other democratic organizations. Through such mass organizations, the workers and peasants can mobilize their forces to

smash the capitalist state and set up their own government.

With control of the government and the economy in their hands, the Nicaraguan people can then begin building a socialist society in which production will be organized to satisfy their own needs, not to fill the pockets of the capitalists, landowners and U.S. imperialism.

As a key part of the struggle to build socialism in Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan people should link up with workers' and peasants' organizations which are fighting for freedom in other countries. In particular, they should support the people of El Salvador and other Central American countries who are carrying on militant struggles of their own.

Finally, they should join with revolutionaries in other countries to build an international revolutionary party that can lead a worldwide struggle for socialism.

Despite what they say, the FSLN leaders have no intention of leading the workers and peasants in a struggle to build a socialist Nicaragua. Although many of them claim to be Marxists and they all say they support the aspirations of the Nicaraguan masses, FSLN leaders are in fact middle class nationalists, not socialist revolutionaries. They do not believe the workers and peasants are capable of running the Nicaraguan economy and the country as a whole for themselves. Instead they want to use the revolutionary energies of the workers and peasants to rebuild the country on a capitalist basis.

This does not mean that the FSLN simply wants to turn all power back to the capitalists and landlords. As nationalists, the FSLN leaders want to protect the political independence of Nicaragua from U.S. imperialism. They want to protect Nicaragua's wealth and natural resources from imperialist looting in order to build a prosperous and self-sufficient economy. And they correctly fear that the Nicaraguan capitalists and landowners would sell out Nicaraguan political and economic independence to U.S. imperialism in order to protect their property and class rule.

FSLN's two options

Short of rebuilding old-style capitalism in Nicaragua, the FSLN has two



Somoza and his henchmen wrecked the country before fleeing into exile. Above, Nicaragua's largest sugar refinery after being destroyed by Somoza's bombs.

The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution

At present, the majority to support the FSLN, but accounts with their oppre

options.

1) It could try to get the cooperation of the capitalists and landlords to rebuild the economy, while keeping as much political power as it can for itself. This would mean allowing the capitalists to keep possession of at least a portion of Nicaraguan industry and land, while granting them some political power and role in the government. The FSLN could then use this alliance as bait to angle economic aid from the U.S. and other imperialist countries.

The logic of this course would be the construction of a partial form of state capitalism, a kind of mixed economy, with a large state sector alongside the private sector, run by a modern bureaucracy built around FSLN political cadres and bourgeois technicians.

2) The FSLN could choose to break completely with the capitalists and landlords, nationalize all industry, banks and land, and wall the country off from imperialism by instituting a state monopoly over foreign trade. This would also entail trying to get aid from Cuba, Russia and other state-capitalist countries.

This course would mean building a fully state-capitalist society in Nicaragua in which the FSLN would be the core of a new state-capitalist ruling class.

These two courses are not mutually exclusive, however. The FSLN can, for example, try to follow the first path, collaborating with the capitalists as long as it can, and then embark on the second course if, or when, it decides this is necessary or desirable.

At the present time, the FSLN appears to be following the first of its pro-capitalist options. This choice has the full backing of Fidel Castro and the state-capitalist ruling class in Cuba, with which the FSLN maintains close ties. According to a report in the *New York Times* (January 24, 1980), Cuban advisors have counseled the FSLN against carrying out a state-capitalist revolution. In particular, they warned the FSLN to avoid what they called the economic and political "errors" of the Cuban revolution, such as the elimination of the private sector and rationing of food and other supplies.

Heeding this advice, the FSLN formed the Gobierno de Reconstruccion Nacional (GRN—Government of National Reconstruction) on June 17, in alliance with pro-capitalist politicians who represent the anti-Somoza wing of the Nicaraguan ruling class. Actual power in Nicaragua is today divided between the FSLN and the anti-Somoza capitalists. The FSLN controls the army and key posts in the government. It has also nationalized the huge holdings of the Somoza family. The capitalists retain ownership of 75 percent of Nicaraguan industry and about half the land. (*Latin America Weekly Report*, December 21, 1979.) They also hold positions of influence in the government and administrative bureaucracy.

The FSLN is counting on the U.S. ruling class and its allies to provide capital to help restore the economy. It has already obtained about \$490 million in foreign aid, including cash, loans to the government and private businesses, and direct shipments of food and other supplies. Most of this aid has come from U.S. allies like West Germany, the Netherlands, Panama and Venezuela, as well as from U.S.-controlled agencies such as the World Bank. (*Wall Street Journal*, February 12, 1980.) The Carter administration itself pushed a \$75 million loan package for Nicaragua through Congress on February 28.

To carry out the course it has chosen, the FSLN must do a kind of balancing act. Specifically, it must walk a narrow line between maintaining its revolutionary credentials among Nicaraguan workers and peasants and, at the same

time, making enough concessions to the capitalists and landlords to ensure their cooperation.

At present, the majority of workers and peasants appear to support the FSLN, but they are also eager to account with their oppressors. They expect the FSLN to lead the revolution forward and fulfill their demands for jobs, higher wages and

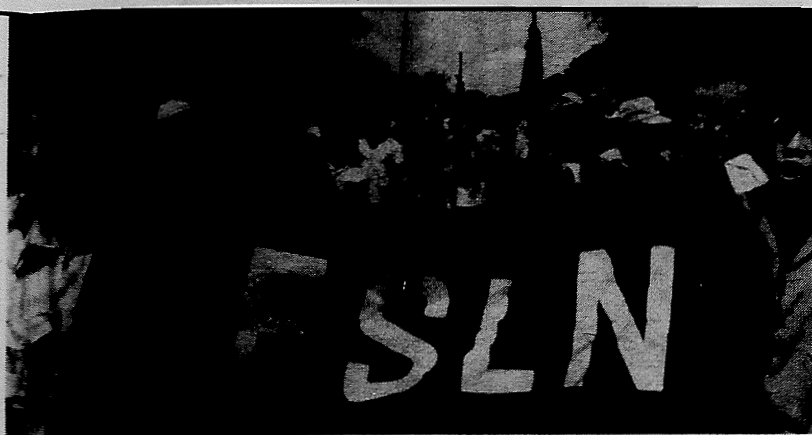
For their part, the capitalists supporting the FSLN basically have no choice. With the fall of the Somoza regime, they have no state apparatus of their own and have no vehicles, such as an army, to use to force the workers and peasants. They probably recognize that an outright repression would not

As a result, the capitalists to use the FSLN to restrain them while they maneuver to try to get as much of their property, and as much control over the state, as they can. They particularly fear the FSLN will take away their property if the economy recovers, so they are demanding a greater share of power now. In some cases they are resorting to sabotage to discredit the FSLN regime and warn the leadership that it can't run the country without them.

Thus the FSLN is trying to balance itself between the revolutionary workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the capitalists, landlords and U.S. imperialists, on the other. To maintain freedom of action against these pressures, the FSLN must discipline both the masses and the capitalists and landlords. It must buy the prestige to win the workers' and peasants' acceptance of its policy of collaboration with the capitalists in concessions that this entails. It must try to organize the workers and peasants into organizations fully under FSLN control. It must disarm the capitalists, allowing them access to arms only under firm control by FSLN cadres. It must isolate and suppress the capitalists who resist its policies.

At the same time the FSLN must discipline the capitalists and landlords. It must convince them that they must retain their property and power. It must support the FSLN and carry out reforms which are necessary to maintain popular support for the FSLN government. It must resist their demands for more power in the state and cajole

FSLN the anguan ution



At present, the majority of the workers and peasants appear to support the FSLN, but they are also eager to settle accounts with their oppressors.

These two courses are not mutually exclusive, however. The FSLN can, for example, try to follow the first path, collaborating with the capitalists as long as it can, and then embark on the second course if, or when, it decides this is necessary or desirable.

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At present, the majority of the workers and peasants appear to support the FSLN, but they are also eager to settle accounts with their oppressors. Believing the revolutionary rhetoric of the FSLN, they expect it to lead the revolution forward and fulfill their demands for jobs, higher wages and land.

For their part, the capitalists are supporting the FSLN basically because they have no choice. With the collapse of the Somoza regime, the capitalists have no state apparatus of their own and have no vehicles, such as a police force and an army, to use to beat back the workers and peasants. Moreover, they probably recognize that a policy of outright repression would not work.

As a result, the capitalists are trying to use the FSLN to restrain the masses, while they maneuver to try to hold on to as much of their property, and gain as much control over the state, as they can. They particularly fear that the FSLN will take away their property once the economy recovers, so they are demanding a greater share of political power now. In some cases they are resorting to sabotage to discredit the FSLN regime and warn the FSLN leadership that it can't run the country without them.

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At the same time the FSLN must discipline the capitalists and landlords. It must convince them that they can retain their property and power only by supporting the FSLN and accepting reforms which are necessary to maintain popular support for the government. It must resist their demands for more power in the state and cajole them

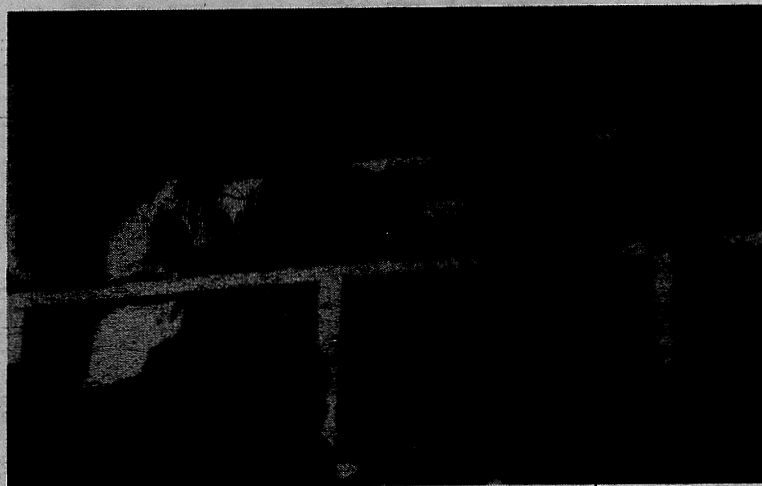
to resume production to help rebuild the economy.

The first eight months of FSLN rule provide ample illustrations of how the FSLN is implementing this policy.

Discipline for the workers...

The FSLN has been quite explicit in telling workers and peasants they must restrain their militancy and cooperate with capitalists and landlords who are cooperating with the GRN.

For example, the FSLN paper *Barricada* warned on August 14: "It's not as



Sandinista leaders in Cuba after taking power; right: Fidel Castro. Cuban advisors warned the FSLN to avoid what they called the economic and political "errors" of the Cuban revolution, such as the elimination of the private sector.

if the workers have carte blanche [a blank check] to do anything they want." FSLN Organization Secretary Carlos Carrion told workers in January that "the situation of our country calls for strikes to be used only as measures of extreme urgency when all other means of negotiation have failed." (*Barricada*, January 28, 1980.) The 1980 economic plan calls on workers to hold down their

wage demands, while *Barricada* editorials proclaim "It falls on the masses' organizations and workers to... sacrifice as in the first battle for their liberation."

However, the FSLN is not relying on words alone to keep the masses in line. One of its first steps after taking power was to disarm the workers. In the last stages of the struggle against Somoza, thousands of workers armed themselves with guns taken from the National Guard. As long as they possessed weapons, they had the means to resist the FSLN and its capitalist and landlord allies. In October, the FSLN ordered all civilians to turn in their guns to the government. (*New York Times*, October 10, 1979.) It also began organizing a standing army composed almost entirely of FSLN veterans. To satisfy the masses' eagerness to defend their revolution, it is instituting a militia program which will allow the workers some military training while keeping the guns firmly in the government's hands.

The FSLN is also trying to bring the mass organizations of the workers and peasants which sprang up in the course of the revolution under direct FSLN control. It is urging all workers to join the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). It is organizing a Rural Workers Association (ACT) in the countryside. And it is requiring everybody to join the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs).

FSLN leaders claim these organizations represent a form of popular power for the masses. In fact, the workers and peasants have no political power. The FSLN leaders, not the workers' and peasants' organizations, decide who serves in the central government, and what policies it should follow. On a local level, the masses are permitted only to indicate by a show of hands

the Simon Bolivar Brigade and the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). These groups appear to have a limited but real base among militant workers and peasants.

Although none represents a revolutionary alternative to the FSLN, they are raising demands which reflect the real interests of the Nicaraguan masses. For example, they are demanding that the FSLN kick the capitalist politicians out of the GRN. They are fighting for the right of all political tendencies in the working class to freely express their views in their own press and in the mass organizations. Above all, they are supporting the masses' struggles against the capitalists, landlords and the FSLN itself.

The FSLN is trying to suppress these groups before they gain a mass base in the working class. In July, it temporarily suspended the FO's newspaper, *El Pueblo*. (*Latin America Weekly Report*, February 8, 1980.) In August it expelled non-Nicaraguan members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade. In October it jailed militants of the MAP/FO and the RML without charges. It was eventually forced to release them when workers organized demonstrations against the arrests. (*Militant*, November 16, 1979.) The January arrests indicate that the FSLN is now trying to finish off the MAP for good.

... And the capitalists and landlords

The FSLN is following a parallel policy against the capitalists and landlords. The FSLN press is filled with articles warning the capitalists against believing that they are indispensable, telling them that they can survive only by cooperating with the FSLN.

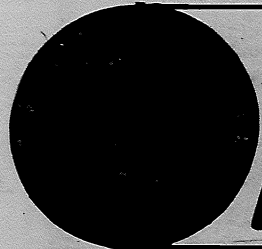
The FSLN has deprived the capitalists of any influence over the army in order to cut off the threat of a right-wing coup. It abandoned its original promise to integrate sections of the National Guard into the army. It has also refused to allow the pro-capitalist politicians in the GRN to interfere with FSLN control of the military.

The FSLN is also denying the bourgeoisie any effective political power. Although the GRN itself is formally a coalition with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, the nine-person FSLN directorate makes all the major decisions. In December, it called on all government ministers to resign in order to gain a free hand in restructuring the regime. Three FSLN leaders then took direct control of ministries which had previously been nominally in the hands of conservative politicians and bankers. Henry Ruiz became Minister of Planning, Jaime Wheelock became Minister of Agriculture, and Fernando Guzman took over as Minister of Industry. (*Latin America Regional Report*, January 11, 1980.)

The FSLN has used its control over the government apparatus to punish right-wing opponents who grow too bold in defying government policy. For instance, the GRN announced on February 17 that land left untilled because of labor disputes or lack of investment would be permanently taken over by the government. And on February 2 it ordered a right-wing radio broadcaster off the air after he attacked the FSLN's virtual monopoly of political power.

Above all, the FSLN can use its prestige and its control of the mass

(Continued on page 17)



WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Afghan resistance builds

SINCE our last report on the crisis in Afghanistan, the Afghan people have continued their struggle against the Russian troops who invaded their country last December. Meanwhile, the authority of President Babrak Karmal's puppet regime is rapidly disintegrating and the Russian occupation forces have launched a savage campaign against guerrillas in the countryside. We are devoting the entirety of this month's column to summarizing these latest developments.

PEOPLE IN CITIES and towns all over Afghanistan are breaking into open rebellion against the Russian invaders. On February 21, merchants in Kabul, the national capital, closed their shops to protest the occupation. Their action sparked a general strike and a near insurrection. On February 22, thousands of people poured into the streets chanting "God is great!" and "Death to the Russians!" Demonstrators gathered in at least three different sections of the city. When government troops opened fire on them, the militants broke into police stations, armed themselves, and began fighting back.

Kabul's small working class played an active part in the rebellion. In the Kote Sangi quarter of Kabul, one of the poorest sections of the city, construction workers used pick axes and shovels to attack the homes of suspected informers and members of Karmal's Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

Local Russian army officers were forced to assume command of the city, declare martial law, and seal off roads leading into Kabul. They fired into demonstrations to disperse crowds. Tanks and armored personnel carriers rushed into the city from bases on the outskirts of Kabul and machine-gunned the militants. Other demonstrators were killed by rocket fire from helicopters. At least 300 to 500 people were slaughtered in these attacks.

But the general strike continued despite this repression. On February 23, government workers and civil servants walked off their jobs. For the next four nights, residents of Kabul climbed onto their rooftops to shout anti-Russian slogans. The whole city remained shut down until February 28. Strikes and demonstrations also took place in Jalalabad, Herat, Kandahar, Wardak, Baghlan and other cities and towns.

TRUSTED OFFICIALS are turning against the Karmal regime. Abdul Rahim Ghatoozai, a career Foreign Ministry diplomat, was sent to defend Karmal's government before a meeting of diplomats from non-aligned nations. On February 23 he shocked the delegates—and Karmal—by denouncing the Russian invasion and declaring his support for his "compatriots in the liberation struggle."

THE AFGHAN ARMY is collapsing under the impact of the popular rebellion. Its strength has fallen from around 100,000 troops in August to about 35,000 in February. With the exception of the elite troops in the Kabul garrison, those who are left have little enthusiasm for the war against the rebels. For instance, in Jalalabad, some army units have refused to fire on rebel forces unless they are directly attacked. Almost all of the Ninth Afghan Army division, which was stationed in Jalalabad, deserted to the guerrillas.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY is resorting to barbaric measures to crush the rebellion in the countryside. In the village of Khaja Mussahaffir, Russian troops search houses and shops nearly every day looking for arms. Six youths from the village were executed in retaliation for an ambush in which four Russian sentries were killed. Villages in the Kunar Valley, where a Russian/Afghan offensive began on March 2, were blasted into rubble by Russian artillery and aerial bombardment.

The Russian state-capitalist ruling class has refused to release any casualty figures even to its own citizens. But a hotel worker in Tashkent, a Russian city near the Afghan border, told reporters that local hospitals were filled with wounded from the battlefields.

WHEN THE PDPA overthrew the dictatorship of Muhammad Daud in April 1978, some Afghan people believed a new era of progress was beginning in their country. Today there is not the slightest doubt that the Afghan people despise the PDPA regime and its Russian protectors. On March 7, an old man in Kabul showed reporters a memorial which included the tank which was used to storm Daud's palace. He told them: "People used to garland that tank. Now we want to spit at the multitude of tanks we see around us."

—PB

U.S. Props Up Hated Regime in El Salvador

After narrowly averting a right-wing coup planned for February 23, the ruling junta of El Salvador—which itself came to power in a coup last October 15 against dictator Carlos Humberto Romero—is desperately trying to head off a full-scale civil war in the country.

ON March 6, the junta, which is made up of junior army officers and members of the right-wing faction of the Christian Democratic Party, clamped a 30-day state of siege on El Salvador. This bans all rallies and demonstrations; imposes censorship on the press; and gives the police a free hand to arrest people and search premises without warrants.

At the same time, the government announced it was nationalizing 554,000 acres of

the workers and peasants have pressed their demands for land, higher wages, democratic liberties and independence from U.S. imperialism.

The junta is also opposed from the right by the landowners, the capitalists, and large sections of the armed forces. These forces are engaged in a frenzied campaign to hold back the mass revolutionary tide. Spearheading this campaign are armed bands of thugs, led by high-ranking military officers. These vigilante groups—the Union of the White Warriors and the Orden, among others—have shot up leftist demonstrations (including one of 100,000 on January 22, leaving 20 dead and hundreds more wounded); assassinated moderate members of the government as well as leftist leaders;

left, the crisis came to Washington's attention only after the Sandinist victory in Nicaragua last July. . . .

"After the ouster of Somoza, however, top United States officials adopted a more activist policy towards El Salvador, urging General Romero to relax political control and advance the date of the 1982 presidential elections to forestall a leftist uprising. General Romero ignored these suggestions. When he was overthrown October 15 by younger officers, Washington immediately gave them its backing."

The U.S. government actually did a bit more than simply give its backing; within a month of the coup it sent flak jackets, tear gas and gas masks to be used against the popular movement. In addition, last month the U.S. sent the junta \$5 million in "security assistance." This includes the cost of sending three 12-man Army Mobile Training Teams to turn the Salvadorean armed forces into a "clean counter-insurgency force" that will do its job like a "Western-style police force."

THE U.S. government has also earmarked another \$50 million in financial credit, and promised to help the junta get aid from the U.S.'s West European allies.

Most recently, the U.S. saved the junta from the planned right-wing coup. The U.S. envoy went to the military leaders, landlords and businessmen active in the plot and ordered them to call it off. They were told that if they went through with their plans, the U.S. would deny them all economic and military aid.

Right now the imperialists' strategy is to set up a government in El Salvador that will both be a reliable ally of U.S. imperialism and also be able to remove the constant threat of revolution. Afraid that a right-wing coup would provoke a revolutionary upsurge, they want to restrain the right, finance a few reforms to try to undercut the left's base and build up the army to cripple the left organizations. If this approach doesn't work, however, the imperialists will probably resort to a right-wing coup as a last gasp effort to try to crush the revolutionary struggle in this oppressed Central American country.

As of this writing, it is too early to tell what the reaction of the workers and peasants will be to the government's reforms. However, they have already shed much blood and lost many comrades in their pursuit of freedom. It is unlikely they will stop their struggle now. □



Salvadorean militants resist right-wing snipers in San Salvador.

land (some 25 percent of El Salvador's arable land) owned by large landowners. One day later, it decreed the nationalization of all private Salvadorean banks. In both cases, the former owners will be fully compensated with government bonds, and the government will assume the banks' debts.

In taking all these measures, the junta hopes to accomplish two inter-related things. First, it wants to use the state of siege to crack down on the powerful mass movement of workers and peasants. Second, it wants to use the reforms to gain the support of some section of Salvadorean society. Right now, the junta has no real support from any quarter.

It is opposed from the left by the workers and peasants, who for years have struggled for freedom from the ruthless exploitation of the landowning oligarchy—known as the "14 Families"—and the capitalist class. Organized in mass organizations such as the Revolutionary Popular Bloc, the United Front for Popular Action and the February 28 Peoples Movement,

and generally wreaked terror on the population.

The junta, therefore, is occupying the middle ground of bourgeois reform for which there is no social base in El Salvador. After 50 years of nonstop military rule the country is deeply polarized along class lines—the oppressed masses on one side and the reactionary alliance of the landowners and the capitalists on the other. Neither side is about to give ground without a fight.

THE only reason the junta has managed to stay in power this long is that it has strong backing from outside the country—from U.S. imperialism.

From the moment Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez led junior army officers in the coup last October, the U.S. has backed his unpopular government.

As Alan Riding wrote in the New York Times on February 23:

"Although the political situation here [in El Salvador] has been polarizing rapidly over the last three years, with military repression seemingly feeding the popularity of the

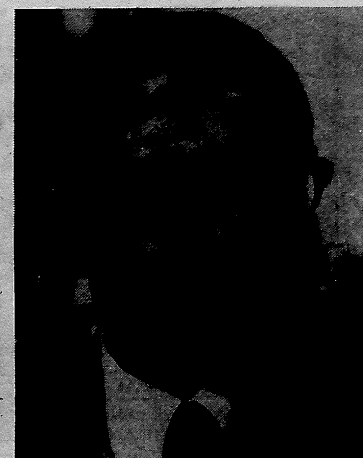
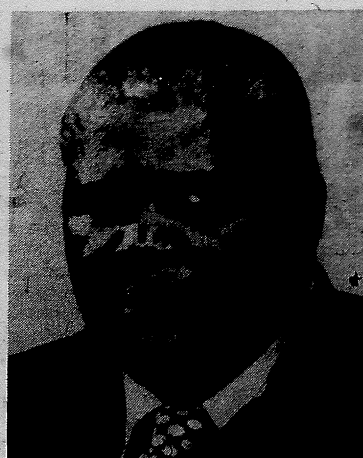
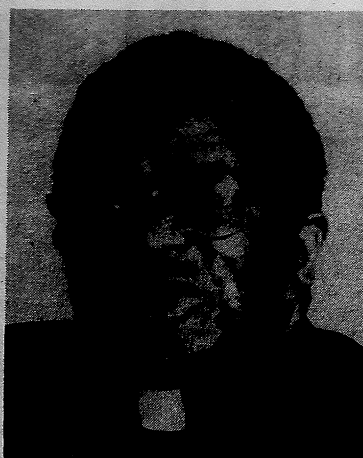
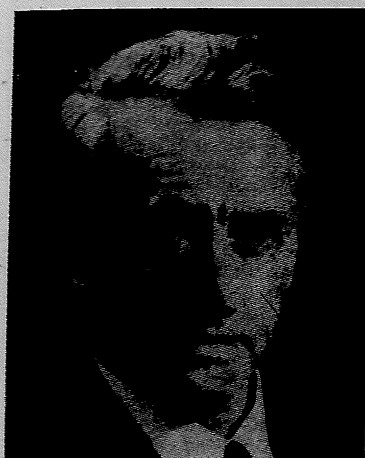
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Left to right: Ian Smith, the leader of white resistance to Black rule in Zimbabwe; Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Black politician who supported Smith's phony "internal settlement"; Joshua Nkomo, whose half-hearted military campaign against Smith cost him support in the election; and Robert Mugabe, the big winner.

ZANU Sweeps Zimbabwe Election

(Continued from page 1)
willing to end the privileged position of the English settlers who run Zimbabwe. (These settlers—who call themselves "Rhodesians" and the country, "Rhodesia"—are only four percent of the population but own over 50 percent of the land and all the industry.)

The ZANU armed forces, based in Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe, bore the brunt of the fighting in the liberation struggle. Moreover, ZANU was the most radical of the Black parties, promising large-scale nationalizations and social changes in liberated Zimbabwe.

The organization that received the second highest number of votes in the election was the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. ZAPU received 24 percent of the vote and 20 seats in parliament. From 1976 until just prior to the election, ZAPU was part of a military alliance with ZANU known as the Patriotic Front.

ZAPU's poor showing in the election was primarily the result of the fact that its forces, stationed in Zambia, did far less fighting than the

ZANU troops. In addition, Nkomo placed considerable stress on his claim that Black Zimbabweans had to cooperate with the white farmers and capitalists after liberation.

Internal settlement rejected

The biggest loser in the election was Bishop Abel Muzorewa. One year ago, Muzorewa, along with ex-ZANU leader Ndabaningi Sithole, agreed to participate in a so-called "internal settlement." This was a plan to set up a phony Black government in which Blacks would have the posts—and the whites would have the power. This, the whites and their stooges hoped, would undercut the support for the Patriotic Front forces among Black Zimbabweans, while winning legitimacy among governments elsewhere. As part of this scheme, elections were held last April and Muzorewa was elected prime minister. The so-called "Muzorewa government" continued the war against the Patriotic Front and made no meaningful reforms

for Blacks. As a result, the Bishop was thoroughly discredited and his party received only eight percent of the vote and three seats in parliament in the February election.

That the election was held at all was due to the military strength of the Patriotic Front forces. The U.S. and Britain had become convinced that the Rhodesians could not defeat the Patriotic Front. Having lost on the battlefield they decided to shift the arena to the negotiating table and parliamentary elections. They proposed the election plan hoping that they could use it to split the Patriotic Front and set up a moderate government dependent on the whites for support in parliament.

Imperialists for reforms

Until 1965, Zimbabwe was the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. As the British prepared to grant it independence, they moved toward reforms that would give the Black people some rights. These reforms, they figured, would take the steam out of the Black liberation movement and allow the whites to continue to rule.

But the white Rhodesians, under their prime minister Ian Smith, would have none of this. Instead of going along with the British, they revolted, declared Rhodesia an independent country and dug in their heels to defend their racist rule.

Shortly afterward, ZANU and ZAPU launched armed struggle against the white regime. As the guerrilla struggle gained strength, the imperialists began to put pressure on Smith and the whites to make some reforms and grant some concessions to the Blacks before the minority regime was overthrown. For

years Smith resisted, until, seeing the handwriting on the wall, he came up with the "internal settlement."

But when it became clear that this miserable trick would also not halt the liberation struggle, the imperialists arranged for a conference, invited the Patriotic Front to attend and came up with their election plan.

The plan called for a parliament with 20 seats reserved for the whites, and 80 to represent the Black population. Expecting that no single party would receive a majority, the imperialists thought a coalition would have to be put together to form a government. This would give the whites, with 20 seats of their own and an alliance with Muzorewa, a considerable amount of bargaining leverage, and hence power in the new government.

When it became clear that Nkomo would run independently of Mugabe, the imperialists actually hoped to be able to entice Nkomo to form a government with Muzorewa and ice out Mugabe. Unfortunately for the imperialists, the overwhelming vote for Mugabe messed up their plans.

Radical talk dropped

Since the election, however, Mugabe has been outdoing himself trying to convince the whites and the imperialists that despite his reputation as a "radical Marxist" he will be a responsible member of the world capitalist community. For example, he spent almost all of his five minute television address just after the election trying to reassure the whites. Only one sentence was addressed to his two million supporters, and that was to say: "Everybody should exercise pa-

tience, for change cannot occur overnight."

He also has said: "We are not going to interfere with private property, whether it be farms or whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector." Land reform will be limited to redistributing unused land, Mugabe has indicated.

Mugabe is also keeping on the white military commander, General Peter Walls, as the head of the army. ZANU and ZAPU troops will now be "combined" with the white army under Walls's command.

Similarly, no action is being taken against the officers, judges and police who killed and tortured thousands of Blacks during the past 15 years. The old police force is still operating.

Finally, Mugabe has said nothing will be done to disarm the white civilians, who are estimated to hold over 175,000 weapons. The civilian Black population is largely unarmed.

In other words, the old state apparatus and its armed forces are intact. This leaves the whites with tremendous power to block changes that threaten their position.

The whites realize this. "Government ministers, meanwhile, were beginning to think that the sweeping victory of Mr. Mugabe, which they contemplated with trepidation yesterday, may have been a blessing after all," said a March 5 New York Times report from London.

The election of Mugabe was a victory for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. But the victory has not led, nor will it lead, to the smashing of the state and the creation of a government run by the workers and small farmers of Zimbabwe. A struggle to do this is necessary to end the exploitation of the Zimbabwean people. That struggle will be opposed, not led, by Robert Mugabe. □

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Nicaraguan Revolution

(Continued from page 13)
organizations as a club over
the heads of the capitalists
and landlords. Each march,
each demonstration—and
there are many—serves as a
reminder that the FSLN has
the power to sweep aside re-
nants of power which remain
in the hands of the bourgeo-
sie. Moreover, the mass orga-
nizations act as constant su-
pervisors of the daily activities
of the capitalists and land-
lords.

Concessions as well as repression

These measures have en-
abled the FSLN to maintain its
dominant position in Nicara-
gua. But the FSLN leaders
know they cannot maintain
their rule solely through cajol-
ery, threats, or occasional
acts of repression. They real-
ize that they must deliver
concrete reforms in order to
maintain their revolutionary

credibility with the masses
while making concessions to
entice the capitalists into
resuming production.

As a result, they have cut
rents for low-income families
in half, and distributed land to
the peasants. They have also
launched a mass literacy cam-
paign that in addition to being
a real gain for the people also
provides an outlet for mili-
tants (and doesn't threaten
the wealth and influence of
the capitalists and landlords).

To placate the capitalists,
the 1980 economic plan guar-
antees the capitalists a "vital
role" in the national economy
and promises them tax breaks
and easy credit. (*Latin Amer-
ica Weekly Report*, December
21, 1980.) And of course the
FSLN's campaign to hold
down wages, stop land seiz-
ures and head off strikes is
music to the ears of the ruling
class.

But this careful balancing
act cannot go on forever. Each
concession to the workers and
peasants sharpens their de-

sire for total freedom from
oppression. Each concession
to the capitalists and land-
lords whets their appetite for
more control over the country.
There are already indications
that the FSLN is coming
under increasing pressure
from both left-wing and right-
wing opponents of its poli-
cies. In December and Janu-
ary, construction workers,
sugar workers and health care
workers went on strike to
enforce their demands for
higher wages. When Henry
Ruiz tried to talk the sugar
workers into returning to
work, they shouted him down
and forced him to leave the
platform. (*Intercontinental
Press*, February 18, 1980.)

Elements within the FSLN
itself are beginning to criti-
cize the GRN's policy. In
October, middle-echelon
FSLN leaders issued a docu-
ment called the "72 Hours"
which charged that the GRN
"has produced really very few
measures which we could call
fundamental" and complained
that the government had not
yet "taken on the necessary
radical character." (*News-
week*, December 31, 1979.)

Meanwhile, the capitalists

and landlords are continuing
to press for more political
power. On February 3 the Su-
perior Council of Private En-
terprise and the Union of Agri-
cultural Producers ran ads in
the conservative paper *La
Prensa* complaining that they
were excluded from any share
of political power. At about
the same time cotton growers
gave the GRN until March 31
to define its tax and labor
policy for the cotton industry.
They hinted that they would
react to radical measures by
refusing to invest in the

cotton crop.

How long the FSLN can
follow its present course, and
what it will do if it reaches an
impasse, is impossible to say.
But this much can be said:

The Nicaraguan revolution
has barely begun. Sections of
the working class are already
rebelling against the FSLN's
two-faced strategy. As the
social crisis in Nicaragua
continues to deepen, it's like-
ly that growing numbers of
workers and peasants will join
the struggle to wipe out
capitalist rule in Nicaragua. □

To Our Readers

Last month we printed a letter entitled "Nazis recruiting
in prison." The letter stated that the National Prison
Project of Greensboro, North Carolina, was recruiting
white prisoners to the Nazis. Since then, we have received
many letters from prisoners around the country question-
ing the truthfulness of this letter. In particular, readers
have felt that the letter slandered the National Prison
Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),
which is based in Washington, D.C.

We would like to apologize for any confusion the letter
caused. We do not wish to slander the ACLU's National
Prison Project, which has done much good work on behalf
of prisoners. At the same time, we still believe the letter
we printed is true. Evidence sent to us along with the
letter confirms the existence of a Nazi organization in
Greensboro called the National Prison Project. We did not
print this evidence to protect the safety of those prisoners
who worked to expose the Nazi recruiting drive.

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"Unite to Fight"

(Continued from page 5)

class and poor whites have
much in common with Blacks
and other oppressed people: a
common need for decent jobs,
decent schools and decent
lives; a common exploitation
by the rich and powerful. We
have a common enemy; the
way forward is through a
united struggle of the poor
and powerless for our com-
mon needs.

Many ideological, if not
organizational, links exist be-
tween the vigilante South Bos-
ton Marshals and Information
Center and the fascist KKK. In
Greensboro, North Carolina,
the Klan massacred five anti-

racist demonstrators just four
months ago. In Boston, the
Marshals and Information
Center encourage similar
hatred and violence, and have
promoted dozens of racist
attacks in recent months
alone. The fact that a presi-
dential candidate, Philip
Crane, is scheduled to speak
at the Marshals' rally clearly
demonstrates how our rulers
sanction and encourage racist
ideology to divide and terror-
ize working people, the better
to protect their profits and
power.

The Marshals' strategy is a
dead end for white people's
desire for a better life. Only by

closing the ranks of working
and poor people of all colors
can we wage an effective fight
for jobs for all, for good
schools and decent housing
in all neighborhoods. In
Greensboro on February 2, we
marched with 7,000 others to
oppose Klan/Nazi violence. In
Boston we will join with all
possible forces to oppose the
Marshals' racism and to orga-
nize a united struggle for our
common needs. We invite all
working and poor people to
join us.

Down with the Marshals!
Unite Black and white
for the common fight!

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