

Reconstruct  
the  
Fourth  
International!

# TORCH

Newspaper  
of the  
Revolutionary  
Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 11/25c

NOVEMBER 15-DECEMBER 14, 1979

## REMEMBER GREENSBORO!

# UNITE TO SMASH THE KLAN!

### Klan Gunmen Kill Five in N. Carolina

On November 3, in Greensboro, North Carolina, Nazis and members of the Ku Klux Klan opened fire on an anti-Klan rally, killing five people and wounding seven others. A dozen men pulled up to the rally in cars, took pistols, rifles and shotguns out of their trunks, and for two full minutes systematically gunned down supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), organizers of the anti-Klan demonstration. Greensboro police, who had every reason to suspect that such an attack might be planned, stayed several blocks away until the massacre had ended.

As the cops arrived at the scene just after the shootings, the first thing they did was arrest one CWP leader, Nelson Johnson, for "inciting to riot" and another, Willena Cannon, for interfering with Johnson's arrest. A few minutes later, 12 Klansmen attempting to leave the area were arrested.

Since then two more suspects have been picked up. The first five are charged

(Continued on page 4)



Greensboro, November 3: Anti-Klan demonstrator kneels by the body of his murdered comrade.

### Statement of the Political Committee of the RSL

The Revolutionary Socialist League condemns the brutal murders by the Ku Klux Klan of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, on November 3.

We denounce the Greensboro police who, with every reason to expect a Klan attack, stayed blocks away from the anti-Klan rally while Klansmen pulled up in cars, unloaded pistols, rifles and shotguns and gunned down a dozen supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

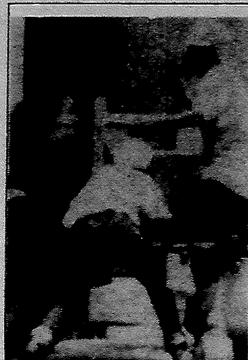
And we denounce the capitalist news media, which has made a concerted effort to picture this racist assault as a "fight between extremists, right and left."

But words are not enough. Immediate action is essential. Every anti-racist militant, trade union, and community and left organization must unite for nationwide demonstrations. "Remember Greensboro! Smash KKK Racist Terror!" demonstrations should be built in as many cities as possible. These mobilizations can be used to awaken people to the growing threat posed by the Nazis and the Klan.

### Klan and Nazis uniting

The racists are on the march throughout the country. In Boston fresh incidents of racist violence occur daily. Klan and Nazi groups have rallied recently in Decatur, Alabama; Tupelo, Mississippi; Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana; Walnut Creek, California;

(Continued on page 5)



### El Salvador Coup Heads Off Revolution

See Page 14

### Anti-Iranian Racism Sweeps the Country U.S. Protects Butcher Shah

See Page 3

## CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

Part 1: The Post-War Boom Unravels

See Page 12

SECCION  
EN  
ESPANOL

**our  
readers  
write...**

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

## System pits prisoners against each other

Dear Torch,

There was a small to medium scale riot here at Green Haven yesterday. It was a racial incident (blacks vs. Puerto Ricans). It was brought about because of the administration's running of this facility. Not one guard was injured.

The way this facility is run, it's designed to pit inmate against inmate! The real enemy is the system, but inmates are blind to this! It's only a matter of time until there is another eruption, even worse! Two inmates were stabbed and taken to an outside hospital (so it's serious) and five more were admitted into the "thing" which passes for a hospital here (you could perish just going in). No telling how many are

bruised, etc., who didn't go on sick call. Tear gas was fired into the yard (only the third time I've known it to be used in my nine years here). The authorities claim over 100 men took part in the brawl.

All of New York's prisons are overcrowded and conditions (food, counseling, services, etc.) are steadily worsening. Not too long ago there was an incident in Auburn, wherein a guard fired bullets into the yard and one inmate was hit in the leg by bullet fragments. All the joints are tense!

Venceremos,  
SW  
Green Haven  
Correctional Facility  
Stormville, NY  
P.S. And hell to Sis. Assata  
Shakur

## JUST OUT!

Revolutionary Socialist  
Educational Series

Booklets in the series contain documents, speeches and articles from the *Forward* and *Torch/La Antorcha*.

Order from: RSL,  
PO Box 562, NY, NY 10036



## In this issue . . .

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3 U.S. protects butcher shah               | 12 Capitalism in crisis: Talk by Ron Taber |
| 4 KKK gunmen kill five in N.C. (cont'd.)   | 14 El Salvador coup heads off revolution   |
| 800 confront Nazi rally                    | Jamaican capitalists fretting              |
| Klan backs down in Kokomo                  |  |
| 5 P.C. statement on Klan murders (cont'd.) | <b>FEATURES</b>                            |
| RSL to hold anti-Klan conference           | 2 <b>our readers write</b>                 |
| 6 Right on, Assata Shakur!                 | 6 <b>Break the Chains</b>                  |
| Legal murder machine takes third victim    | Russell Smith... Louisiana prisoners       |
| 7 Carl Harp's life endangered              | ... In brief                               |
| "No apologies for the Pontiac Rebellion"   | 10 <b>Labor in Struggle</b>                |
| 8 Tate-Coetzee fight boosts apartheid      | International Harvester... Women's         |
| Report warns serious nuke accident likely  | strikes... Struggle at Rouge               |
| 9 Politicians in lesbian/gay movement      | 15 <b>World in Revolution</b>              |
| Rallies protest attacks on abortion rights | Bolivia... West Bank... South Korea        |
| U.S. bans safe, cheap contraceptive        | 16 <b>Editorial</b>                        |
| 10 L.A. garment workers fight for union    | Death in Kampuchea                         |
| 11 Fraser betrays workers to save Chrysler |  |

## SWP, liberals: "Cops should do their job"

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

Last week a group of us went to a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) forum in Boston on "racial violence, desegregation and the struggle to implement busing." Representative Mel King, a Black liberal Democrat, was invited to speak. King has a popular base among the city's Black and gay communities, and ran in the mayoral primaries on a program of radical housing reform. With his anti-establishment reputation, he is one of the only local figures able to mobilize large sections of the Black community. But although racist thuggery has stalked the streets for over six weeks, King has done nothing since leading a "protest walk" a month ago.

His "leadership" at the forum amounted to one big stall. After repeating that "the city is on the brink of race war," King tried to excuse his paralysis of will by claiming that nobody has any answers. He even attacked his hosts by calling

the left "patronizing and patriarchal" for suggesting that capitalism is the problem. Being a good reformist, he wants us only to "deal with racism first"—as if racism can be "reformed" out of the capitalist system!

But at least King, unlike the SWP, doesn't claim to be revolutionary. During the whole night, the SWP never even hinted that capitalism fosters racism, that to fight racism means fighting the whole system, that revolution is the solution! Their only program is to demand that the mayor and police "do their jobs"—which supposedly is to protect us??? They reason that Black people have illusions in the system and need to learn through experience (the school of hard knocks) not to trust the cops and politicians. Until that happens, the SWP will just sit on its hands. Hopefully, Blacks who follow their advice will learn not to trust the SWP either.

I wasn't called on during

the discussion, so didn't get a chance to cut through this crap. We need to take immediate steps to build mass defense of the communities. The racists are organizing in the streets; so should we. Starting in the workplaces and community organizations, Blacks and other anti-racists must build and train defense guards that can teach people to rely on ourselves and our own strength—and not on liberal capitalist politicians, the pacifist SWP or the vicious cops.

In Struggle,  
A reader  
Boston

## On the switch to 3rd class mail

Greetings comrades,

I have received your letter concerning how the *Torch* will be delivered by third class mail. It seems that these imperialist forces are at work again trying to destroy anything that will wake up the people and let them know what's going on around them.

I would have made a donation and let you know that I still want the *Torch*. I was waylaid by the Koncentration Kamp rulers and have been sent before their genocide squad as being one of the scapegoats they will try to use to rectify their fault in the cause of the July 22 rebellion here at Pontiac.

They still try to separate us in their small rural towns, but we like the 17 are still strong in unity.

Remember the Pontiac 3!  
Yours in the struggle,  
Larry Johnson  
Smash the frame-up!  
Put the state on trial!

Dear Friends,

In response to yours of October 2, 1979, I've decided to send you 15 stamped envelopes as a donation for my prisoners' subscription to the *Torch*. I realize this isn't much of a donation, but it is all I can stand to part with for the moment. Actually, envelopes is all I have of any value by way of possessions. I'm being confined to the segregation unit (control unit) of this slave-labor kkkamp thus I'm caged up 23 hours per day and I have no source of income, family or otherwise. I want to continue receiving the paper and if it's cheaper to send it by third class then do so, so long as I receive it I don't mind the delay too much.

Keep up the good work!  
Un Abrazo Revolucionario!  
In Struggle,  
LR  
Somers, CT

## Join the RSL, says Ford worker

To readers of *Torch/La Antorcha*:

Some of you have been reading the *Torch/La Antorcha* for months and even years. You should consider joining the Revolutionary Socialist League, Society—capitalist society—is in crisis, in deep trouble. The RSL explains how the crisis of capitalism hits all workers and specially oppressed people—in our neighborhoods, schools, unions, prisons and internationally. The way out of this mess is to join the RSL and help us build a revolutionary workers' party.

Let me share a recent experience with you. I am a Ford worker and actively support the Revolutionary Autoworkers' Committee of the RSL. I raised over \$100 for the RSL by selling copies

of the RSL auto contract pamphlet, *Fight the Sellout! Build a Workers' Opposition!* Co-workers in every department bought copies. Most of them did read it. Some of them are now buying the *Torch/La Antorcha* each month.

More importantly, several co-workers who bought copies of the RSL pamphlet now want to know more about the RSL. Last month, one of them asked, "How can I join your organization?" (I am explaining to him what the RSL requires of its members.)

Even members of other left groups in the factory bought copies of the RSL pamphlet. This year, their leadership was a little too slow in working out a plan for intervening in the 1979 auto contract scene.

And forget about the larger, wealthier and more conservative groups like the Communist Party USA or the Socialist Workers Party. They didn't even have a pamphlet to use to try to convince autoworkers of their line. They left the field open to the present union misleaders.

It is still worth buying and reading the RSL auto pamphlet. Every class-conscious worker and especially everyone who wants to help overthrow this rotten capitalist system should check it out. See for yourself. And do some comparison shopping. Compare the RSL's line with the line of any other organization. I think this will lead you to check out the RSL more closely. I hope you decide to join up.  
For the Revolution,  
A Ford Worker (UAW)

ps

"

discussion, so didn't get chance to cut through this. We need to take immediate steps to build mass sense of the communities. racists are organizing in streets; so should we. ting in the workplaces community organiza- s, Blacks and other anti- sts must build and train ense guards that can h people to rely on elves and our own ngth—and not on liberal talist politicians, the pat SWP or the vicious

struggle,  
ader  
on

m the  
witch to  
d class  
ail

ings comrades.  
ave received your letter rning how the Torch be delivered by third mail. It seems that imperialist forces are ork again trying to y anything that will up the people and let know what's going on d them.

ould have made a dona- and let you know that I want the Torch. I was id by the Koncentra- Kamp rulers and have sent before their geno- quad as being one of scapegoats they will try to rectify their fault in ause of the July 22 ion here at Pontiac.

y still try to separate their small rural towns, e like the 17 are still in unity.  
mber the Pontiac 31!  
in the struggle,  
Johnson  
n the frame-up!  
e state on trial!

Friends,  
response to yours of er 2, 1979, I've decided and you 15 stamped pes as a donation for risoners' subscription . Torch. I realize this uch of a donation, but ill I can stand to part for the moment. Ac- envelopes is all I have y value by way of ssions. I'm being con- to the segregation unit (ol unit) of this slave- kkkamp thus I'm caged hours per day and I no source of income, or otherwise. I want to ue receiving the paper it's cheaper to send it rd class then do so, so as I receive it I don't the delay too much.

p up the good work!  
arazo Revolucionario!  
uggle,

rs, CT



The attempt by Iranian students to bring the shah to justice has been the focus of right-wing hysteria in the U.S.

## Anti-Iranian Racism Sweeps the Country

# U.S. Protects Butcher Shah

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

Their demand is simple. They want the U.S. government to send the former shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, back to Iran. And since November 4, they have held some 60 U.S. officials and members of their families hostage inside the U.S. embassy in Tehran as a way of pressing their demand.

They are several hundred Iranian students, who have the support of the great majority of the Iranian people. They want the shah back so he can be put on trial for torture, massacring innocent people, and hundreds of other crimes.

For the first nine days of the takeover, the situation was stalemated. The U.S. government, backed by the whole ruling class, dug in its heels and said that under no circumstances would it return the shah. Because of this, all attempts at negotiations failed, including those made by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

### Right-wing backlash

But as we go to press on the 13th, there appears to be a break in the stalemate. The ruling Revolutionary Council of Iran, led by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, announced this morning three new conditions for the release of the hostages. They are: acknowledgment by the U.S. that the shah is a criminal; an international probe of the shah; and a return of all property the shah took out of Iran (reportedly over \$15 billion).

The U.S. government has not yet responded to the new conditions, nor is it clear whether the Iranian students who are actually holding the hostages will agree to them.

Whether or not the takeover ends soon, however,

the issues involved will stay very much alive! The embassy takeover has become a focal point for the emerging right-wing movement in the U.S.

Egged on by lurid stories in the press about how "innocent Americans" are being mistreated and abused by the "fanatics" and "lunatics" in Iran, a vicious anti-Iranian backlash has swept this country. In Springfield, Massachusetts; Cleveland, Ohio; Beverly Hills, California; and dozens of other cities, largely white, middle-class, student and better-off working-class crowds have demonstrated against the Iranians, screaming racist epithets about the Iranian people. In Dallas and Washington, D.C., Iranian students have been physically attacked when they tried to show their support for the demand to return the shah. One Iranian student on the West Coast has even been murdered in what was likely a politically motivated killing.

Picking up on the anti-Iranian hysteria, the Carter Administration has called for rounding up all Iranian students in this country, and deporting many of them.

In this context, it is crucial for all militants and class-conscious workers to be clear on what the real issues are.

**First:** The U.S. government provoked the incident by allowing the shah into the U.S. on October 22, supposedly for "humanitarian reasons." In fact, powerful members of the ruling class, including David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, have been plotting for months to get the shah into the U.S.

**Second:** The U.S. government, far from just letting the shah in but then being done with him, has gone out of its way to protect the shah, to make his last years as comfortable and happy as possible.

**Third:** If the U.S. ruling

class is really so worried about the fate of the 60 hostages, they need only put the shah on the next plane out to Iran.

**Fourth:** To do so would be simple justice. As one Iranian spokesperson has said, the demand for the shah is the same as the demand by Jews (and others) that Nazi war criminals be caught and tried.

### Shah a bloody dictator

The shah, who ruled over the Iranian people and oppressed nationalities for almost 40 years, was one of the cruelest, bloodiest dictators of the century. From the most moderate democrat to the most militant leftist, all opposition to his police state was ruthlessly suppressed. His secret police, SAVAK, using torture techniques far more sophisticated and blood-chilling than those used in Nazi Germany, maimed and murdered tens of thousands of people over the years. And while the masses of Iranian people lived in terrible poverty, the shah, his family and hangers-on lined their pockets with the revenues from Iran's export of oil and other natural resources.

But it is no surprise that the U.S. ruling class—despite its "human rights" pretensions—is doing everything it can to save the butcher shah from his just deserts. For he is their butcher. The CIA organized a coup that returned him to power after he fled Iran during a revolution in 1953. From then on, the U.S. supported him down the line, having the CIA train SAVAK, and arming him with one of the most modern military apparatuses in the world. In turn, the shah policed the Middle East for U.S. imperialism, and made Iran itself a para-

dise for U.S. investors and oil companies.

It is not sentimentality about the "good old days," however, that makes the U.S. bourgeoisie willing to risk the lives of 60 U.S. citizens rather than give up the shah.

Nor is it a belief that they could return the shah, who is dying of cancer, to power, though they would certainly like to return a Pahlavi to the throne if they could.

Rather, there are broader considerations the U.S. ruling class is taking into account.

Ever since its stinging defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has been on the decline. In Angola, Iran, and Nicaragua, the U.S. imperialists have taken a beating. Because of this, U.S.-backed dictators (like Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines) and conservative governments (like that in Saudi Arabia) have grown increasingly worried about U.S. imperialism's ability to keep the lid on its empire. They look at the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions and wonder whether the U.S. will be able to protect them when the people they have oppressed for so long rise up.

In particular, they want to know that when the going gets rough, the U.S. won't throw them overboard. For the U.S. to abandon the shah, therefore, would indicate that it won't back up its own stooges. So they hold on to him, even though this may mean an open rupture with the strategically located and oil-rich Iran, something the Carter Administration wanted to avoid.

### Movement supports U.S. imperialism

With each passing day, the anti-Iranian movement in the U.S. has gotten more and more hysterical. The

people who make up this movement believe that they have a real stake in U.S. imperialism, that their interests and those of the U.S. ruling class are the same. For example, it is no accident that the international Longshoreman's Association, the Transport Workers Union and the construction trades—some of the most privileged strata of the working class—have been in the forefront of the anti-Iranian movement.

These are the people who reaped the benefits of the post-war prosperity. Now that it is coming to an end, they aren't blaming the capitalists. Instead they blame the very people who were kept down and given nothing all along, and are now fighting against their oppression. And this is the explicit line of the racist anti-Iranian movement: The problem is the "little" countries of the world who think they can push around "us Americans."

### Combat national chauvinism

The political scene in the U.S. has been moving to the right. The situation in Iran has given it another dramatic push in that direction. The pressures on everyone—militants and revolutionaries included—in this period will be to also move to the right, to adapt and capitulate to national chauvinism.

It is more important than ever for all militants to take a hard anti-imperialist stand. That means supporting the just demand of the Iranian people for the shah. It means defending all Iranians in this country from attack and harassment. And it means making clear that if anything happens to the 60 hostages, it is the fault of the U.S. ruling class, not the Iranian students. □



Klansmen ready their weapons right before shooting spree.

## KKK Gunmen Kill Five in N. Carolina

(Continued from page 1) with five counts of murder and all 14 are charged with conspiracy to murder. Six of the men charged have identified themselves as members of the Federated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of five Klan groups in North Caro-

lina. Three others are members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America. None were from the Greensboro area.

The murdered CWP supporters were Sandra Smith, James Waller and William Sampson, all textile workers

active in union and union-organizing activities in plants in or near Greensboro; Cesar Cauce, a hospital worker; and Michael Nathan, a physician.

The attack on the rally of about 100 Black and white anti-Klan militants seemed well planned. According to a

report in the November 4 Greensboro Daily News: "Watching in disbelief, I saw four or five men step from an old compact sedan and aim guns at the turbulent, scuffling crowd. Directly behind them, six or seven men jumped from a yellow van. A dozen or more Klansmen loosed a barrage directly into the center of the crowd not more than twenty feet away. They used pistols, shot-

guns. "The killers fired relentlessly, never pausing to reload or survey their work. Without hesitation, they poured bullets into the crowd, as panicking people raced pell-mell to find cover." A few demonstrators returned the fire with handguns, and were able to wound two of the attackers.

### Events leading up to murder

Events leading up to the murders began in China Grove, North Carolina, on July 8. The Federated Knights of the KKK, led by Gorrell Pierce, held an indoor rally and showed the racist, pro-Klan film, *Birth of a Nation*. The meeting was picketed by the CWP (then known as the Workers Viewpoint Organization). Although there were no injuries, the CWP forces claimed to have taken a Confederate flag from the Klansmen and burned it. The Klan threat-

ened to get revenge.

On October 22, a letter written by CWP organizer Nelson Johnson was sent to Gorrell Pierce and Joe Grady, the leader of the White Knights of Liberty. The letter, which was widely distributed in Greensboro, said: "The KKK is one of the most treacherous scum elements of the dying system of capitalism." Following the letter, another CWP leader, Paul C. Bermanzohn, issued a challenge to the Klans at a press conference: "We invite you and your two-bit punks to come out and face the wrath of the people."

### Cops stayed away

Despite all this, the cops stayed away from the rally site and let the Klan and Nazi murderers do their dirty work. The police chief has admitted to giving a copy of the CWP's parade permit to the Klan. The permit included the exact rally site and march route. The cops received other warnings that there might be violence and they had been following the racists' caravan right up to the rally site. In addition, a cop sat in an unmarked car and watched the whole massacre, from beginning to end, and did nothing to stop it.

As a result of the murders in Greensboro, the CWP is bringing a \$500 million lawsuit against the FBI, the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, the City of Greensboro and the Greensboro Police Department. A funeral march/demonstration was organized by the CWP for November 11 in Greensboro.

**Avenge the CWP Five!  
Free Nelson Johnson  
and Willena Cannon!  
Death to the Nazis!  
Death to the Klan!**

## Klan Backs Down in Kokomo

A Klan march scheduled for Kokomo, Indiana, on November 3 was canceled in a victory for anti-Klan forces. The United Klans of America applied for a permit for a recruiting march similar to their marches in Muncie and Fort Wayne this fall.

In both cities, anti-Klan forces won political victories. In each case, about 40 Klansmen paraded silently and left the scene quickly, while 100-150 RSL-led demonstrators rallied, chanted and heard revolutionary anti-Klan speeches. The RSL called for a demonstration in Kokomo on November 3. The city denied the Klan's permit, citing the Muncie and Fort Wayne demonstrations. The expense for police was prohibitive, the city said. The Klan is appealing the decision and vows to march in Kokomo before the end of the year. □

## WALNUT CREEK, CALIFORNIA

# 800 Confront Nazi Rally

**WALNUT CREEK, California**—On October 13, the Nazis attempted to hold a rally in this suburban town northeast of San Francisco. When they arrived at Heather Farms Community Park, however, they were confronted by a crowd of over 800 anti-Nazi demonstrators. Though well protected by over 150 cops, the Nazis were able to use only one-half hour of their two-hour permit. When they did speak, they could not be heard above the shouts and chants of the protesters.

Various organizations were represented at the counter-demonstration, among them the Stonewall Coalition (a gay liberation organization), the Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Party and the Spartacist League. Though the number of anti-Nazi protesters was impressive, the demonstrators were not united in a militant program to smash the Nazis. The Communist Party demonstrated outside the park, and the Stonewall Coalition approached the demonstration with great concern for self-defense, and little thought as to the need for an offensive strategy.

Stonewall did, however, raise the chant: "Bosses, Nazis, Cops and Klan, work together hand in hand." And the actions of the cops at



Crowd shakes fence to get at the Nazis in Heather Farms Community Park, October 13, 1979.

Heather Farms Community Park drove this point home. All park facilities were shut down for the rally, and police patrolled the park with dogs, leaving only one route, through an open field, clear for the demonstrators to enter the park. The cops had provided the Nazis with a safe, rear approach to the baseball field bleachers from which they would speak.

As people began to march toward the baseball field, the cops set up a frisk point along a barricade in the open field. After the demonstrators passed this first barricade, they gathered in front of the row of cops blocking the one

opening in the fence surrounding the baseball field. Chants were raised once again as the crowd waited for the Nazis to appear. After some time, the cops allowed protesters to enter the baseball field, though police remained posted along the fence. Most of the crowd moved inside the baseball field, though many recognized the fenced-in area as a trap, and remained outside.

An hour after their scheduled appearance, the Nazis emerged from their hiding place. Numbering less than a dozen, they stood in form-

ation on the bleachers behind the backstop. The crowd shouted and chanted down their opening speech. Those closest to the backstop began shaking the fence, bringing down a piece of plexiglass shielding the Nazis. For 20 minutes, demonstrators threw dirt clods, sand and whatever rubbish they could find at the Nazis and the row of police protecting them. The cops responded with mace and clubs, but the Nazis were finally forced to retreat from the bleachers and abandon their rally. A victory cheer rose from the crowd. Death to the Nazis! □

UN

Politico

(Continued from Reading, Penn. negat, New Je Chicago, New other cities, ganizing and

Not only ar nizing, but the as well. The ar Greensboro wa by members of Knights of the and the Natio (Nazi) Party of a week after th murders, a "un scheduled in R sylvania, bring several Nazi groups. Similar is trying to bu other sections wing moveme cently, a Klan involved in a demonstration. In the past, offered to "pro bigot Anita Br fornia, Klan patrolled the b ing "La Migna undocumented entering the Mexico.

### Anti-Klan movement and divide

In contrast Nazi/Klan unit ing racist viole the anti-racist mains weak. Many peopl groups claimt cialist—have t trich-like view 1 and the Klan a harmless "luna ments." These argued that if Nazis were i would simply

In addition union moveme done little to growing racist workers and for example, h quent racist as ing to or fro there has no serious trade sponse. The ur resources and bilize effective racists. Mass tions, combine ganization of munity defer could begin to Klan activity.

Even where t active organizi Klan and anti-N groups involv lowed their w fragmented ar nated. Sectaria left has been example, at nu Klan and anti-N tions, the Prog Party (PLP) ha coordinate eve minimal tactio the RSL and c The result has provide the K with cheap and ies.

ned to get revenge.  
On October 22, a letter written by CWP organizer Nelson Johnson was sent to Correll Pierce and Joe Gray, the leader of the White Knights of Liberty. The letter, which was widely distributed in Greensboro, said: "The KKK is one of the most scabrous scum elements of the dying system of capitalism." Following the letter, another CWP leader, Paul C. Bermanzohn, issued a challenge to the Klans at a press conference: "We invite you and your two-bit punks come out and face the wrath of the people."

## Cops stayed away

Despite all this, the cops stayed away from the rally and let the Klan and Nazi orderers do their dirty work. The police chief was invited to give a copy of CWP's parade permit to the Klan. The permit indicated the exact rally site and march route. The cops received other warnings that there might be violence and had been following the Klan's caravan right up to the rally site. In addition, a cop sat in an unmarked car watching the whole spectacle, from beginning to end and did nothing to stop

As a result of the murders in Greensboro, the CWP is raising a \$500 million law-suit against the FBI, the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, the City of Greensboro and the Greensboro Police Department. A funeral march/demonstration was organized by the CWP for November 11 in Greensboro.

**Revenge the CWP Five!  
Free Nelson Johnson  
and Willena Cannon!  
Death to the Nazis!  
Death to the Klan!**

## Klan Backs Down in Kokomo

A Klan march scheduled for Kokomo, Indiana, on November 3 was canceled in a hurry for anti-Klan forces. The United Klans of America refused a permit for a rearing march similar to marches in Muncie and Wayne this fall.

In both cities, anti-Klan forces won political victories in each case, about 40 Klansmen paraded silently and left the scene quickly. About 100-150 RSL-led demonstrators rallied, chanted and heard revolutionary anti-fascist speeches. The RSL led a demonstration in Kokomo on November 3. The Klan denied the Klan's permitting the Muncie and Wayne demonstrations. At expense for police was prohibitive, the city said. The Klan is appealing the decision and vows to march in Kokomo before the end of the year. □

# UNITE TO SMASH THE KLAN!

## Statement of the Political Committee of the RSL

(Continued from page 1)  
Reading, Pennsylvania; Barnegat, New Jersey; Detroit, Chicago, New York and other cities. They are organizing and growing.

Not only are they organizing, but they are uniting as well. The armed attack in Greensboro was carried out by members of the Federated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America. Just a week after the Greensboro murders, a "unity rally" was scheduled in Reading, Pennsylvania, bringing together several Nazi and Klan groups. Similarly, the Klan is trying to build its ties to other sections of the right-wing movement. Most recently, a Klan group was involved in an anti-Iranian demonstration in Alabama. In the past, the Klan has offered to "protect" anti-gay bigot Anita Bryant. In California, Klan groups have patrolled the borders, assisting "La Migra" in keeping undocumented workers from entering the country from Mexico.

## Anti-Klan movement weak and divided

In contrast to growing Nazi/Klan unity and escalating racist violence generally, the anti-racist movement remains weak and divided. Many people—including groups claiming to be socialist—have taken the ostrich-like view that the Nazis and the Klan are essentially harmless "lunatic fringe elements." These forces have argued that if the Klan and Nazis were ignored, they would simply "disappear."

In addition, the trade union movement has to date done little to combat the growing racist terror. Auto-workers and steelworkers, for example, have faced frequent racist assaults traveling to or from work. Yet there has not been any serious trade union response. The unions have the resources and ability to mobilize effectively against the racists. Mass demonstrations, combined with the organization of union/community defense guards, could begin to stop Nazi and Klan activity.

Even where there has been active organizing against the Klan and the Nazis, the groups involved have allowed their work to remain fragmented and uncoordinated. Sectarianism on the left has been rampant. For example, at numerous anti-Klan and anti-Nazi mobilizations, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) has refused to coordinate even the most minimal tactical plans with the RSL and other groups. The result has often been to provide the Klan or Nazis with cheap and easy victories.

This weakness was demonstrated most tragically in the aftermath of the Greensboro murders. Scores of groups contacted the Communist Workers Party following the news of the attack, indicating their willingness to respond to a call for a nationwide, united front anti-Klan rally. Displaying the most extreme sectarianism, the CWP shunned the opportunity for a massive mobilization, preferring instead to stage a demonstration open only to those individuals willing to "march under the banners, slogans and discipline of the Communist Workers Party." The result was a funeral march in Greensboro of 500 people, a tiny fraction of what was possible—and needed.

## Build a national anti-Klan movement

It is essential that we overcome the weaknesses and disunity that currently plague the anti-Klan/anti-Nazi movement. Greensboro should be made the rallying call for a strong, united, nationwide anti-Klan movement. This is the task facing us. If we fail to do this—now

## RSL To Hold Anti-Klan Conference December 8 & 9

"Revolutionary Strategy Against the Klan" is the subject of a Midwest conference being held by the Detroit and Chicago RSL branches. The conference will be in Chicago on December 8 and 9.

As the murders in Greensboro clearly showed, the threat from the Klan and other right-wing terror groups is real and growing. The Klan has been on an organizing drive in Indiana, it is active in prisons in Texas and elsewhere, it has planned demonstrations in California, and crosses have recently been burned on Long Island in New York.

There has also been the beginning of a movement of people who want to fight the Klan. In dozens of places around the country, militants from socialist and left organizations, as well as from newly-formed anti-Klan groups, have confronted and defeated the racists as they attempted to march or rally. But the movement has remained fragmented—without clear goals, a strategy, or even a common place where the future is discussed.

The RSL urges everyone active in the anti-Klan movement in the Midwest to attend the conference in Chicago.

The purpose of the conference is to educate and organize a group of people on the root causes of the Klan and right-wing growth, and the revolutionary strategy to defeat them. We are expecting serious discussions, with activists exchanging information, comparing experiences and debating differing views.

There will be two presentations and discussions on each day. Saturday, December 8, will have sessions on "Why the Klan and Nazis Are Growing" and "The History of the Klan and Klan/Nazi Activity Today." The second session will feature a movie as well as a talk.



Widow of murdered CWP member marches in front of husband's casket at November 11 demonstration/funeral march.

—we will simply be giving the racists a green light to take even bolder actions in the future.

Anti-racist activists should begin to discuss plans for organizing a broad, national anti-Klan conference which could bring together thousands of anti-racist activists, trade union militants, community organizations, women's liberation and prisoner support groups and the entire revolutionary left.

This kind of a conference would be an important opportunity to discuss and debate strategy and tactics for combatting the Nazis and

the Klan. Important educational work could be done on the growth of the Nazis and the Klan and the source of growing racist violence. Plans could be laid for an aggressive campaign to bring the trade unions into the anti-Klan struggle. A national network of anti-Klan organizers could be established. Community patrols and defense guards for trade union, anti-racist and left activities could be set up. Most importantly, a coordinated series of national and local demonstrations could be planned. These demonstrations could mobilize tens of thousands, serving notice

on the Nazis and the Klan that their racist activity will be stopped. Through these demonstrations, thousands of people could be educated and brought into the struggle.

## An arena for revolutionary socialists

Revolutionary socialists lack the strength today to build a mass nationwide anti-Klan movement on our own. For this reason, and with the Klan and the Nazis growing bolder each day, we need to unite all those prepared to engage in militant struggle against the Nazis, the Klan and other racist and right-wing forces.

Such a broad, anti-Klan movement will undoubtedly be dominated at first by reformist forces. Groups like the NAACP, SCLC, trade union bureaucrats and others will try to keep the movement limited. They will raise calls on the government to "Ban the Klan," spreading the illusion that the capitalist government is our ally in the anti-racist struggle. They will preach "turn the other cheek" pacifism and oppose calls for community/labor defense guards. The reformists will advocate court suits and electoral activity rather than militant, mass mobilizations. And they will fight proposals to link the struggle against the Nazis and the Klan to the fight against the capitalists themselves.

Revolutionaries will have to fight inside such a movement to expose these reformist leaders. We will have to demonstrate to people, in the course of struggle, that it is capitalism which is responsible for the growing economic and social crisis—the breeding ground for the growing racist right-wing movement.

We will have to patiently explain that capitalism has always ultimately turned to groups like the Nazis and the Klan to crush the workers' struggles when other means failed. We will have to point out that the role of the cops in Greensboro—working hand in hand with the Klan—proves the need to organize workers' defense guards against the fascists.

And, most importantly, we will have to fight to win working and oppressed people to the need to build a revolutionary party that can coordinate and lead every immediate struggle, while at the same time gathering the forces necessary to once and for all put an end to the racist, exploitative capitalist system.

Today, Greensboro is a tragic defeat. The Ku Klux Klan—working hand in hand with the cops—has gunned down 12 anti-racist organizers. Worse still, the response to this assault has been weak and diffuse. It is time to turn defeat into victory. It is time to unite to fight the right wing.

Remember Greensboro!  
Smash KKK Racist Terror!



RSL anti-Klan demonstration, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, September 1979.

On Sunday, December 9, there will be sessions on "The Anti-Klan Movement," including a slide show, and "The Fight for Socialism and the RSL."

Registration for the conference is \$10, and housing, childcare and lunch on Sunday will be provided. There is also a packet of literature that each person will receive to help prepare in advance for the discussions.

You can register or obtain more information by writing to: Chicago RSL, Box 6022, Chicago, IL 60680. Or you can call the RSL: Chicago: (312) 226-5915 or Detroit: (313) 341-1250.

We urge those readers who would like to attend but cannot, to send solidarity statements to the conference to the Chicago RSL. □



### Russell Smith attacked

In late September, Russell Smith, locked up at the federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, was threatened with rape and brutally beaten—under the direct supervision of the warden, J.W. Kenney. This assault followed a protest against rotten conditions which Smith helped organize. He and others flooded their segregation tier in an effort to get some relief from the unbearable situation.

According to an affidavit by two Terre Haute prisoners, Smith was handcuffed and removed from his cell by 10 guards. Then, according to the affidavit: "I heard Lt. Scanlon state, 'This is my weekend off and you ruined it,' and began beating Smith with closed fists. Dyer kicked Smith in the stomach, making him vomit." A second affidavit by Smith and six others says that "... Smith regained consciousness. Scanlon and Dyer were standing in the cell with him, all other officers, including Warden Kenney and Captain Posey, were in the corridor. Smith's pants had been pulled down and his buttocks bared. Dyer stated to Scanlon, 'Do you want to go first?'"

Why was Smith singled out for revenge? Russell Smith is gay. He is an organizer. As one of the original Marlon Brothers, he first became politically involved in the struggle against behavior modification at Marlon's Infamous Control Unit. And he has been fighting rape in prison for years. His struggle against sexual abuse stems from the fact that he was raped several times and defended himself when he could. He stabbed one attacker and slashed another's throat—and continues to stand for self-defense by any means necessary. Smith also works closely with his defense committee and has recently filed a suit against the ban on gay literature in the prisons.

Send letters of support to the International Committee to Free Russell Smith, 6261 Clemens 2W, St. Louis, MO 63130; and letters of protest to Warden Kenney, U.S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, IN 47808.

### Louisiana prisoners on blood boycott

Louisiana prisoners are paid two cents an hour when they work. So the men at the Angola state penitentiary are forced to sell their plasma twice a week to make a few dollars. But instead of paying the regular rate of \$10 a pint, Sara, Inc., the company that buys the plasma, gives the prisoners only \$7.75. And the prison takes \$1.75 out of that for the Inmate Welfare Fund, which is controlled by the keepers.

On September 1, the prisoners started a boycott of the plasma center to get more money. It was a peaceful protest, but the prison authorities claimed there was a threat of violence and went after the boycott leaders, Percy Iku Cage and Tookie Donalie. On September 20, both men were placed in administrative lockdown. Cage writes: "On September 28, 1979 myself and Tookie were brought before a Kangaroo court and found guilty as being a threat to security and sentenced to Camp J. extensive lock-down maximum security." It isn't clear how long they'll have to stay there.

### In brief...

Dessie Woods went on a hunger strike late in October to protest the racist, inhuman conditions in the Georgia Women's Correctional Institution. First this Black woman was sentenced to 22 years for defending herself against a white rapist and killing him with his own gun. Then the courts denied all her appeals. And now she has been put in segregation for 281 days because she fought back when the keepers put up two white women to attack her. Demonstrations are planned in the U.S. and Europe on December 8 to demand the immediate release of Dessie Woods and an end to colonial violence against Black people. Write to: National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods, PO Box 92084, Morris Brown Station, Atlanta, GA 30314.

The appeal of Ruben (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis for a new trial was denied October 22. The two Black men were sentenced to life on a phony murder rap in 1967. Carter, a leading middleweight contender at the time, was framed because he advocated armed self-defense for Black people. In 1976, mass protests forced a retrial, which resulted in a second conviction by an all-white jury. The two men are planning further appeals.

Ziad Abu Ein, a 19-year-old Palestinian, has been in a Chicago jail since his arrest on an Israeli warrant on August 17. Israel wants Abu Ein extradited. They claim he is a member of Al Fatah who took part in a bombing in Tiberias last May. Their evidence is a confession by another Palestinian prisoner, who has since testified under oath that he lied because he was tortured. Abu Ein is a political prisoner. He must not be sent back to Israel. He must be freed!

—AL & MR

# RIGHT ON, ASSATA SHAKUR!

Black political activist Assata Shakur (a/k/a Joanne Chesimard) escaped from the women's prison in Clinton, New Jersey, on November 2. Three men and one woman visiting Shakur pulled .45s on the guards, commandeered a prison van and got her away before the cops could set up roadblocks. Shakur, a member of the Black Liberation Army, was in prison because the state claims she killed a cop.

Assata Shakur became active in the Black liberation movement in the late 1960s. The state started hounding her after she joined the Black Panther Party. She was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO program to destroy the Panthers.

Part of the COINTELPRO program was to charge party members with all sorts of crimes. Shakur was indicted six times, for everything from bank robbery to kidnapping and murder.

Even though they couldn't make any of the charges stick, Shakur stayed on the FBI's "most wanted" list. This gave the cops a license to shoot her on sight. They got their chance in May 1973 on the New Jersey Turnpike.

State troopers stopped the car in which she was riding, supposedly for a traffic violation. In the shootout that followed, the cops killed one person and badly wounded



Assata Shakur and Ronald Boyd Hill.

Shakur. A state trooper was also killed.

Shakur was kept in isolation during most of her pre-trial detention. She became pregnant while she was in prison. And still the state held her in the dark, damp basement of the all-male Middlesex County jail. It was no thanks to them that she had a healthy baby.

The media branded her as a vicious cop-killer, and 70 percent of prospective jurors were convinced of her guilt. At her trial, several doctors testified that her wounds proved she had her hands up during the shootout.

But the all-white jury wasn't interested in the evidence. She was guilty because of her politics. And the judge sentenced her to

life plus 28-33 years.

Shakur was sent to the federal prison in Alderson, West Virginia. It took a court suit to get her back to New Jersey so she could work on her appeal and see her baby. Her appeals were denied; her life was threatened in prison.

On November 9, former Black Panther Ronald Boyd Hill was arrested in Brooklyn, charged with taking part in the escape and is now in jail in lieu of a \$1 million bail. He is being made a scapegoat because the cops are embarrassed over Shakur's escape. Hill visited Shakur once and has a political history. That's the only reason he is being held.

Right on, Assata Shakur! Here's hoping they never find you! Free Ronald Hill! □

## LEGAL MURDER MACHINE TAKES THIRD VICTIM

Jesse Bishop was murdered in a gas chamber by the state of Nevada on October 22. He was the third prisoner executed in the last two years.

The death penalty was challenged in the courts in 1967. In 1972 all death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after the Supreme Court ruled that existing laws were prejudiced against Blacks, were applied arbitrarily and were therefore unconstitutional.

But right-wing forces continued to push for the death penalty, and several states passed new laws. In 1976, the Court upheld new death penalty laws that had been passed by Florida, Texas and Georgia. Since then, 32 more states have restored the death sentence. There are now 506 prisoners on death row, 80 percent of them in Florida, Texas and Georgia.

To head off accusations and arguments that the death penalty is still racist and arbitrary, the first victims of the death sentence were picked very carefully: Gary Gilmore, shot in Utah, January 19, 1977; John Spink, electrocuted in Florida, May 25, 1979; and now Jesse Bishop.

All three were drifters,

without roots in a community that could protest, all three admitted that they had killed the person in question, and all three were white. Two of the first three victims even said they wanted to die, giving the state a green light for its legal murder.

This maneuver to bring back wide use of the death sentence on the quiet has not been completely successful. Large numbers of people, especially those from oppressed groups, oppose the death penalty, and each of the first three executions has been accompanied by lawsuits and protests. The truth about the death penalty has not been obliterated: that it is reserved for the poor, for Blacks and Latins and other oppressed groups, for rebels and outsiders. It is used to set an example to those capitalism feeds on and grinds up: "If you rebel against this, you will be killed without mercy."

Of the 3,859 prisoners executed between 1930 and 1967, nearly 90 percent couldn't afford to hire a private lawyer and over 53 percent were Black. In the entire history of the United States, no white person has ever been executed for a crime committed against a Black person. Today things

are not much different. Over 40 percent of the prisoners on death row are Black—way over the percentage of Black people in the population.

The racism of the death sentence shows up even clearer when you look at a second statistic: the race of the victim of the alleged crime.

A recent study in Florida (the state with by far the most prisoners on death row) showed that being convicted of killing a Black person is one-tenth as likely to lead to a death sentence as being convicted of killing a white person. Over 90 percent of those on death row in Florida were convicted of killing whites, and those few convicted for killing a Black person were Black themselves.

The lopsided use of the death penalty against Blacks is not the result of some incidental discrimination in the way it is "applied." It is part and parcel of the racism of the capitalist system.

We must continue to fight against this legalized murder. We must take away the state's license to kill. Every execution must continue to be protested and fought against. Smash the death penalty—no more "legal" murders! □

Carl Harp (left) at Walla Walla

By FRANK

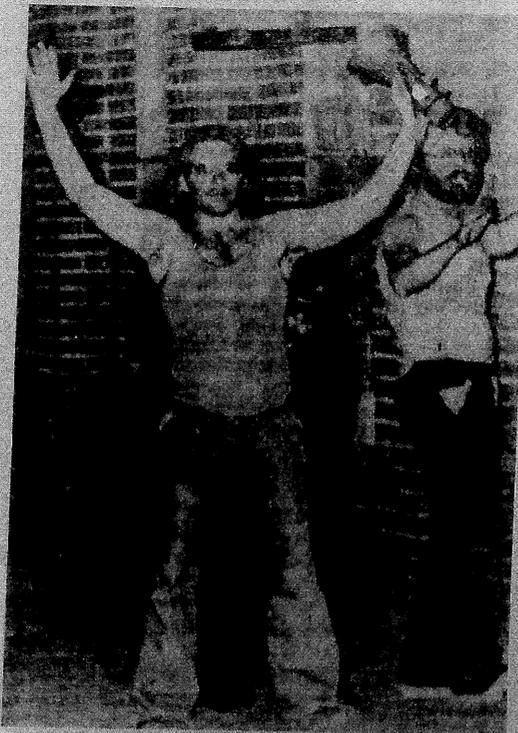
Within two Harp, a prisoner held at San Qu

"N

On November 200 demonstrators to demand freedom for Pontiac Brothers closing of the control Unit at the penitentiary at Mar. The demonstration through downtown and then held a in De Paul University included mumba and A. The RSL sent message print the rally. The first of the message RSL supporters at the march by anti-Klan rally Indiana, on the fact, the Klan b the Kokomo march 4) and RSLers attend the march

We are sending message to express with the struggle this racist frame with the demonstration against the station in Illinois are unable to demonstration in the Pontiac 31 are in Kokomo opposing the Ku

# Transfer Threat Endangers Carl Harp's Life



Carl Harp (left) and Robert Washburn after building takeover at Walla Walla.

By FRANK HOPKINS

Within two weeks, Carl Harp, a prisoner now being held at San Quentin prison in

California, could be sent back to the Washington state prison system. He is supposed to go on trial for the May 9 takeover of a

parole and classifications building at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla.

The transfer could well mean death for Carl Harp, who already had one attempt on his life made by Washington guards. It must be stopped.

Carl Harp is an anarchist and a long-time fighter for the rights and lives of prisoners. He helped lead the 1977 prisoners' strike at Walla Walla—one of the longest prison strikes in U.S. history. He was also a founding member of Men Against Sexism, a multinational prisoners' organization built to defend the lives and rights of gay prisoners.

On May 9 of this year, Harp and two other prisoners—Shane Green and Clyde Washburn—took 10 hostages and demanded an hour on television. They won their demand, and used the hour to expose the brutality, harassment and humiliation that prisoners have had to put up with at Walla Walla.

## State afraid of trial testimony

This is what Harp, Green and Washburn are going to be sent to trial for—telling the truth.

And the state has a problem with it. They want to hand down stiff sentences in the hopes that this will "discourage" rebellion. But they are also afraid of the trial because the truth about what goes on at Walla Walla would inevitably come out. As Carl Harp wrote to the Torch/La Antorcha: "If and when the trial jumps off there will be two reasons for it—one: the state wants a jury to say that prisoners have no lawful right to rebel,

and if we don't like something we must go through the system to correct or change it (even though we know that takes years and no matter how right we are there's no guarantee a writ will do shit)...two: the state hopes to strike fear into other prisoners by trying and convicting us so that they will not rebel—we will attempt to expose this. The trial is political just on this alone. They really don't want to try us so maybe they will drop it."

## Walla Walla a powder keg

Since the May 9 incident, Walla Walla has been a powder keg. In June, a guard was killed. The prison was locked down. No showers were allowed. On July 7, prisoners tried to use their sinks for showers. Water and electricity was shut off. Two hundred and thirty prisoners tore up the cellblock.

At this point, Warden Spalding gave "shoot to kill" orders for anyone found outside or in a tunnel. This gave the guards a green light to go on the rampage. A shotgun blast was fired into the cellblock. Prisoners were driven out of their cells, taken to a prison yard, stripped and beaten. Top dog Spalding stood on the wall, watching while this went on.

The next night came the first attempt on Harp's life. On July 8, guards beat, maced and sodomized Carl Harp with a nightstick. Five other prisoners were also beaten. Harp was hospitalized as a result of this rape/murder attempt. In the hospital, he got further threats on his life from guards.

Because Harp and other

prisoners were able to get the word out about what happened, five guards were fired and several more disciplined as a result of the rape and attempted murder. The federal government was forced to step in and move Harp to San Quentin.

A split has developed between the state officials and corrections bureaucrats on the one hand and the guards on the other. In order to clean up its image a little bit, the state has had to cut a few of its more sadistic servants loose. The guards feel betrayed by the corrections bureaucrats and the state, and want to take it out on the prisoners.

What this means is that Harp, whose name is most certainly known to guards all over the state of Washington, will be in extreme danger in any Washington prison. The guards would go out of their way to ensure that Harp "has an accident" or "attempts escape." And the bureaucrats from Spalding to Governor Dixy Lee Ray know this.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has sent letters of protest to the governors of California and Washington, as well as the wardens of San Quentin and Walla Walla. We have gotten out the word to other left newspapers, as well as the bourgeois press. We are asking all our readers to send letters of protest to the governors of California and Washington. Demand that plans to transfer Harp be halted. Demand charges stemming from the May 9 action be dropped. Demand that Harp be immediately and unconditionally released.

Send letters to: Gov. Dixy Lee Ray, Capitol Bldg., Olympia, Washington; and Gov. Jerry Brown, Sacramento, California. □

# "No Apologies for the Pontiac Rebellion"

On November 3, close to 200 demonstrators marched to demand freedom for the Pontiac Brothers and the closing of the Marion Control Unit at the Federal Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. The demonstration marched through downtown Chicago and then held a rally at a hall in De Paul University. Speakers included Chokwe Lumumba and Anne Braden. The RSL sent the solidarity message printed below to the rally. The first paragraph of the message says that RSL supporters would not be at the march because of an anti-Klan rally in Kokomo, Indiana, on the same day. In fact, the Klan backed out of the Kokomo march (see page 4) and RSLers were able to attend the march in Chicago.

We are sending this message to express our solidarity with the struggle against this racist frame-up trial, and with the demonstrators against the state's repression in Illinois prisons. We are unable to join today's demonstration in support of the Pontiac 31 and the prisoners at Marion because we are in Kokomo, Indiana, opposing the Ku Klux Klan.

The KKK has been attempting to hold recruitment rallies all over Indiana, as well as all over the country. In every case where we could, we've turned the KKK demonstrations into Black and white unity rallies. Though we cannot be at the demonstration today, we express our solidarity with the movement to prevent the state from butchering our brothers, or adding time to their sentences.

The rebellion at Pontiac on July 22, 1978, was a spontaneous outburst of anger and hatred—directed at the state. Anger at the racism, overcrowding, and many other injustices that the state is responsible for. The rebellion was a scream of rage—"we won't be treated like dogs anymore."

The state's response is a racist frame-up of 31 prisoners. The state doesn't know and doesn't care who did what on July 22. The state just wants to make sure that someone pays for the rebellion with their lives. So they've invented a "conspiracy." They got "evidence" against the 31 by threatening other prisoners with the

chair, and bribing them with time off and transfers. All this "evidence" is so falsified and tainted that it should be laughed out of court. But all this "evidence" is being used for two reasons. First, the state charges conspiracy to get us to apologize for the rebellion. Then, once they got us apologizing, they just pick out their victims.

This really takes a lot of nerve on their part. They want the prisoners and the movement supporting the brothers to apologize for what the state is responsible for in the first place. They want us to apologize when they are responsible for all of the racism, brutality and humiliation that prisoners suffer at their hands. They are responsible—all of them; from top dog Thompson, to the IDC bureaucrats, to the wardens, to the slimy public relations personnel, to the guards. They want the prisoners the way they are: they enforce the beatings, harassment, isolation and druggings.

They deprive prisoners of an adequate diet, of exercise, and of education. They

deprive prisoners of showers and heat. They deprive prisoners of sex. When prisoners try to change any of this, they get ignored or beaten to a pulp. And now the state wants us to say, "oh, it's too bad the rebellion happened." No. The truth is the state got off lucky, and if anybody should be on trial it's Thompson and all of his hatchetmen.

Once we apologize, they pull the switch. Once the state is able to get away with the lie that the rebellion was the prisoners' "fault," they get to pick their victims. This government has killed before. They murdered John Spenkink because he committed the "crime" of defending himself. That's exactly what the state wants to do in this case. To murder 17 men for the fact that prisoners defended themselves from the state's oppression. And the state won't stop with the 17. They won't be done until it's mass murder. They're doing this for a reason. The state needs us either too frightened to fight them or dead. Their economy is going to hell and they don't know what to do about

it except to make our lives more miserable and force us to put up with it.

We need to stand up for the Pontiac Brothers and for ourselves. Joan Little did this and won. A guard tried to rape her and she killed him, in self-defense. She didn't apologize for this, and neither did the movement supporting her. People said, "we know the guards are slimy and the state is our enemy." This is the way people were attracted to Little's defense. And she won, because she didn't give in to the lies of the state.

Further, the Revolutionary Socialist League believes that we should go further than this. Until we build a revolutionary movement to overthrow this government we will always be attacked by the state. If we are to end racism, sexism, anti-gay prejudice, exploitation and all of human suffering, the state has got to go. Because this state keeps a few people rich and powerful, and the masses of people in misery, it is a roadblock that must be broken through. To this, we dedicate ourselves. Join us. Fight for total liberation. □

# Tate-Coetzee Fight Boosts Apartheid

By LEE RAMIE

On October 21, John Tate defeated Gerrie Coetzee in a dull, amateurish fight for the World Boxing Association (WBA) version of the heavy-weight championship. Tate is a Black man from the U.S. Coetzee is a white South African. The fight took place in South Africa, which is the only thing that makes the fight a story. South Africa has been trying to break the international sports boycott against it for several years, and this fight—along with the bout last June in Bophuthatswana between Tate and Kalle Knoetze (another no-talent Afrikaner)—was a big coup for the racist apartheid regime.

The fight itself was a bore. Tate did nothing to establish himself as a legitimate contender to Larry Holmes, the World Boxing Council (WBC) heavyweight king. He didn't jab much and his combinations were ineffective. Tate is supposedly a devastating body puncher, but he spent most of the fight headhunting—and missing. For much of the fight, the slow, clumsy Coetzee was able to keep out of Tate's way. When Tate did land, his punches didn't do tremendous damage. Ultimately, Tate's blows began to tell. Coetzee was ready to fall from the 10th round on, but Tate couldn't—or wouldn't—put him away.

But the big story was the South African connection, set up by Bob Arum (Tate's promoter, who arranged both the Knoetze and Coetzee fights) and the WBA. Neither fight had anything to do with matching Tate against the best competition available. Knoetze and Coetzee were white South Africa's best, but they would have a hard time getting hired as sparring partners in the U.S. Neither had a chance against Tate.

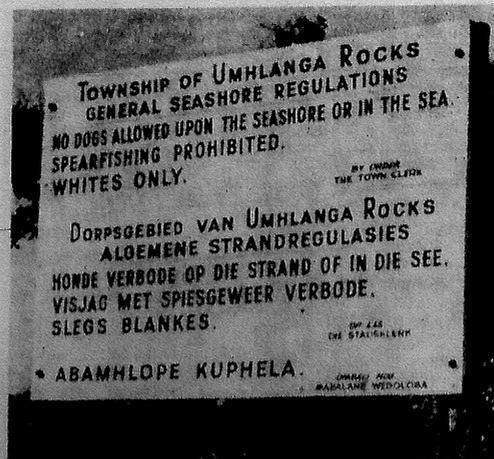
The two fights accomplished three things. Tate got his belt, Arum made a pile of money, and South Africa scored some propaganda points. South Africa used the fights to spread the lie that apartheid is being "liberalized" through sports, and Arum and Tate gave this lie credibility. With the help of "respected" creeps like N.Y. Daily News sports editor Dick Young, South Africa got more good press in one week than it had in years.

In South Africa, Tate played "Uncle Tom." Without a word of protest from him, he was made an "honorary white" so he wouldn't be subject to the insulting apartheid laws. He didn't visit Soweto, the all-Black township outside Johannesburg, or meet with any Black leaders. He told the press that he wanted to show that "some Blacks can be gentlemen," and hoped his "example" would make integration happen faster. After the fight he was all hugs and grins

with Coetzee, "showing," he said, "that two gentlemen met in the ring and the better gentleman won." His desire to please his mostly white audience (only 200 out of 81,000 tickets sold were bought by Blacks) may explain his failure to knock Coetzee out. A South African gin company rewarded his

slavish pandering to racism with a \$20,000 gold belt.

Arum claimed he was "fighting apartheid" by getting the government to integrate the stadium where the fight was held, and by getting "promises" from the government that other stadiums would be integrated in the future. The Daily News'



Apartheid system segregates all aspects of life.

Dick Young picked this up and ran with it. His line was simple: South Africa is "no different" from the U.S., it's just "30 years behind." He told some stories about the early days of integrated baseball in this country, supposedly showing how this led to integrating the rest of society. South Africa, by implication, will soon follow suit.

This is pure bull. It is a monstrous distortion of history to argue that the integration of pro sports led to the elimination of segregation in this country. In the first place, segregation in U.S. society and racism in sports hasn't gone away. In the second place, the major civil rights gains won by Black people didn't come about because Jackie Robinson played on the same team and slept in the same hotel with a bunch of white ball-players. People fought for them at lunch counters and in the streets, through sit-ins, marches, confrontations with racist cops and police dogs, and armed battles with the KKK. "Peaceful integration through sports" is a fantasy and an insult to those who fought, and those who are fighting, for freedom.

As far as South Africa goes, the integration of a few sports stadiums is meaningless. The South African government refers to these token changes as "modifications in petty

apartheid," that is, in those sides of apartheid that don't matter much. The government also makes it clear that apartheid will not disappear as long as the white minority holds power.

This is because apartheid is not simply segregation, but the whole system of Black exploitation and oppression that is essential to South African capitalism itself. Black people are kept in virtual slavery, without rights. This system won't be ended until South African capitalism is smashed. Mass struggles against apartheid have erupted in the last several years. The government's response has been to murder, imprison and exile Black militants, while making some cosmetic changes to convince people that things are getting better. Tate and Arum did their best to help South Africa pretty up apartheid's ugly face.

Larry Holmes deserves credit for refusing to swim in this scummy pool. He has said several times that he will have no part of promotions in South Africa. When Coetzee was in New York several months ago, Holmes refused to shake his hand. Holmes rightly feels there is a principle involved here that he doesn't want to compromise. Even if you aren't a boxing fan, his stand is boxing enough to pull for him when he and Tate square off next year. □

## Commission Report Warns Serious Nuke Accidents Likely

The President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island (TMI) presented its report to President Carter on October 30, after a six-month investigation. The report states that "unless portions of the industry and its regulatory agency undergo fundamental changes, they will over time totally destroy public confidence. . . ." In other words: Clean up your act, folks, if you don't want to see your billion-dollar industry go down the drain.

The panel concluded that "an accident like TMI was eventually inevitable" because the utility that runs TMI "did not have sufficient knowledge, expertise and personnel to operate the plant or maintain it ade-

quately."

At TMI there was a series of minor equipment failures made worse by "operator error." This was the immediate cause of the near-disaster, the report states, but this "does not speak to the fundamental cause of the accident." The commission found "deficiencies in their training, lack of clarity in their operating procedures, . . . and deficiencies in the design of the control room."

The operators, for example, were not taught the lessons learned from accidents at other plants. The commission cites an incident at a reactor similar to TMI, where operators made the mistake of turning off the emergency core-cooling sys-

tem. At the time, a senior engineer urged sending new instructions to all operators. But the instructions were never issued. And it was this same error that caused the partial meltdown at TMI a few months later.

But it is not only incompetence and lack of communication that left the TMI operators not knowing what to do. The panel agreed with most independent scientists and concluded that we don't really know enough about nuclear energy. Scientists don't know what the long-term effects are of the low-level radiation that was released at TMI. And nobody knows whether, had one more thing gone wrong, the containment building could have prevented the escape of

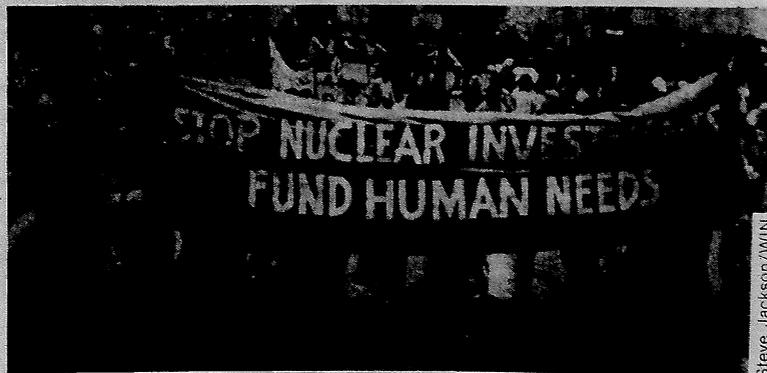
a large amount of high-level radiation.

In its conclusion, the panel said that even if all their recommendations are adopted, there's "no guarantee that there will be no serious future nuclear accidents."

And they talk about restoring public confidence! People are right to be scared. That's why the anti-nuke movement keeps growing.

On October 29, police arrested 1,045 anti-nuke demonstrators on Wall Street. Thousands of people from 19 states and Canada massed in front of the New York Stock Exchange before dawn in an effort to shut it down. The civil disobedience action organized by the Manhattan Project coalition focused on the banks, the electric companies and 61 corporations that invest in nuclear power and weapons. The main demands included a shutdown of all nuke plants and zero nuclear weapons, as well as public ownership of the energy industry under democratic control.

The fact that they took their demands to Wall Street is good. The anti-nuke movement knows that's where the power lies, although most people don't yet see that the enemy is not just a group of corporations, but the whole capitalist system. We say we can't trust the capitalists with our health. Shut down the nuclear industry! □



Anti-nuke demonstration on Wall Street, October 29.

... that is, in those  
apartheid that don't  
much. The govern-  
makes it clear that  
will not disappear  
the white minority  
wer.

because apartheid  
mply segregation,  
whole system of  
ploitation and op-  
that is essential to  
ican capitalism it-  
people are kept in  
slavery, without  
his system won't be  
till South African  
is smashed. Mass  
against apartheid  
oted in the last  
ears. The govern-  
onse has been to  
mpison and exile  
tants, while mak-  
cosmetic changes  
nce people that  
a getting better.  
rum did their best  
outh Africa pretty  
id's ugly face.

Holmes deserves  
refusing to swim in  
my pool. He has  
al times that he  
o part of promo-  
outh Africa. When  
as in New York  
nths ago, Holmes  
shake his hand.  
htly feels there is  
involved here that  
want to compro-  
if you aren't a  
n, his stand is  
ugh to pull for  
e and Tate square  
ar. □

S  
ely

...ent of high-level

...conclusion, the  
that even if all  
mendations are  
ere's "no guaran-  
ere will be no  
ure nuclear acci-

...talk about re-  
blic confidence!  
ght to be scared.  
the anti-nuke  
keeps growing.

...er 29, police ar-  
5 anti-nuke dem-  
on Wall Street.  
of people from 19  
Canada massed

...the New York  
ange before dawn  
to shut it down.  
obedience action  
y the Manhattan  
ition focused on

...the electric com-  
61 corporations  
in nuclear power  
ns. The main de-  
ided a shutdown  
plants and zero

...apons, as well as  
ership of the  
stry under demo-  
ol.

...that they took  
ds to Wall Street  
anti-nuke move-  
that's where the  
although most

...yet see that the  
t just a group of  
s, but the whole  
stem. We say we  
the capitalists'  
alth. Shut down  
industry! □

## Capitalist Politicians in Lesbian & Gay Movement:

# DO WE USE THEM OR DO THEY USE US?

The September 29 issue of *Gay Community News (GCN)* carried a column by well-known gay activist Allan Young urging that Jerry Brown be invited to speak at the October 14 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Young criticized "doctrinaire socialists" who opposed inviting capitalist politicians to speak. The following reply to Young appeared in the GCN of November 3.

So now Allen Young wants to offer up the gay movement as a forum for California Governor Jerry Brown, "a chance for him to use us and for us to use him." After all, according to Young, Governor Brown is a leading presidential candidate and a victim of homophobia himself, so his opportunism, callousness and pro-capitalist programs shouldn't stop us from lending him support.

This line of thought is a trap for gays and represents the kind of political misleadership which tore the early gay liberation movement off its tracks to smother it for years in a swamp of Democratic Party reform politics. Allen Young knows all this. He played a leading role in those early gay liberation efforts, before abandoning socialism in favor of "progressive" capitalist politics. Young used to recognize the class-divided nature of society and knew that it was this class line, not any other divisions of race, nationality, age, sex or sexuality which determined who was ally and who was not.

Just now, when the gay movement is resurging with a fire and spirit unseen since the early 1970s, these pro-capitalist strategies are being pushed especially hard. Thousands of gay people have taken to the streets in recent months—in San Francisco, Chicago, New York and elsewhere. They are ready to fight,

and they want real freedom—not politicians' promises, not appeals to moderation and respectability "within the system." Jerry Brown, with his attractive, hip liberal, maybe-gay image is part of the counter-attack. Can he convince us that he's really on our side? That his style of capitalism does work? That the system is basically OK and just needs a few adjustments at the top? Allen Young hopes so. And so do Brown's corporate allies.

They willingly grant him his yoga, yogurt and mattress on the floor. He can provide the gay grapevine with endless anecdotes and still flirt with Linda Ronstadt. Who cares! It's a small price to pay to preserve the (now quite shaky) capitalist political system.

Young likes Brown's stand on nuclear energy but is "worried" about his budget-cutting austerity. So—he's a little good and a little bad, but anyway, he is "pro-gay." I say that's a lot of crap.

If you really want to know how "pro-gay" Jerry Brown is, ask the poor gay tenants in California whose rents have doubled since Brown endorsed, and began enforcing, Proposition 13. Ask the gay junior high students who have lost their special education courses, driver's ed, and after-school sports. Ask the gay Asians in Alameda County what they think about Brown closing down their only Asian-language health center. And ask the 3,000 gay nurses, teachers, librarians and maintenance workers who lost their state jobs last year because "pro-gay" Jerry Brown, who never went hungry a day in his life, thinks working people are "soft," "greedy," and have to "learn to live with less."

Jerry Brown is looking for votes so he can become president. The present middle-class leaders of the gay movement think they control the gay

vote and are shopping around for buyers. Who is using who? Both Brown and the movement leaders are using the majority of gay people as pawns in their game of capitalist power politics. If either of them win, we lose.

Gay liberation means breaking the rules of their game. It means tearing down the system which keeps the Jerry Browns of the world on top. It means saying out loud that capitalism is our enemy and that those capitalist politicians who make a career out of leeching off our strug-

movement for gay liberation, a movement in the spirit of the Stonewall and San Francisco rebellions, are still very much alive.

It may be, as Young asserts, that today a great many gay people consider themselves liberal Democrats, and think the system can still be patched up. But don't forget—20 years ago most gay people considered themselves forever in the closet and that gay oppression was an inevitable fact of life. We can't afford to underestimate the speed, and the extent, to which conscious-



RSL contingent of over 100 people at October 14 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

gles have no right to speak at our movement events.

I'm a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League and it was I who put forward the motion at the Houston Conference last July to exclude Democratic and Republican party politicians from the speakers' platform at the March on Washington. The motion did fail, but the fact that it got brought up at all was a blow to the pro-capitalist March leadership. The seeds of a revolutionary

ness can change. Already those gay militants who stormed San Francisco's City Hall, or those who risked their skulls to stop the filming of "Cruising" have gone far beyond the liberal capitalist strategy of Jerry Brown. They don't need the approval of big-name politicians. And they don't need gay misleaders telling them to go home and be nice. They want a revolution, and they will make it.

Franz Martin

## Rallies Protest Attacks on Abortion Rights

By LAURA WADEBAY

October 22-29 was Abortion Rights Action Week (ARAW) around the country. Women's liberation activists organized activities in 225 cities in the U.S., as well as some in Mexico and South America.

One thousand people demonstrated at the United Nations in New York. Two rallies on different days in Los Angeles protested the Hyde Amendment (the federal law prohibiting Medicaid from paying for almost any abortions) and a bill in the California legislature to add Hyde Amendment restrictions to state-run MediCal. Demonstrators in Detroit defended themselves when they were attacked by "Right-to-Lifers" while picketing a Catholic church.

There's plenty of good reasons to demonstrate. Women's right to abortion is under attack all across the country. For example, two days after 250 people rallied in Chicago as part of the ARAW events, the Illinois legislature passed a law making it illegal for a woman to get an abortion without her father's consent (if she's under 18) or her husband's consent (if she's married).

The anti-abortion movement is among the most successful of the "single issue" movements on the "respectable" right. Its leaders are trying to recruit middle-class people

and workers, terrified by their plunging standards of living and the increasing decay around them, to support the whole range of right-wing solutions to the capitalist crisis by zeroing in on what they call a moral issue. When the right wing gets people to go stand in front of an abortion clinic and scream, "baby killers!" they are building a base of support for the bourgeoisie's program of repression, increasing exploitation, and bigotry.

Actions like those held during ARAW are important to fighting the right-wing anti-abortion movement. But they are not enough. The right wing cannot be successfully countered with reformist alternatives—these just won't work anymore. As the economy continues to go downhill, the capitalists will fight to protect their profit margins at our expense. They will take back reforms the working class and oppressed people have won in the past, and they won't be conceding new ones.

Fighting for socialist revolution is the only practical way we can defend ourselves. When the working class and oppressed people run the whole world, the right to choose whether or not to have a child will not just be a paper law. Women will be able to base their decision on what they really want, not on economic necessity or someone else's "morality." □

## U.S. Bans Safe, Cheap Birth Control Device

By ADELE LOHMAN

For all women who have been wishing for a birth control method that is safe, dependable, easy to use and cheap, here is good news: There is such a method. The bad news is that it's not available in the U.S.

We're talking about the cervical cap, a thimble-shaped device made of synthetic rubber which covers the cervix and prevents conception. It is used with a sperm-killing ointment, just like a diaphragm. But it's a lot less trouble than a diaphragm because once it is inserted it can be left in place almost indefinitely. For that reason, there's also less chance of an accidental pregnancy. And unlike pills and IUDs, cervical caps have no side effects on a woman's health.

They do, however, have side effects on the profits of the pharmaceutical industry. Cervical caps require less of the sperm-killing ointment than diaphragms. But the ointment is where the money is for the drug companies. When the Ortho Pharmaceutical Company, which used to manufacture cervical caps, was asked why they stopped, they came right out and said it: Cervical caps are "a low-profit item which might cut spermicide sales."

Meanwhile, in the past few months, the government has given the pharmaceutical industry more than a little help in keeping cervical caps off the U.S. market. Several doctors who ordered them from Britain for their patients have found their shipments seized by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The FDA claims there have been no recent tests to show whether cervical caps are safe.

The fact is, they've been tested plenty. Women all over Europe have been using cervical caps for years with nothing but good results. Here in the U.S., researchers at the University of Chicago Medical College have come up with an even better version, which they have tested for two years.

If the drug companies wanted to market cervical caps, you'd see how fast the FDA would run tests and set standards. But the drug companies don't want them sold in this country, and they don't want any publicity that might cause women to demand them.

So the FDA has given cervical caps "a low priority," which is their polite way of shelving them for good. □

# Los Angeles Garment Workers Fight for Union

By a GARMENT WORKER

For four months the 250 workers at Glydons, Inc., in Los Angeles have been organizing to join the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). On December 3, an election will take place in which the majority of workers are expected to vote in favor of the union.

The majority of the workers at Glydons are women, who launched the struggle to put an end to the miserable wages the company was paying them—around \$2.90 an hour. They formed an organizing committee to direct the campaign and a propaganda subcommittee to publicize weekly meetings, to inform workers of what's happening in the organizing drive and to talk to workers who are afraid to support the union.

The boss has tried to intimidate the workers with threats and firings. He has tried to bribe members of the organizing committee with higher positions. He has also called meetings during working hours to tell the workers that they don't need a union to solve their problems. But it is too late for the workers to listen to him. Anything the company is doing now is only because it is being pressed by the organizing drive.

The struggle of Glydons workers is not an isolated case. It is part of a broader

movement in the garment industry, which employs thousands of undocumented workers in Los Angeles and New York City. Workers at several shops in LA are in the process of winning elections or negotiating contracts. On November 5, 200 workers from five ILGWU locals/organizing committees, including the one at Glydons, met and decided to hold a march against La Migra (Immigration and Naturalization Service) deportations.

## "What we need"

Glydons workers need to fight for things that will lessen the exploitation we are subjected to. Our demands must be what we need and not what the boss is willing to give us. We must fight for:

**An end to piece work:** The majority of the women comrades in the factory are paid according to what they produce. Piecework means tremendous exploitation. It means speedup. It means being fired if you don't make the minimum. Let's establish a wage that covers our needs.

**The right to strike:** The workers collectively produce everything in the factory. If workers are fired unjustly, if the contract is violated, we have the power to stop all

production to get justice. The standard ILGWU contract has a no-strike clause. We must reject it firmly.

**Cost-of-living clause:** The rise in the prices of clothes, food, housing and transportation make our paychecks worth less and less. We have to demand that our wages go up as the cost of living goes up.

**No forced overtime:** The boss must not have the power to force anyone to work overtime. If a worker does not work overtime, this should not be a reason for firings, punishment or threats. Overtime must be completely voluntary.

**A clause that the boss won't call immigration:** This must exist in the contract as a limited means of protection for the workers. We know the boss can violate anything he has promised. But such a clause gives us a certain degree of protection.

**Demand rest periods of 15 minutes:** Up till now the workers have had 10-minute breaks. This is not even enough time to get a cup of coffee.

## Undocumented workers fight back

Up till now garment workers in Los Angeles have been afraid to organize. This is because many of the workers are from Mexico and Central America and do not have



Celia Martinez's demand for fans led to unionization of undocumented workers in a Los Angeles garment shop.

official documents for living in the U.S. Until recently the attitude of undocumented workers was to accept what the system offered them. But this is changing. Undocumented workers now realize that they have power and can not only struggle, but also win.

Undocumented workers are living in the belly of the number one imperialist monster, the U.S. This monster is staggering from the blows that have been dealt it by the people who live under its exploitative yoke. The dictatorships it has nursed for so long are giving way before the blows of aroused peoples: in Nicaragua, the Somozas; in Iran, the shah; in El Salvador, Carlos Humberto Romero.

When the imperialist monster sees its horizon of ex-

ploitation restricted, it turns against those it finds within it. Undocumented workers are among the first to suffer the results: immigration increasing its raids; attacks in the factories, residential areas, supermarkets, etc.

Undocumented workers must not look at the struggle from a narrow vantage point. The struggle of our brothers and sisters in El Salvador, Nicaragua or any place else in the world—is ours; their victories are our victories; their defeats are our defeats; their blood is our blood—because the exploitation is the same and from the same source: capitalism. As long as capitalism, a system based on the exploitation of man by man, exists, human beings will always be secondary; the profits of our exploiters will come first. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### 35,000 Harvester workers strike

On November 1, 35,000 workers struck International Harvester, which manufactures agricultural implements. The strikers, members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), are fighting to maintain their right to refuse overtime. They are the only UAW workers with no mandatory-overtime provisions in their contract. But the company is demanding some form of compulsory overtime in this year's contract negotiations.

UAW Local 6 workers at Harvester's Melrose Park, Illinois, plant organized a militant demonstration at the company's international headquarters in Chicago on November 6. Between 400 and 500 workers, including contingents from Local 1307 in Pullman and Local 312 in Libertyville, picketed the headquarters chanting "Hell no to mandatory overtime!"

Harvester workers are bracing for a long strike. But their efforts are being undercut by UAW leaders. For instance, workers at Local 6 organized a ban on overtime to prevent company stockpiling before the contract expired, defying contract provisions forbidding such actions. UAW bureaucrats on the International staff opposed the action and helped to break it. The UAW has also announced that weekend picketing at the Melrose Park plant will be voluntary. This will make it easier for the company to ship out the 10 engines a day manufactured by supervisors. Militants in Local 6 are trying to organize weekend picketing to prevent such shipments.

UAW workers at the Caterpillar Tractor company, another agricultural implements firm, have also defied UAW leaders to get a decent contract. The 23,000 Caterpillar workers in Local 974, in Peoria, Illinois, went out on strike as soon as their contract expired on October 1. The union extended the contract and refused to authorize the strike, which meant that Local 974 workers received no strike benefits. But after 17,000 workers at Caterpillar's other plants joined the walkout on October 29, the union was forced to sanction a national strike.

### Strikes back women's demands

In two recent strikes, women workers have won the support of male workers in their fight against sexual harassment and job discrimination. In Shelton, Washington, 1,400 workers shut down the Simpson Plywood Company on October 1 to support a woman who was fired for protesting sexual harassment. Over 95 percent of the workers are men. This is only the second strike at the company in the past 25 years.

The woman had sued Simpson after she was refused a job, declaring that she was turned down because she objected to sexual advances by the job interviewer. The company then gave her a job, hoping she would drop the suit. When she continued with it, they fired her. As we go to press, officials of International Woodworkers Local 3-38, which represents the workers, say the strike is still on.

In Lynn, Massachusetts, 29 General Electric

workers, most of them Black women, shut down their department on October 1 demanding a rate increase for their job classification. A week later, 800 workers in their building, most of them men, joined the strike. On October 29, all 3,500 workers struck the Aircraft Engine Group, one of the two divisions at the plant.

The workers, members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, voted to return to work November 5 after the company agreed to allow a consultant named by the union to recommend a non-binding solution to the rate dispute. However, at least some of the women believe another strike will be necessary to win their demands.

### KKK foremen driven out of Rouge

UAW workers at Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan, just outside Detroit, have united to drive two racist supervisors out of the plant. On September 27 the two foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, marched around the trim line wearing cone-shaped hats bearing the initials of the Ku Klux Klan. The following evening six workers from the trim line walked out in protest. Union militants quickly gathered over 1,000 signatures from Rouge workers demanding that the company fire the two foremen and take no action against the six workers. On October 11, Ford officials announced that the foremen would be transferred, and that the workers would not be disciplined.

By  
On O  
Fraser,  
United A  
reached  
ment wit  
tion. Thi  
nomic d  
Chrysler  
ical def  
working  
time sin  
UAW ag  
contract  
Three a  
Chrysler  
pattern s  
robbing  
er of \$2  
benefits  
This def  
of Fraser  
Fraser  
workers  
bail out  
hard tim  
is in tro  
tion is f  
the cost

## A billion dollars

And C  
is in se  
tween th  
the rece  
auto indu  
Chrysler,  
Big Three  
shape. It  
will tota  
Chrysler  
the third  
is higher  
record bu  
entire ye  
on top o  
million in  
Chrysler  
old and i  
must buy  
competit  
side sup  
strangled  
payments  
weak fina  
ler sales



from a 23-  
the market  
cent by Oct  
ler is again  
help sales  
profit marg  
These los  
jobs. The  
Chrysler we  
Most of the  
nent. Chrysl  
centrated in  
it has 37,  
whom 25,  
About 22,00  
layoffs are  
young. Bla  
women wor  
pression.

# Fraser Betrays UAW Workers To Save Chrysler

By BRENT DAVIS

On October 25, Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), reached a contract settlement with Chrysler Corporation. This contract is an economic disaster for 110,000 Chrysler workers and a political defeat for the entire working class. For the first time since the 1940s, the UAW agreed to a different contract for one of the Big Three auto makers. The Chrysler pact is far below the pattern set by GM and Ford, robbing every Chrysler worker of \$2,000 in wages and benefits over its three years. This defeat is a direct result of Fraser's reformist politics. Fraser says that Chrysler workers must "sacrifice" to bail out Chrysler in these hard times. When capitalism is in trouble, Fraser's solution is for the workers to pay the costs.

## A billion dollars down

And Chrysler Corporation is in serious trouble. Between the energy crisis and the recession, the entire auto industry is hurting. But Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three, is in the worst shape. Its losses this year will total over \$1 billion. Chrysler lost \$460 million in the third quarter alone. This is higher than the previous record business loss for an entire year. And this comes on top of losses of \$200 million in 1978.

Chrysler is saddled with old and inefficient plants. It must buy major parts from competitors and other outside suppliers. And it is strangled by high interest payments because of its weak financial base. Chrysler sales have steadily fallen

The future looks bleak for these workers. Chrysler's recovery program includes shutting down Detroit plants, such as Dodge Main, and opening new plants far away from the union stronghold. Chrysler is also planning to automate. Automation and speedup have destroyed as many as 100,000 jobs over the last three years in the industry. Plans exist, for example, to destroy 1,200

to Chrysler. Like the GM/Ford pact, the Chrysler contract includes no real improvement in COLA payments.

**Pension:** Chrysler retirees get 30 percent less than the increases won by GM/Ford pensioners (24 to 40 percent to make up for years of inflation). This falls far short of Fraser's promises of cost-of-living protection for retirees.

**S & A Benefits:** Sick

Finally, having Fraser on the Board of Directors is a big plus for Chrysler because Fraser will use the position to spread the lie that workers and bosses have the same interests. The dozens of concessions in the contract and Fraser's seat on the Board flow from Fraser's pro-capitalist ("democratic socialist") politics.

These politics are so important to Fraser that he set

tial, will doubtless make additional demands of their own.

The Chrysler contract was a defeat. The Chrysler workers got dirt. And Fraser's politics mean destroying unity and solidarity within the UAW. He is helping throw thousands of young and specially oppressed workers onto the streets. Local bureaucrats have been talking endlessly about "watch out for number one" when they are selling this contract. "If you are not getting laid off right now, then to hell with your fellow workers."

This severely substandard agreement gives GM/Ford a big stick over their workers. It drives a wedge through the heart of the union. Financing pension increases out of active workers' paychecks tears the union apart even more. Now Fraser is capping off his splitting tactics by threatening to picket Japanese car dealerships, targeting our Japanese brothers and sisters as our enemies.

## Defeat affects all workers

This political defeat goes beyond the UAW. The economy is heading toward a depression. Workers in industry after industry will face layoffs and plant closings. To save their system, the capitalists will try to force the workers to "make sacrifices." They want to cut real wages, slash social services, throw millions out of work and weaken the unions. They will use a million tricks to lower living standards and boost profits.

Fraser's job is to convince workers to accept this, by words if possible, by force if necessary. His negotiation of the rotten Chrysler contract sets a deadly precedent. When a large, powerful and supposedly left-wing union like the UAW surrenders without a peep, it drags the entire labor movement in that direction.

Workers cannot just accept this. We must organize to use our unions to defend against the attacks. We should be seizing the initiative and pressing for what we need—higher wages, better benefits, better working conditions—rather than accepting the capitalists' ground rules. And the workers in the unions must use their strength to fight for the interests of all workers, in all industries, organized and unorganized, as well as the unemployed.

These are only the first steps. The capitalists are telling the truth when they say that workers' sacrifice is necessary to save their system. But why should we sacrifice ourselves to save their system and their profits? To save ourselves, we have to get rid of their system. We have to take over the entire economy and run it in the interests of the mass of working and oppressed people and not the narrow interests of the profit-hungry capitalist class. □



Doug Fraser, left, with Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca just after signing contract.

out of 1,800 jobs at Chrysler's Warren Tank plant through installing numerical control machines, robot welders and so on.

## Fraser trades all for nothing

Fraser and his apologists claim the contract they negotiated "makes the best of a bad situation" or "makes gains," depending on which side of their mouths they are using at the moment. It's all a lie. Fraser started the negotiations by promising not to strike Chrysler under any circumstances. And as soon as Chrysler asked, he agreed to give it a break.

The result was a contract that will cost Chrysler's management \$203 million less than the standard contract would have. In addition, \$200 million in pension fund payments will be deferred—the equivalent of an interest-free one-year loan. The GM/Ford contracts were set-backs to begin with. The Chrysler pact is far inferior to them.

**Wages:** GM/Ford workers get a three-percent wage improvement a year, a standard feature of the UAW contracts for years. Chrysler workers won't even get that. Their wage increases are delayed by six months in 1980, four months in 1981 and two months in 1982.

**Cost of living:** The UAW agreed that Chrysler would not have to incorporate past COLA increases into the basic wage. This means they will be paid quarterly instead of weekly—more interest-free loans from the workers

and Accident Benefits will be frozen, lagging \$60 a week behind GM/Ford.

**PPH Days:** GM/Ford workers get 26 Paid Personal Holidays, a measure that is supposed to create jobs. Chrysler workers, hit hardest by layoffs, get only 20. Fraser also agreed to help Chrysler "crack down on absenteeism."

Fraser did not win one single job-protecting measure in return for these concessions. He won nothing toward a "no layoff" clause, slowing line speed, ending forced overtime or keeping Dodge Main open.

What Fraser did get was a promise of a seat on Chrysler's Board of Directors. Supposedly, this is a step toward workers' control over the company. This is nonsense, and UAW members should demand that Fraser refuse the directorship.

First of all, the position is powerless. The most Fraser could get is some information, but in reality, anything the company doesn't want him to know will be discussed in private, without him.

Second, "workers' control" in this case really means responsibility for making Chrysler profitable for its stockholders. Legally, any director can be personally sued if he fails to act in the stockholders' interest. And the logic of the situation pushes in the same way. Doug Fraser will be sitting there, giving his ideas on how, given Chrysler's old plants, bad financial situation, and the growing recession in the U.S. economy, Chrysler can squeeze more out of the workers and turn a profit.

up a meeting of Chrysler plant UAW committeemen with Michael Harrington, leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Harrington helped provide the political and "socialist" arguments needed to sell the Chrysler agreement.

Fraser believes if the workers and bosses cooperate they can solve their problems together. When the capitalists make high profits, then the workers get higher wages and more jobs, he claims. During hard times, the workers must sacrifice to prop up the capitalist system. When the workers sacrifice enough, the system gets going again, prosperity returns and everyone benefits—or so the story goes.

Fraser wants to make sure the workers sacrifice their wages and conditions without striking or disrupting the economy. In return for this sacrifice, the workers get the illusion of power and control.

Fraser's immediate goal with the contract was not to save as many jobs as possible, but to do whatever Chrysler needed to restore profits. That meant proving to the government and the banks that Chrysler was a good investment. Chrysler's recovery plan requires billions in government money. The federal government demanded Chrysler raise matching funds and targeted UAW concessions as a prime source.

The contract is just the beginning of the giveaways. Already, Fraser is talking about lending Chrysler money from the union strike fund! The private banks, whose loans are also essen-



from a 23-percent share of the market in 1951 to 10 percent by October 1979. Chrysler is again giving rebates to help sales, but this cuts profit margins further.

These losses have slashed jobs. There are now 29,000 Chrysler workers on layoff. Most of these will be permanent. Chrysler is heavily concentrated in Detroit, where it has 37,000 workers, of whom 25,000 are Black. About 22,000 of the Chrysler layoffs are in Detroit, hitting young, Black, Arab and women workers like a depression.

led to unionization of sales garment shop.

tion restricted, it turns out those it finds within undocumented workers among the first to suffer results: Immigration in its raids; attacks in factories, residential supermarkets, etc. undocumented workers not look at the struggle narrow vantage point. struggle of our brothers sisters in El Salvador, Cuba or any place else world—is ours; their es are our victories; defeats are our defeats; blood is our blood—the exploitaton is the and from the same: capitalism. As long capitalism, a system on the exploitation of y man, exists, human s will always be se- ry; the profits of our ters will come first. □



women, shut down 1 demanding a rate cation. A week later, most of them men, 29, all 3,500 workers oup, one of the two

the International Union o return to work ny agreed to allow a on to recommend a ate dispute. However, believe another strike demands.

## en out of Rouge

otor Company's River Michigan, just outside wo racist supervisors er 27 the two foremen, e, marched around aped hats bearing the he following evening walked out in kly gathered over rkers demanding foremen and take no s. On October 11, t the foremen would rkers would not be .

# CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

The following is the first part of an edited version of a presentation given to an RSL Central Committee meeting this September by Ron Taber, RSL National Secretary. The second half of the talk will appear in next month's Torch/La Antorcha.

By RON TABER

When I was thinking about how to start this presentation, the most descriptive thing I could think of was: "Comrades, the shit is hitting the fan." This is what's going on.

Now, by this I don't mean that the whole system will necessarily collapse tomorrow. But as we've discussed for six years, the political, economic and social structure of post-war capitalism is unravelling, and at an increasingly rapid rate. The capitalists themselves are afraid of what may happen to the economy; they lack confidence in their own system.

One of the clearest examples of the bourgeoisie's fear is the price of gold—now around \$400 an ounce. If you keep in mind that in 1971 an ounce of gold sold for \$35, you can get some idea of the depth of the crisis.

Today, the capitalists are investing in gold because they consider it "real" wealth, unlike factories, for example, which may not be profitable in the future. Similarly, some weeks ago the *Far Eastern Economic Review* had a picture on the front page of a huge diamond with the headline: "Investment '79: Diamonds Are Forever—Still." That should give you a pretty clear picture of how the capitalists are thinking: Get out of the stuff that's risky and get into something that's

*"The very heart of the capitalist system—the productive apparatus—became progressively weaker in the U.S. in the post-war period. Because the U.S. capitalists could plunder the world at will they didn't have to—and didn't—modernize their plant and equipment sufficiently. In other words, what you have is a productive apparatus in this country that is literally in decay, and is less and less capable of generating surplus value, the basis of profits."*

"real."

However, the "gold rush" is just one—though the most spectacular—indication of what is going on. All other signs indicate that the current recession will be nearly as deep, as deep, or even deeper, than the recession of 1974-75, which in turn was the most severe crisis of U.S. capitalism since the Great Depression of the 1930s. And this recession will bring us a big step closer to a huge international economic crisis.

The bourgeois economists are aware of this threat and it is even consistent with economic theory some of them accept. For example, they talk about the so-called Kondratiev wave, a wave or cycle in economic development.

Kondratiev, a Russian economist, developed his theory in the early 1920s. He drew up graphs of various economic trends, such as the industrial production of the most developed capitalist countries, and discovered what he called a long wave of 50 or 60 years of economic development. Each wave includes an upturn, a downturn, and a return to normal again.

The first one started in the late 1700s and ended in 1842 or 1848 (there are differences among the bourgeois economists on this). By 1848, a new upsurge was underway, followed by a deep recession from 1873 to 1893, which was also called the Great Depression.

In the 1890s, there's the beginning of another upturn. The 1930s represented the third big downturn. Beginning in 1940 or so is a long upturn, lasting until, say, 1970. Now we are

again into the downturn.

Again, I want to emphasize that there is no proof of any of this. This is not a causal theory. The bourgeois economists don't agree on why this happens. It's basically a description, but it's happened three times.

I think it's happening for a fourth time now.

In addition to the Kondratiev wave, the bourgeois economists talk about two other cycles: the Juglar cycle of nine or 10 years (Marx discusses this in *Capital* and elsewhere) and the Kitchins cycle of three to four years. The Juglar and Kitchins cycles occur within the longer cycle, with the result being a snake-like motion.

So when we say we're heading into a deep depression, it doesn't mean there won't be any upturn, or that the economy will collapse tomorrow. Of course a collapse is possible, if the international monetary system breaks apart. But barring that, we will experience a wave-like downward motion toward a 1930s-type depression.

Now to understand why we're headed into this type of situation, we are going to have to go back and take a broad overview of what happened in the post-war period, why there was an economic upturn, and why it's now unravelling.

In this talk, there will be a certain split between economics and politics. In reality, such a split cannot be made, particularly with the tremendous growth of the state and state intervention in the economy in this century. One effect of this is that

politics and economics are increasingly fused; a political decision is an economic decision and vice-versa.

But for the sake of convenience, I am first going to focus in on the economic side of events and then the political/social side.

## Effects of Depression and World War II

The economic basis of the post-war boom has to be understood in terms of some basic points that Marx discusses in *Capital*.

First, the depression of the 1930s led to a significant **concentration and centralization of capital**. This included the liquidation of debts and the destruction of a lot of fictitious capital.

Second, the depression and World War II created the opportunity for a substantial **modernization of the productive apparatus**—the mills, factories, etc.—since in Europe and Japan much of that apparatus had been destroyed by the war. When it was rebuilt in the post-war period, it was on the basis of the most modern productive techniques available. In the U.S., which wasn't ravaged by the war, the modernization of the means of production was far less extensive.

Third, the depression and World War II **lowered real wages**, particularly in Europe, where the average level of wages didn't reach the 1929-30 level again until almost 1960. In other words, through the late '40s and '50s, real wages in Europe were lower than they had been in 1929.

## Part 1: The Post-War Boom Unravels



All of this—the concentration and centralization of capital, the modernization of the productive apparatus, and the lowering of real wages—increased the rate of exploitation of the working class, the rate of surplus value. This, in turn, offset the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, or even raised the rate of profit, which allowed for a high rate of reinvestment and a high rate of accumulation of capital.

On the broader, political/social level, there were several factors which contributed to the post-war prosperity.

One was that from 1914 until after World War II, the working class experienced a series of devastating defeats, with the exception of the October Revolution in Russia. World War I; the smashing of workers' uprisings in the late teens and '20s; the Nazi rise to power in Germany; the crushing of the Spanish Revolution by the Franco forces; a second and even more terrible world war; and, finally, the defeat of the upsurge in the class struggle following World War II—these things decimated the working class, sapped its fighting spirit and weakened its political understanding.

By the late 1940s, the workers' movement was severely weakened and in retreat around the world, giving the capitalists a free hand to reorganize the system in any way they saw fit. In other words, the defeats of the working class laid the basis for the political and economic reorganization of world capitalism in the post-war period.

Another factor that was key was that one country emerged from World War II as the overwhelmingly dominant capitalist power—the United States. This was very significant. Generally speaking, world capitalism has been most stable when one capitalist power has been able to dominate the others.

In these periods, the ruling class of the dominant country can discipline the rest of the world capitalist class (and the other classes) to defend its own rule and to protect the system as a whole.

For example, a good part of the 19th century—that is, after the Napoleonic Wars and before imperialist rivalries began to develop in the 1880s—was relatively peaceful. There were no big wars, only local ones. This corresponded with Great Britain's unchallenged economic, military and political hegemony.

As Britain declined and began to be challenged by Germany and, to a

lesser extent, the U.S., world capitalism became more and more unstable, a situation that continued to varying degrees until after World War II, when the U.S. emerged as the dominant power.

By the end of World War II, the U.S. held almost all the world's monetary gold and was responsible for a tremendous percentage of the world's total production of goods and services. And the U.S. was by far the strongest military power of the time.

What the U.S. ruling class did was to use this economic, political and military clout to reorganize world capitalism (excluding the state-capitalist countries) around itself and its imperialist interests. The UN, NATO, SEATO and all the other military alliances, puppet governments in the underdeveloped countries, the international monetary system, the World Bank, etc., were all set up to increase and defend the economic and political hegemony of U.S. imperialism. And so what you had was a relatively long period of stability that was roughly comparable to the 19th century when Great Britain dominated the world.

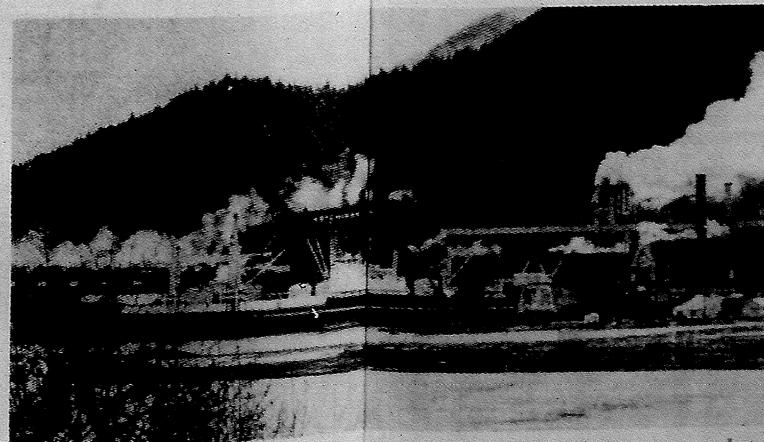
I'd like to point out here that the capitalists themselves are aware of this phenomenon. In fact, one bourgeois economist, Charles Kindleberger, an expert on international trade, has argued that one reason why there was a depression in the 1930s was that the U.S. bourgeoisie would

not assert world leadership at the time, even though it could have. He believes that if the U.S. bourgeoisie had exercised the power it had, instead of retreating into an isolationist phase, the depression wouldn't have happened, or it wouldn't have been as severe.

I don't believe that Kindleberger's point is true; nevertheless, it shows that the capitalists are very much aware of the correlation between economic and political stability and the hegemony of the largest imperialist power. I just emphasize that because in the post-war period the U.S. was the dominant power and one thing everyone has noticed today is that U.S. imperialism is on the decline.

## Deficit spending used to stimulate economy

I've talked briefly about the economic and political/social bases of the post-war prosperity. Beyond these, as part of the general reorganization of world capitalism, the capitalists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, came up with a variety of techniques which served to mask temporarily the contradictions that were still inherent in the system. In particular, these techniques served to hide the actual fall in the rate of profit. Or put colloquially, the capitalists found



*The capitalists have consistently abused the air, made it more and more polluted, and we are going to have to pay for—literally buy—clean air.*

# ALISM IN CRISIS

1:  
e  
st-  
r  
om  
avels



ways of sweeping the problems under the rug.

One example of this was the increased intervention of the state in the economy, particularly the role of deficit spending. In the 19th century, the capitalists' ideal was a balanced budget and they thought the state should keep its hands off the economy as much as possible. In the 1930s, however, under the impact of the depression, the capitalists and their economists, such as John Maynard Keynes, figured out they could use the state to get the economy out of crisis.

According to the Keynesian model, the state would borrow idle money and use it to stimulate the economy. It would "prime the pump," as the economists put it. It would put the unemployed to work, build hydroelectric dams, set up welfare programs, subsidize various sectors of the economy, etc.

The idea was that once the pump was primed, once the economy was stimulated, it would grow fast enough to pay back the borrowed money. In other words, eventually the economy would be stimulated out of the slump and there would be enough profits to pay back the debt. In the short term, while in a slump, the state would go into debt, while on the upturn, it would get out of debt. So over time, there would be no increase, or very little increase in the debt.

But what happened was that the economy never recovered fast enough or long enough to pay back the debt and the state debt kept getting larger and larger, until by early this year it topped one trillion dollars. To a great degree, therefore, the economy was stimulated artificially. The problems appeared to be solved but they were in fact just shoved under the rug.

In the past, this arrangement could only have worked for a short period of time. In the 19th century, when the international monetary system was based on the gold standard, continual budget deficits, which induce inflation, would have tended to price a country's goods out of the world market. This in turn would have forced a country to balance its budget and get the inflation under control.

But in 1944 the international monetary system was set up in such a way that it forced the foreign capitalists to subsidize the U.S. debt. Exactly how this was arranged is beyond the scope of this talk. But I should mention that it led to the buildup of a tremendous amount of dollars outside of the U.S., \$650 billion by March of this year. These so-called Eurodollars are now threatening the international monetary system that created them.

As a result of this setup, the U.S. bourgeoisie didn't pay the price for its use of deficit financing in the short run and the Keynesian techniques appeared to work somewhat longer.

I'd like to note here that the expan-

sion of the state debt was essential for another economic development of the post-war period: the fantastic growth of the armaments industry and the war machine in general. Through arms spending the government stimulated vast sectors of the U.S. economy, providing guaranteed profits for many corporations, guaranteed markets for the products, guaranteed employment for workers, and generating various technological developments, etc. While some of this was financed through taxes, much of it was financed through government borrowing.

Similarly, a huge expansion of private debt, now over \$1.3 trillion, fueled two other sectors of the U.S. economy. One was a big increase in the production of automobiles and the development of the highway system. And closely connected to this was suburbanization, people moving out to the suburbs in droves, which meant that there was a great demand for new housing and construction.

So that's one technique, the increased role of the state in the econ-

their mills are outmoded and decrepit, they have the funds to modernize them or build new ones. (Actually, the problem is that the steel companies should have been doing this, but haven't been.)

The depreciation funds cut into profits in the short run, but lay the basis for profitable operations in the future. But if the capitalists don't set aside such money, their profits will look high in the present, but they won't have the capital to modernize when they really need to. Then they'll have to borrow, cut back their operations, all of which will cut profits. This is in fact what is happening to U.S. Steel, among other U.S. corporations.

The destruction—plundering—of the environment is directly comparable to the plundering of the underdeveloped countries and natural resources. Let's take as an example the air.

In the production process, as comrades here in steel and auto know, air is used in lots of ways. For example, when something burns it consumes oxygen, and if there's no oxygen, it



*The U.S. ruling class used its economic, political and military clout to reorganize world imperialism around itself and its interests.*

omy, the growth of the state debt, and of the private debt. Later I'll go into what the long-term result of this has been.

## Underdeveloped countries plundered

Another technique that served to shore up capitalism in the short run was the plundering of the underdeveloped countries, natural resources and the environment. Take the plundering of raw materials. When the capitalists plunder a given area of some natural resources without paying for them, or not paying enough, in the short run they can keep production costs artificially low and profits artificially high. But this can only be a temporary affair.

Sooner or later, the sources of the cheap (i.e., plundered) raw materials will not be available or can only be gotten at great cost. This may happen because such plundering propels people in the underdeveloped countries to launch struggles to kick out the imperialists. It may occur because the ruling elites of countries which are the source of essential raw materials decide to unite to jack up the price of their products (as the OPEC countries did in the case of oil). Or it may be the result of more strictly economic factors.

Whatever the precise form, plundering raw materials in the present usually results in greatly increased costs of these goods in the future. This drastically cuts profits. In other words, the high profits in the short run come at the direct expense of future profits. We've referred to this phenomenon many times as "borrowing from the future."

Now, the usual way the capitalists avoid a comparable problem with their plant and equipment is by setting up a depreciation fund. Every year the steel companies, for example, set aside a certain amount of money so that when

won't burn.

Air is actually a natural resource. It's just like coal, raw iron, wood, or anything else. Except that it seems like it's free and available in unlimited quantities. But it's not unlimited and therefore, in the long run, it isn't free.

The problem, under capitalism, is that since nobody owns the air, that is, there's no commodity producer who owns and sells the air, all the capitalists use the air for free, and nobody sets aside funds to make sure there's clean air when they (and we) need it.

As a result, the capitalists have consistently abused the air, made it more and more foul, without paying a replacement cost. Pretty soon we and the corporations are going to have to pay for—literally buy—clean air. And this is another example of borrowing from the future. In the short run it seems to create high profits, but only because the capitalists aren't paying the replacement costs, which mount up until they're astronomical. A comparable dynamic is the source of the oil crisis and the energy crisis as a whole. The capitalists swept a lot of real problems under the rug and by now the rug is extremely lumpy.

## Capitalists bribed labor aristocracy

I'd like to give a final example of how the capitalists temporarily hid the contradictions of the system. It's more a political technique, but is really the same phenomenon.

In order to keep things stable, the U.S. capitalists bribed a section of the working class and the labor bureaucracy. In exchange, the capitalists got the right to do almost anything they wanted on the shop floor to increase productivity. Despite this, there were costs involved.

One, the capitalists have had to pay relatively high wages to a section of

(Continued on page 17)

lesser extent, the U.S. world capitalism became more and more unstable, a situation that continued to varying degrees until after World War II, when the U.S. emerged as the dominant power.

By the end of World War II, the U.S. held almost all the world's monetary gold and was responsible for a tremendous percentage of the world's total production of goods and services. And the U.S. was by far the strongest military power of the time.

What the U.S. ruling class did was to use this economic, political and military clout to reorganize world capitalism (excluding the state-capitalist countries) around itself and its imperialist interests. The UN, NATO, SEATO and all the other military alliances, puppet governments in the underdeveloped countries, the international monetary system, the World Bank, etc., were all set up to increase and defend the economic and political hegemony of U.S. imperialism. And so what you had was a relatively long period of stability that was roughly comparable to the 19th century when Great Britain dominated the world.

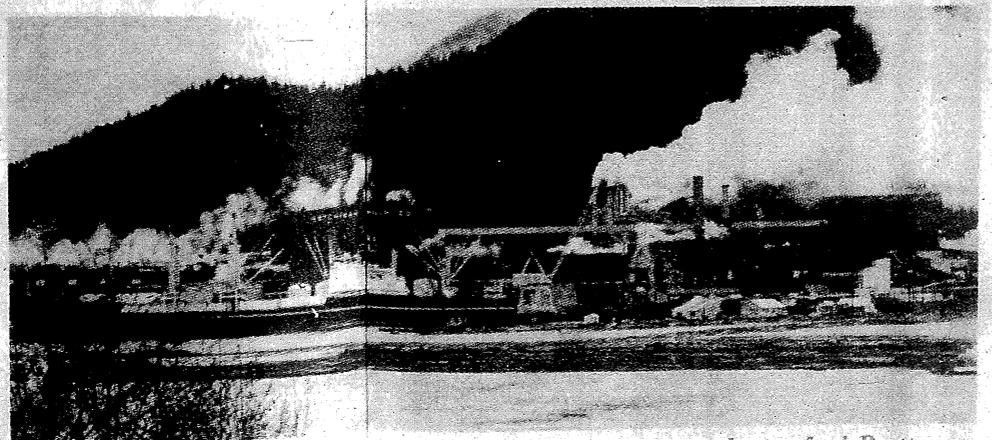
I'd like to point out here that the capitalists themselves are aware of this phenomenon. In fact, one bourgeois economist, Charles Kindleberger, an expert on international trade, has argued that one reason why there was a depression in the 1930s was that the U.S. bourgeoisie would

not assert world leadership at the time, even though it could have. He believes that if the U.S. bourgeoisie had exercised the power it had, instead of retreating into an isolationist phase, the depression wouldn't have happened, or it wouldn't have been as severe.

I don't believe that Kindleberger's point is true; nevertheless, it shows that the capitalists are very much aware of the correlation between economic and political stability and the hegemony of the largest imperialist power. I just emphasize that because in the post-war period the U.S. was the dominant power and one thing everyone has noticed today is that U.S. imperialism is on the decline.

## Deficit spending used to stimulate economy

I've talked briefly about the economic and political/social bases of the post-war prosperity. Beyond these, as part of the general reorganization of world capitalism, the capitalists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, came up with a variety of techniques which served to mask temporarily the contradictions that were still inherent in the system. In particular, these techniques served to hide the actual fall in the rate of profit. Or put colloquially, the capitalists found



*The capitalists have consistently abused the air, made it more and more foul. Pretty soon we are going to have to pay for—literally buy—clean air.*



Revolutionaries killed by the cops in San Salvador lie covered with their banner.

## El Salvador Coup Heads Off Revolution

By PAUL BENJAMIN

On October 15, "leftist" military officers overthrew the dictatorship of Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador. They have set up a new ruling junta and promised all kinds of reforms to the people in a bid for popular support. But in fact the new government is cooperating with U.S. imperialism to undermine the struggle for revolution in El Salvador.

Nearly all the ingredients for socialist revolution are present in El Salvador. The country is nearing economic collapse. Unemployment in the countryside is approaching 60 per cent. Prices for food and other basic com-

modities have shot up 60 percent in the last six months.

The Romero regime, which took power in 1977, polarized the country and brought it to the point of insurrection. On one side are the "14 Families," the tiny ruling class that controls most of El Salvador's wealth. They are supported by the government, the army, and right-wing terrorist organizations, like the Orden, the Falange, and the Union of White Warriors.

On the other side is the mass of Salvadorean people, led by a well-organized left opposition movement that includes tens of thousands of workers and peasants. For

months the opposition has carried out factory and church occupations, strikes and demonstrations despite fierce repression by the army, police and "unofficial" death squads. At the same time, leftist military organizations engaged in shoot-outs with the cops and National Guard almost every day.

Beginning last summer, U.S. diplomats made several trips to El Salvador. They tried to convince Romero to end the crisis by agreeing to call new elections. When he refused, the U.S. turned to reformist politicians and sympathetic military officers to push him out. The result was the October 15 coup.

After the coup, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance praised the new government as "centrist and moderate," and promised to provide it with "significant assistance." U.S. State Department officials admitted they were informed of plans for the coup a week in advance.

U.S. imperialism and its Salvadorean allies are trying to create a middle ground in El Salvador in which the reformists can step in between the ruling class and the left opposition to stabilize capitalist rule. This is revealed by the composition of the new junta, its backers and its public program.

The junta is made up of the two colonels who orga-

nized the coup, Jaime Abdul Gutierrez and Adolfo Arnoldo Roman, and three civilians: Guillermo Manuel Ungo, head of the social-democratic Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR—National Revolutionary Movement); Mario Antonio Andino, a business leader and manager of the Salvadorean subsidiary of the U.S.-owned Phelps-Dodge Company; and Ramon Mayorga Quiroz, rector of the Catholic Central American University. The junta has the support of the Popular Forum, an alliance of the Christian Democratic Party, the MNR, and the National Democratic Union, the legal organization of the Salvadorean Communist Party.

The junta has pledged to carry out the Common Platform of the Popular Forum. This program calls for early elections, land reform, wage increases, price freezes on basic consumer goods, a rent freeze, and freedom for political parties and trade unions to operate freely. It is trying to demonstrate its independence from the U.S. by promising diplomatic recognition of Cuba and stronger ties with Nicaragua.

It's unlikely that the junta will succeed in its goal of restoring capitalist stability to El Salvador. Immediately after the coup, the government declared a 30-day state of siege, imposed a curfew and suspended the constitution. Troops attacked workers occupying four plants and two churches in San Salvador, the national capital. On October 29, troops fired on an anti-government demonstration, killing 32 and wounding dozens. At least 100 people have died in anti-government protests since

## Jamaican Capitalists Fretting

(From the Forward, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League.)

On Tuesday, October 9, the following article by Balford Henry appeared in the Jamaican Daily Gleaner. We are reprinting it here because it is an important article.

It is important because it shows the capitalists' growing fear over the organizing work that the Revolutionary Marxist League and the Standing Strike Support Committee have been doing in the factories and trade unions.

The capitalists are particularly worried that it is the RML that is mainly carrying out serious industrial work at this time. Because the RML is pushing a clear revolutionary socialist programme. We are fighting to unite the working class independently of the two capitalist parties. And we oppose capitalism in all its forms, including the state capitalism of the so-called socialist countries like Cuba, Russia and China.

It is for these reasons that the capitalists starting to ketch dem afraid. They are fretting that before too long the League will be a strong organization that is deeply rooted in the working class. An organization that can lead the working masses in

powerful actions throughout the country.

In their fight, the capitalists are sounding the alarm. They are warning their friends throughout the is-

land, including their agents in the misleaderships of the trade unions. They are warning them to watch out for the RML Communists.

But what is certain is that

the capitalists are going to have a lot more fretting to do in the time that is coming. We are going to continue the struggle for revolutionary leadership of the working

class with a stronger and stronger heart. At the same time we are on our guard against any attacks on us by the capitalists or their political parties. □

FRIDAY AFTERNOON a railway worker handed me a copy of the newest "progressive" paper making the rounds in the labour sector.

It is called "Forward" and had some very revealing stories on the c o n traditions within the left, which in fact are typical of the c o n traditions which have permeated the society and have set it bubbling with wrath.

Printed by the Revolutionary Marxist League, the paper was being distributed around the railway station in downtown Kingston as an act of solidarity with the workers who have been on a go-slow, seeking representation by the Dockers and Marine Workers Union. In fact, the RML as it has done at several other places like Bata, CMP Footwear, Coca Cola and P.O. Polack, has formed a solidarity group, in this instance, a Jamaica Railway Corporation Workers Committee. "Forward" is a very interesting paper which reveals a new so-called "ultra-leftwing" development on the labour front and which

is taking root among disgruntled workers and unemployed people.

It is quite fashionable to be seen with one of these papers nowadays; like wearing a multi-coloured tam and dark glasses. It makes you feel like Che in his popular pose with his Russian rifle.

The RML is the latest development at factory gates where strikes are started. Morally, it is quite easy getting used to their ideas about raising funds to help the strikers and workers' solidarity, but afterwards they do get into some heavy stuff about Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyism.

They state their stand: "The RML is a revolutionary workers organization. We stand on Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism. The principles and practices of the liberation of the working class and all oppressed people."

So far they have organised a Standing Strike Support Committee which has arranged solidarity sessions with the workers of P.O. Polack Limited and Coca Cola both of which have since closed down.

At its rallies the RML invites workers from various factories including CMP Footwear (where they organised several solidarity rallies during a strike earlier this year), Bata and Davon.

RML members can be seen at most places where strikes or go-slows are started organising mass solidarity rallies to overthrow capitalism in Jamaica and world-wide and create an independent revolutionary workers party based on Trotskyist principles.

Some of their views on prominent socialist fig-

ures are very interesting.

On Fidel Castro's Government "We call for a new socialist revolution in Cuba to oust the present regime and establish a genuinely socialist government of the Cuban workers and small farmers."

On Cuban Ambassador Ulises Estrada: "It is also true that the Cuban Stalinists including Estrada will not hesitate to link up with their Jamaican and Russian counterparts and the PNP in smashing Jamaican revolutionaries and workers whenever that party's rule become threatened by the revolutionary action of the masses."

On the late Angolan leader Agostinho Neto: "After they took power, the Neto government turned on the workers, independent workers organizations were broken up, working hours made longer and "speed up campaigns were started in the plants."

On PNP general secretary, Dr. D. K. Duncan: "D. K. Duncan is back as the general secretary of the PNP. This development means that once again Duncan is to be the PNP's main workhorse and left wing face card. When he's no longer needed for these purposes, D.K. may well find himself thrown aside like orange guts that have been sucked dry... We have no confidence in D. K. Duncan. The struggle facing the masses now is not one to keep the PNP in Power."

Rather interesting views from an organization already being labelled "ultra-leftist" and one which is gaining momentum among the workers wherever and whenever industrial disputes arise. \*

October 15.

However, the left threat remains a threat to the new government. The largest group is the Bloque Revolucionario (BP—Popular Revolutionary) is a coalition of worker and peasant organizations including the Federación de Trabajadores del Campo, the largest peasant organization, the Union de Pobladores Tugurios, an organization for poor people; and unions. It has 30,000 members. The group was formed and supported a strategy of bringing down the Romero government.

The Frente de Acción Popular Unificada (United Front for Popular Action) is a much smaller organization of worker and organizations which formed in 1975. It called for an immediate popular revolution against Romero and criticized the BPR for trying to cooperate with the government.

The smallest of the opposition coalitions is the Populares 28 de Febrero (LP-28—February 28th People's Leagues), which is largely students. The other two groups have been willing to work with pro-capitalist parties like the Christian Democrats.

MNR, and is the only one of the three to have signed the Common Platform.

Each of these coalitions is one of the underground military organizations in El Salvador. Military groups seem to have a large role in determining the policies of the mass coalitions, but appear to control the situation completely.

The BPR is supported by the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación—Farabundo Martí (FPL—Popular L-



Demonstrators clash with

Forces). FAPU has linked up with the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Resistance). The LP is associated with the Bloque Revolucionario del Campo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army).

The leadership of all military organizations is in the hands of radical mass class nationalists. The split from the Salvadoran Communist Party in opposing its purely electoral strategy. It represents

nized the coup, Jaime Abdul Gutierrez and Adolfo Arnoldo Roman, and three civilians: Guillermo Manuel Ungo, head of the social-democratic Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR—National Revolutionary Movement); Mario Antonio Andino, a business leader and manager of the Salvadorean subsidiary of the U.S.-owned Phelps-Dodge Company; and Ramon Matorga Quiroz, rector of the Catholic Central American University. The junta has the support of the Popular Forum, an alliance of the Christian Democratic Party, the MNR, and the National Democratic Union, the legal organization of the Salvadorean Communist Party.

The junta has pledged to carry out the Common Platform of the Popular Forum. This program calls for early elections, land reform, wage increases, price freezes on basic consumer goods, a rent freeze, and freedom for political parties and trade unions to operate freely. It is trying to demonstrate its independence from the U.S. by promising diplomatic recognition of Cuba and stronger ties with Nicaragua.

It's unlikely that the junta will succeed in its goal of restoring capitalist stability to El Salvador. Immediately after the coup, the government declared a 30-day state of siege, imposed a curfew and suspended the constitution. Troops attacked workers occupying four plants and two churches in San Salvador, the national capital. On October 29, troops fired on an anti-government demonstration, killing 32 and wounding dozens. At least 100 people have died in anti-government protests since

October 15.

However, the left opposition remains a powerful threat to the new government. The largest opposition group is the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR—Popular Revolutionary Bloc). It is a coalition of worker and peasant organizations, including the Federacion de Trabajadores del Campo, the largest peasant organization; the Union de Pobladores de Tugurios, an organization of poor people; and 33 trade unions. It has 30,000 to 50,000 members. The BPR, which was formed in 1976, supported a strategy of "prolonged people's war" to bring down the Romero government.

The Frente de Accion Popular Unificada (FAPU—United Front for Popular Action) is a much smaller coalition of worker and peasant organizations which was formed in 1975. It called for an immediate popular insurrection against Romero, and criticized the BPR for refusing to cooperate with other groups.

The smallest of the opposition coalitions is the Ligas Populares 28 de Febrero (LP-28—February 28 People's Leagues), whose base is largely students. Unlike the other two groups, it has been willing to work with pro-capitalist parties like the Christian Democrats and the MNR, and is the only one of the three to have signed the Common Platform.

Each of these coalitions is tied to one of the three underground military organizations in El Salvador. These military groups seem to play a large role in determining the policies of the broader mass coalitions, but do not appear to control them completely.

The BPR is supported by the Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion—Farabundo Marti (FPL—Popular Liberation

state-capitalist wing of the nationalist movement.

FARN was formed in 1975 after a split in the ERP. Its leaders are also state capi-



talists, but they differ with the FPL on tactics and strategy.

The ERP itself appears to have emerged in 1970 from radical elements in the Christian Democratic Party. It works for a united front among nationalist forces, especially those within the Salvadorean military.

### Opposition shifts strategy

The new junta has asked for cooperation from all six opposition groups. But they initially refused and condemned the junta, and tried to overthrow it. The BPR occupied the Ministry of Economy and Labor, and later the Ministry of Education. FAPU organized the October 29 demonstration. The LP-28 fought battles with government troops on October 16. The three military organizations bombed other targets.

The failure of these attacks to bring down the

to organize strikes and demonstrations to prepare the way for overthrowing the junta. The LP-28 has wavered back and forth, first opposing the junta, then supporting it, and finally, according to recent reports, reversing its position again and opposing the regime.

The coup has temporarily changed the political balance of forces in El Salvador. Pro-U.S. opposition parties have rallied behind the government. The Roman Catholic Church, which had reluctantly supported anti-government protests against Romero, is now condemning the "intransigence" of the left for refusing to cooperate with the junta.

In addition, the coup has encouraged illusions in the possibility of a peaceful transition to civilian rule. For instance, over 100,000 people gave an enthusiastic welcome to Christian Democratic leader Jose Napoleon Duarte when he returned from a seven-year exile on October 31.

But this situation cannot last for long. There is no way for the junta to stabilize the economy without attacking the workers and peasants. Illusions in the junta are bound to break down. Workers and peasants will continue their struggle for freedom in El Salvador.

Their victory depends on building a revolutionary party committed to the creation of a truly communist society. This means not only overthrowing U.S. imperialism and its stooges in El Salvador, but smashing the capitalist state apparatus completely. It means organizing workers' and peasants' soviets to lead the struggle against the capitalists and to take over the administration of society for themselves once the capitalists are defeated.

It means not only expropriating the factories and land owned by the capitalists, but turning over control of production to the workers' factory committees and trade unions, and distributing the land to the peasants. It means reorganizing production to meet the needs of the people. And it means joining with workers and peasants everywhere to build a society of human freedom such as the world has never known.

This kind of victory won't be easy. It can be won only by a party which knows exactly what it is fighting for, and how to achieve it.

The possibilities of building such a party in El Salvador are enormous. The workers and peasants have already forged a strong alliance through the opposition coalitions. The left wing inside the coalitions opposes the present government and any alliance with the reformists. Many have arms, and all have been trained in struggle against the Romero regime.

By building their own party, revolutionary workers and peasants will be able to fight for leadership within the left coalitions. As the fight against the junta intensifies, they will have increasing opportunities to win the left wing to supporting the struggle for socialist revolution in El Salvador. □



## Military stages coup in Bolivia

On November 1 Colonel Alberto Natusch Busch led a right-wing coup against Bolivia's first civilian government in 15 years. He deposed interim President Walter Guevara Arze, who was chosen by the Bolivian congress in August after the July elections failed to give any candidate a majority. In response to Natusch's coup, Bolivian workers, led by the Bolivian Workers' Central, organized a general strike which lasted eight days. Tin miners used dynamite to fight troops supporting Natusch. At least 207 people were killed in demonstrations against the coup.

The U.S. imperialists and Bolivian capitalists are also condemning the coup, but for different reasons than the workers. They want to get rid of Natusch before mass opposition to military rule explodes into a full-scale revolution against Bolivian capitalism. As a result, the U.S. cut off all military and economic aid to Bolivia, while the Bolivian congress, announcing that it was the only legitimate representative of the Bolivian people, refused to negotiate with Natusch.

These maneuvers have the support of the reformist leaders of the Bolivian Workers' Central. After a week the union leaders called off the general strike. On November 11 they began meetings with congressional and military leaders to find a "peaceful solution" to the crisis.

## Zionists arrest West Bank mayor

On November 11 Israeli military officials arrested Bassam al-Shaka, the mayor of Nablus in the Israeli-occupied West Bank territory. Shaka, a supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), faces deportation to Jordan for "expressing sympathy for terrorists." Workers in Nablus responded to his arrest with a general strike. The Nablus City Council and mayors and municipal councilors of other Palestinian towns on the West Bank and in Gaza have resigned in protest.

The Israeli government arrested Shaka for allegedly justifying a PLO military operation in March 1978 in which 34 Israeli civilians were killed. What Shaka said was: "... the Israeli state injures the rights of the Palestinian people, and its policy is a policy of force, and it is unlikely that this will not bring about reactions of this type." That statement is, if anything, too mild. The Zionists stole the Palestinians' homeland to set up the state of Israel in 1947. They conquered the West Bank in 1967. Israeli troops invaded Lebanon last year, and routinely bomb and shell Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. It is the height of hypocrisy for the Zionist ruling class to condemn the PLO as "terrorists," let alone arrest elected Palestinian officials for merely hinting at the truth.

## South Korea dictator assassinated

South Korea's dictator Park Chung Hee was assassinated on October 26 by Kim Jae Kyu, head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). The South Korean government, which first tried to cover up the shooting as an "accident," later jailed Kim, purged his henchmen in the KCIA, and gave Park a grand state funeral. But all indications are that no one was very sorry to see Park go.

In the past year or so, Park had been increasingly incapable of controlling the growing economic and political crisis in South Korea. Inflation is running at a 25 percent annual rate. The country's balance of payments deficit shot up to \$3.3 billion by September 1979. The textile industry, a mainstay of South Korea's economy, is laying off hundreds of workers. Park's efforts to stabilize the economy through tight money policies drove many companies into bankruptcy while solving nothing.

This crisis, along with Park's brutal repression of all his critics, increased hostility to his regime among the masses of Koreans. Opposition to Park also built up within the Korean ruling class. In June, National Democratic Party leader Kim Young Sam called for Park's resignation. On October 4, Kim was expelled from the National Assembly for publicly criticizing Park, which is illegal under South Korean law. This was the spark which set off a popular rebellion in South Korea. On October 16, 2,000 students in Pusan rallied in support of Kim. The next day the government declared martial law. Despite this, anti-government demonstrations broke out in Masan on October 18.

By this time Park had become a political liability for the U.S. ruling class and its South Korean stooges. After the demonstrations began, several South Korean generals met with U.S. officials in the country to "indicate their dissatisfaction" with Park's handling of the crisis. The U.S. has not revealed what it said in response. But a week later Park was dead.

—PB

# retting

going to  
ing to do  
coming.  
tinue the  
lutionary  
working

class with a stronger and stronger heart. At the same time we are on our guard against any attacks on us by the capitalists or their political parties. □

ures are very interesting.

On Fidel Castro's Government "We call for a new socialist revolution in Cuba to oust the present regime and establish a genuinely socialist government of the Cuban workers and small farmers.

On Cuban Ambassador Ulises Estrada: "It is also true that the Cuban Stalinists including Estrada will not hesitate to link up with their Jamaican and Russian counterparts and the PNP in smashing Jamaican revolutionaries and workers whenever that party's rule become threatened by the revolutionary action of the masses.

On the late Angolan leader Agostinho Neto: "After they took power, the Neto government turned on the workers, independent workers organizations were broken up, working hours made longer and "speed up campaigns were started in the plants.

On PNP general secretary, Dr. D. K. Duncan: "D. K. Duncan is back as the general secretary of the PNP... This development means that once again Duncan is to be the PNP's main workhorse and left wing face card. When he's no longer needed for these purposes, D.K. may well find himself thrown aside like orange guts that have been sucked dry... We have no confidence in D. K. Duncan. The struggle facing the masses now is not one to keep the PNP in Power.

Rather interesting views from an organization already being labelled "ultra-leftist" and one which is gaining momentum among the workers wherever and whenever industrial disputes arise. \*



Demonstrators clash with cops in San Salvador before coup.

Forces). FAPU has links with the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional (FARN—Armed Forces of National Resistance). The LP-28 is associated with the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army).

The leadership of all three military organizations is in the hands of radical middle-class nationalists. The FPL split from the Salvadorean Communist Party in 1970, opposing its purely electoral strategy. It represents one

government is forcing opposition leaders to revise their strategy. The BPR ended its occupations on November 6. It is giving the government a 30-day truce to meet BPR demands for a doubling of the \$3-a-day minimum wage, a freeze on food prices, and information on the fate of prisoners who have disappeared after arrests or kidnappings.

FAPU says the coup "confused many" and "broke off the possibility of an accelerated process of armed struggle." It is now planning

# EDITORIAL

## Death in Kampuchea

The people of Kampuchea are on the brink of destruction. In 1975 there were between seven and eight million Kampuchean (Khmers). Today only around four million survive. Of these, two million face death within six months from starvation or disease.

Who is to blame for this? First and foremost the responsibility lies with the U.S. imperialists. The destruction of Kampuchea and the Khmer people began with U.S. imperialism's effort to suppress the national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia.

Between 1969 and 1973, U.S. planes dropped over 500,000 tons of bombs on the Kampuchean countryside, killing over 100,000 Khmers and driving most of the population into the cities. This bombardment wrecked dikes and irrigation systems essential to Kampuchea's agricultural economy. In 1970, U.S. ground troops invaded Kampuchea. The Kampuchean nation never recovered from these attacks.

### Two million died under Pol Pot

In 1975 liberation forces led by Pol Pot drove out the Lon Nol government and took over the country. While their victory was a defeat for U.S. imperialism, it brought no relief to the Kampuchean people.

The Pol Pot regime ruled over a country that had been devastated by U.S. imperialism. The goal of Pol Pot and his henchmen was to rebuild Kampuchea as an economically self-sufficient state-capitalist society. As the first step in this plan, they forced the people in the countryside at gunpoint and slaughtered anyone who resisted.

Some observers estimate that as many as two million people died or fled the country in the nearly four years Pol Pot was in power. In fact, no one knows exactly how many died under his regime. But the mass graves discovered in Kampuchea, as well as the overwhelming evidence provided by refugees, indicate that tens of thousands were murdered outright, to say nothing of those who starved or were

worked to death under the guns of Pol Pot's army.

In December 1978, armies of the state-capitalist Vietnamese regime invaded Kampuchea, kicked out Pol Pot and company, and set up a puppet government under Heng Samrin. Coming after the devastation wrought by U.S. imperialism and the Pol

chaos, Vietnamese troops have firm control only over eastern Kampuchea and the major cities. Large portions of the country are a no-man's land, where Pol Pot loyalists and other opponents of the Vietnamese invasion are continuing their resistance efforts. Consequently, only about five percent of the land

outcry. The United Nations opened an international conference on aid to Kampuchea on November 5. Various countries have pledged millions of dollars in food and medical supplies. But the maneuvers over control of the aid programs demonstrate that the ruling classes of the U.S. and Vietnam are continuing to use the Khmer people as pawns in their struggle for control of Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists are now parading as the saviors of the Khmers. On October 24, President Carter promised to provide up to \$69 million in aid for Kampuchea, and asked churches and community organizations to make their own contributions. The U.S. government deserves no applause for this.

Despite overwhelming evidence, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance denied there was any crisis in Kampuchea for months. Then U.S. negotiators refused for weeks to support any aid programs which might imply legal recognition of the Heng Samrin regime.

Meanwhile, the U.S. used the threat of a Vietnamese attack on Thailand to justify sending shiploads of weapons to the Thai army. Right now, the Thai government is cooperating with the U.S. to ensure that U.S. food shipments go only to Pol Pot loyalists and refugees who oppose the Vietnamese conquest. From the start, the U.S. has used the aid issue as a wedge to discredit the Vietnamese and to increase its own influence in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese ruling class and their puppets are also guilty of sacrificing the Kampuchean people to their own imperialist ambitions. In July, the Vietnamese sent out an international appeal for food and medical supplies. In September, however, the Vietnamese began a new offensive in Kampuchea to finish off the forces resisting their conquest. Now they are rejecting any aid offers that might allow one ounce of rice to reach their opponents.

On October 12, Pen Sovan,

defense minister of the Samrin government, declared: "I can say with a full sense of responsibility that no one is starving in our country." The Vietnamese ruling class is willing to let millions of Kampuchean die in order to maintain their control of the country.

### Capitalism is to blame

In this crisis the first task of revolutionaries and all those who support the Khmer people is to ensure their survival. This means demanding that the U.S., Thai and Vietnamese governments end all restrictions on shipments of food and medical supplies into Kampuchea. At the same time, we must defend the national rights of all the peoples of Southeast Asia. We must oppose the U.S. arms buildup in Thailand, and the other steps the U.S. is taking to restore its control of Southeast Asia. And we must continue to condemn Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and support the resistance to Vietnamese occupation.

The fate of Kampuchea is a grim reminder that capitalism in any form can survive only through war, starvation and even the annihilation of entire nations. In recent years the peoples of Biafra and Bangladesh were victims of regional rivalries among the imperialists and their allies. Millions have died from famine in Africa, while today the entire world, including the wealthier nations of Europe and North America, face depression.

The crisis in Kampuchea should serve to blow away any illusions in the "socialist" claims of the new rulers of Southeast Asia. Far from providing an alternative to the crimes of capitalism, these rulers are devoting all their energies to repeating them. And far from winning their freedom, the peoples of Southeast Asia still face the oppression, imperialist invasions, and mass murder built into the capitalist system. □



Pot regime, the Vietnamese invasion delivered a mortal blow to the Khmers.

According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, an influential capitalist magazine which condemned the Pol Pot regime from the start, there were relatively good rice crops in Kampuchea in 1976 and 1977. But as refugees fled the advancing Vietnamese armies, they were forced to eat the seeds intended for new crops in order to survive. As a result, no crops at all were planted last spring and today the Khmer people are starving.

In addition, Vietnamese efforts to secure their conquest of Kampuchea are reducing the country to total

is under cultivation, and there will be no new crops for months.

In short, the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnamese ruling class, and the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea itself have all contributed their share to the destruction of Kampuchea. All three are collaborators in genocide against the Khmer people.

The tragedy in Kampuchea has evoked an international

#### NATIONAL OFFICE

PO Box 562  
New York, NY 10036

#### BOSTON

PO Box 114  
Boston, MA 02166

#### CHICAGO

PO Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60660  
(312)226-5915

#### DETROIT

PO Box 485  
Detroit, MI 48221  
(313)341-1250

#### LOS ANGELES

PO Box 327  
Hollywood, CA 90028  
(213)661-5135

#### NEW YORK

PO Box 562  
New York, NY 10036  
(212)869-9239

#### 1979 Revolutionary Socialist League

Editorial Board:  
Paul Benjamin, Susan Edmunds,  
William Falk, Ron Taber  
Circulation Manager: Wayne Pierce  
Production Manager: Lee Ramla  
Production Staff: M. Ewers,  
Pat Nelson

Address all correspondence to:  
Torch/La Antorchas  
PO Box 562  
New York, NY 10036

Subscription Rates:  
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)  
Prisoners..... FREE  
3 issues (introductory)..... \$1.00  
12 issues (one year)..... \$5.00  
Supporting (one year)..... \$10.00

(Overseas)  
12 issues (seamail)..... \$5.00  
12 issues (airmail, unsealed)..... \$12.00

Make checks payable to the:  
Torch/La Antorchas

### To Our Readers in Prison

We would like to thank all our subscribers in prison for your understanding and support of our move to third-class mail. We have gotten numerous letters like the ones on page 2, and the number of donations has increased a lot. Knowing how hard it is for prisoners to send money, we appreciate every dollar. Hopefully, we can go back to first-class mail very soon.

If you are not receiving your Torch/La Antorchas every month or are having other hassles, please write and let us know. We'll do what we can. Thanks again.

(Continued from page

the working class.

Two, the capitalists pay to maintain a huge bureaucracy that makes of money without doing anything productive. The bureaucrats are paid union dues, but this that the capitalists have the better-off unionizers enough to live on and pay their dues.

Three, there is the term political cost of labor the labor bureaucracy social weight and its influence. In the short capitalists bought peace, but in the long that is, now—when the to push real wages there's a powerful labor bureaucracy and labor attacks on their power illegals and living stan

### Productive apparatus in decay

So as I hope I've made the same technique stimulated the economic short run, undermining strength in the long particular, the very heart the system—the productive apparatus—became progressively weaker in the post-war period. But the U.S. capitalists plunder the world and will, they didn't have to didn't—modernize their and equipment sufficient this way they undermined most important way of taining high profits (there increasing the rate of exploitation and offsetting the decay of the rate of profit to

For example, going back the steel industry, in the capitalists have so the largest and most modern steel-producing facilities the world, built since then. In the U.S., on the other some of the mills and nances are so old that they back to the turn of century.

In other words, what have is a productive apparatus in this country that quite literally in decay, less and less capable of generating surplus value, basis of profits.

At the same time, claims on surplus have increased enorm

## Subs SPECIAL

In order to expand people to the Torch/La offering a free pamphlet scripton.

•With an introductory choice of our special "Circle?" (available in Socialist Revolution."

•If you subscribe or "The Rise of State Capitalism" entitles you to the your choice of any of our Documents of Struggle.

If you have been member of Torch/La Antorchas and/or Forward take advantage of this

# CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

(Continued from page 13)

the working class.

Two, the capitalists have to pay to maintain a huge labor bureaucracy that makes a lot of money without doing anything productive. The labor bureaucrats are paid out of union dues, but this means that the capitalists have to pay the better-off unionized workers enough to live decently and pay their dues.

Three, there is the long-term political cost of building up the labor bureaucracy, its social weight and its political influence. In the short run, the capitalists bought labor peace, but in the long run—that is, now—when they have to push real wages down, there's a powerful labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy that will resist the attacks on their power, privileges and living standards.

## Productive apparatus in decay

So as I hope I've made clear, the same techniques that stimulated the economy in the short run, undermined its strength in the long run. In particular, the very heart of the system—the productive apparatus—became progressively weaker in the U.S. in the post-war period. Because the U.S. capitalists could plunder the world almost at will, they didn't have to—and didn't—modernize their plant and equipment sufficiently. In this way they undermined the most important way of maintaining high profits (that is, increasing the rate of exploitation and offsetting the tendency of the rate of profit to fall).

For example, going back to the steel industry, in Japan the capitalists have some of the largest and most modern steel-producing facilities in the world, built since the war. In the U.S., on the other hand, some of the mills and furnaces are so old that they date back to the turn of the century.

In other words, what you have is a productive apparatus in this country that is quite literally in decay, and is less and less capable of generating surplus value, the basis of profits.

At the same time, the claims on surplus value have increased enormously

throughout the post-war period. I discussed earlier the mushrooming of debts, both public and private, which were claims on future production.

In addition, I'd like to add two other developments of the post-war period which drained surplus value from the productive sector of the economy. The first was the expansion of unproductive sectors of the economy, such as McDonald's, advertising, various services, to say nothing of the military and the state apparatus. While these sectors are not central to the production of surplus value, they must be supported, the capitalists earn profits and workers who don't directly produce surplus value must be paid. This must come from somewhere, and that somewhere is the value-producing sectors of the economy.

The other development has been a spree of speculation, people making money by exchanging debt instruments, stocks, bonds, commodity futures, etc. Capitalists, individuals and institutions are increasingly afraid to invest in factories and other long-term investments. Instead, they have turned to speculation in order to make money. But the money that people "make" playing the markets ultimately must come from the surplus value produced in the productive sectors of the economy.

Let's look at the whole question another way. Let's say that there is X amount of surplus value being produced, and because of the obsolete industrial structure of the U.S. economy there is no expectation for an increase in X. But because of the explosion of debt and speculation, there are all these pieces of paper, claims on surplus value, which add up to X plus one trillion. In that situation, only some of those pieces of paper represent real value, that is, correspond to real commodities. The rest are completely fictitious.

Sooner or later, all the people who hold those pieces of paper are going to have a mad scramble to see who gets the real goods, the real value. And lots of people are going to be left with nothing because there isn't enough to go around.

This is in fact the situation

the U.S. economy, which is the centerpiece of the world economy, is facing. Meanwhile, the economists of the other imperialist powers are afflicted, to a greater or lesser degree, with similar problems. In short, all the techniques of borrowing from the future are played out. U.S. imperialism is declining and the world economy is set for a collapse, a worldwide economic crisis. This crisis would allow the system to do what it did in the 1930s: Liquidate the debts, concentrate and centralize capital, lower real wages, modernize the industrial infrastructure, etc. There are even some among the capitalists who advocate allowing the

economy to slip into a depression for these reasons.

But for most of the capitalist class, they're just trying to hang on any way they can. Richard Charles Gerstenberg former chairman of General Motors, was recently asked: "Where's the economy at? And he basically said: "It depends where people think it's at." That's what a lot of capitalists and economists think.

Meanwhile, this lack of real confidence is reflected in wild speculation—gold, diamonds, currencies, anything. There have been articles in the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* about the flow of money into art and antiques. There have also been articles about how not to get ripped off when buying and selling rare coins and things like that.

This rampaging speculation

is a worldwide phenomenon. It involves huge sums of money surging from one part of the world to another part extremely quickly. This leads to frequent and large fluctuations in the exchange rates of various currencies. And this, along with other things, such as the increase in the price of oil, is putting a tremendous strain on the international monetary system.

Sooner or later, the international monetary system will rip apart. That's what happened in the '30s. The whole international monetary system collapsed and trade, investment, and production virtually ceased. Exactly when the whole thing will fall apart can't be predicted. It's like pulling a piece of taffy. Exactly when it will break you don't know. But it will break. □

## Capitalism is to blame

In this crisis the first task of revolutionaries and all those who support the Khmer people is to ensure their survival. This means demanding that the U.S., Thai and Vietnamese governments end all restrictions on shipments of food and medical supplies into Kampuchea. At the same time, we must defend the national rights of all the peoples of Southeast Asia. We must oppose the U.S. arms build-up in Thailand, and the other steps the U.S. is taking to restore its control of Southeast Asia. And we must continue to condemn Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and support the resistance to Vietnamese occupation.

The fate of Kampuchea is a grim reminder that capitalism in any form can survive only through war, starvation and even the annihilation of entire nations. In recent years the peoples of Biafra and Bangladesh were victims of regional rivalries among the imperialists and their allies. Millions have died from famine in Africa, while today the entire world, including the wealthier nations of Europe and North America, face depression.

The crisis in Kampuchea should serve to blow away any illusions in the "socialist" claims of the new rulers of Southeast Asia. Far from providing an alternative to the crimes of capitalism, these rulers are devoting all their energies to repeating them. And far from winning their freedom, the peoples of Southeast Asia still face the oppression, imperialist invasions, and mass murder built into the capitalist system. □

## LEAGUE LITERATURE

### TORCH/LA ANTORCHA REPRINTS

15¢ EACH

Black Women in South Africa: Revolutionary Fighters Against Oppression  
Black Lesbian Speaks Out  
Woman Be Free!

Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Why Marxists Support National Liberation Struggles

Special Supplement: Has China Come Full Circle?

Why Marxists Look to the Most Oppressed Workers

For A Working-Class Strategy To Fight the Nazis

Malcolm X: Revolution Knows No Compromise

### REIMPRESIONES EN ESPANOL

¿Ha Viajado China el Círculo Completo?

¿Reforma o Revolución?: Cuestión Clave por la Izquierda

La Estrategia Leninista por la Liberación de los Homosexuales

### PAMPHLETS

Programme of the RML of Jamaica.....	\$ .05
The Rise of State Capitalism (How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed).....	\$ .50
China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line.....	\$ .35
South Africa: Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution.....	\$ .50
Attica-South Africa: Same Struggle, Same Fight! (Prisoners' Messages to the Day of Solidarity, September, 1977).....	\$ .35
Chile: Never Again!.....	\$ .50
Chile: ¡Que Nunca Vuelva a Suceder!.....	\$ .50

### DOCUMENTS OF STRUGGLE

Basic Analysis of State Capitalism (Document of Struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Red Flag Union).....	\$ .60
Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution (The Fight for Gay Liberation in the Red Flag Union).....	\$ .50

Order from: PO Box 562, NY, NY 10036

## Subscribe to the TORCH and FORWARD SPECIAL LIMITED OFFER

In order to expand our readership and introduce new people to the *Torch/La Antorcha* and *Forward*, we are offering a free pamphlet with any new or renewed subscription.

•With an introductory (three-month) sub you get your choice of our special supplements: "Has China Come Full Circle?" (available in Spanish) or "Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution."

•If you subscribe or renew for one year, we will send you "The Rise of State Capitalism" in English or Spanish.

•A subscription to both the *Torch/La Antorcha* and *Forward* entitles you to the "State Capitalism" pamphlet, plus your choice of any one of our reprints, pamphlets or Documents of Struggle.

If you have been meaning to subscribe to the *Torch/La Antorcha* and/or *Forward*, why not do it right now and take advantage of this limited offer? Subscribe now!

### FORWARD

- PRISONERS—One year—\$1.50
- 12 issues—\$5.00
- Introductory—3 months—\$1.00
- Supporting—12 issues—\$10

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

FREE PAMPHLET: \_\_\_\_\_

### TORCH/La Antorcha

- PRISONERS—Free, donations appreciated U.S., CANADA, MEXICO AND PUERTO RICO
- Introductory—3 months—\$1.00
- One year—\$5.00
- Supporting—\$10.00

OVERSEAS (TORCH/La Antorcha only)

- One year (seamail)—\$5.00
- One year (airmail)—\$12.00
- CONTRIBUTION \$

I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Contribution to the Prisoner Literature Fund (for free prisoner subs) \$

58 Please send this blank and check to TORCH, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036