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the
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International!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 12 / 25c

DECEMBER 15, 1979 - JANUARY 14, 1980

Carter Uses Iranian Crisis


U.S. STEPS UP WAR PLANS



Demonstrators outside occupied U.S. Embassy in Tehran on November 21, first day of Islamic new year.

As the face-off between U.S. imperialism and the Iranian people continues, the U.S. ruling class is trying to milk the situation for everything it is worth. For all their phony tears and angry denunciations of the Iranian students and Khomeini, the imperialists aren't primarily concerned with the hostages, international law, peace or any of the other "good things" they profess to

(Continued on page 5)



**STRUGGLE
AGAINST
KLAN
MOUNTS**

See page 14

Iran Explodes; Mass Protests Sweep Country

By PAUL BENJAMIN

On December 2, the 29th day after the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, voting began on a new constitution for Iran. The constitution, which is supposed to set up an "Islamic Republic," actually creates a dic-

tatorship for the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his advisors. It establishes a Faghi, or supreme religious leader, who will have ultimate authority over the Iranian state. As the constitution goes into effect, Khomeini will be granted this post for life. As Faghi, he will also

get the command of the army, control of the judiciary, and the power to dismiss an elected president at will. In addition, the constitution sets up a 12-person Council of Guardians, half of them handpicked by Khomeini, which can veto any laws passed by the proposed national assembly.

But while Khomeini dreams of a centralized Islamic state in Iran, the truth is that no one, not even Khomeini, has been able to impose "order" on the Iranian people. National minorities are rebelling against Khomeini's rule. The economy is near collapse. The central government is a hollow shell in which rival cliques of religious and political leaders battle it out, while the country disintegrates. The stage is set for

(Continued on page 6)

BIG STEEL ANNOUNCES BIG LAYOFFS

See page 3



Azerbaijanis guarding TV station they took over in Tabriz.

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

Part 2: The Contradictions Deepen

See page 12

**SECCION
EN
ESPANOL**

**our
readers
write...**

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

'We are victims of Agent Orange'

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

I have recently written to the ACLU in Houston trying to gain support for a cause that I feel is of major importance to me and a number of other persons who are confined in penal institutions throughout the U.S. As you know prisoners are on the lowest social class in our society, no matter what their color, race, creed. The TDC system is notorious for its treatment of prisoners and the medical care that we receive is at the best inadequate.

A number of men here at this unit and I feel that there are a number of men at the other units of TDC, and throughout the U.S. who are veterans and who were exposed to the poisoning of Agent Orange, or other defoliants that the U.S. government used to suppress the freedom movement of the Vietnamese masses. I was poisoned and I have been

having the usual symptoms: e.g., rash, numbness in legs and hands, swollen lymph glands, severe depression, etc.—I know of at least 20 other men here who have the same problems that I have.

The medical staff here and throughout TDC are very poor quality, and they tend to think that men who are sick with this Agent Orange sickness are faking and trying to get out of work. As you know the prisoners here are required to do manual labor of the hardest type, i.e., field labor, furniture factory, kitchen work. These jobs require us the prisoners to stand on our feet for long periods of time and to virtually run to keep up with the other men who are working with us. The men who compose the field force at the Ramsey 1 unit are all so scared of the retaliations the officials use to suppress them that they run all day long in the fields and they cause us (the sick veterans) to hurt ourselves in order to keep up with them.

If we don't keep up we get disciplinary cases like laziness—"you worked in a continually lazy manner all day" or refusing to obey an order, or some other bullshit case and depending on the individual we either go to Solitary or get large amounts of extra duty. I have been in Solitary three times in five months, for the usual crap that they use on anyone who they think is trying to help himself or other prisoners here to get the system to treat us like men instead of animals.

In unity,
RC
Rosharon, Texas

'TORCH fills important function'

Dear Torch:

Thank you for your letter of September 28th.

Enclosed is a donation of \$3. This is not for first class postage, as I will be happy to receive my copy of Torch by third class mail.

The Torch has routinely been approved for prisoners here (Connecticut Correctional Institution, Somers), though the Administration looks on Torch with disfavor. I received my first copy last month, after it had been approved for me by the Library Committee. I expect no difficulty in having it delivered to me by the authorities in the future, but should some difficulty arise, I will be quick to let you know about it.

I sent a letter to the editor after receiving my first copy, and will probably be writing regularly in the future. I enjoy Torch, and believe that it is filling a very real, and very important function.

Very truly yours,
RS

To Our Readers

This month's issue of Torch/La Antorcha is 15 pages in English and nine pages in Spanish. We have expanded the Spanish section to make room for Part One of Ron Taber's talk on the Crisis of Capitalism. Also this month, we have left out World in Revolution to allow expanded coverage of the Iranian-U.S. conflict. The next issue of Torch/La Antorcha, Volume 7, Number 1, will have a new format. Until then, happy holidays....

Klan attacks family in Muncie, Indiana

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

During the past few weeks I have been mildly harassed by some members of the Klan who live in my neighborhood. Those things didn't really bother me. Then, three nights ago they finally decided to change their tactics.

After getting the kids to bed and asleep, I decided to go to bed early myself. I still can't recall hearing anything but I woke up lying on the floor screaming and trying to get to the kids. Glass was flying everywhere. I finally got the kids and myself in the living room and to the telephone. I remember calling the police emergency number and telling them that I thought someone was breaking into my house.

After what seemed like a long time, the police arrived. As I opened the door I remember thinking, my arm is burning up. The policemen asked me to come outside and show them the

windows involved. When the flood lights hit the window we discovered that two shotgun blasts had been fired through my bedroom window.

I ran back into the house and turned on the bedroom light. There were holes everywhere in the walls. Several dozen of them had struck the wall only three feet above where my children had been sleeping. On checking my arm closer, we found what the police reported as an eight-inch gash caused from flying glass. I disagreed with them about the injury because I didn't bleed a drop. When I was examined at the hospital emergency room the nurse and physician admitted that they had never seen an injury like what I had. The doctor said I was apparently struck by a single pellet and that the heat from the pellet apparently cauterized the wound.

By the way, I had to get my own way to the hospital—none of the police even offered to stay there until I found a way, although my brother did get there before they left. They took pictures and did a lot of talking amongst themselves. And they informed me that the detectives would get in touch with me sometime the next day. Before they left, one officer asked me if I was going to live there anymore!

A neighbor had gotten the license number of a car seen leaving there immediately after the shooting. And we located the car the next day at the Riverside restaurant (the Klan's hangout). I called the detectives to give them all of this information, and was informed that they had not received any report regarding a shooting. My landlord called the chief of police and was told that the chief hadn't heard anything about a shooting. Two days later, an article appeared way back in the last section of the paper. As of this date I still have not been contacted by anyone regarding an investigation.

Rumors reached me today that a Klansman openly stated that the shooting was only a warning, that they had only begun with me. Also, he stated that if I thought I was going to get any aid from going to the chief of police, I was crazy. And this was quoted to me (not directly). The Klansman said, "Heath (the chief of police) has been with the Klan longer than I have." The people he was talking to said he acted as though... was the funniest thing he had ever been involved with.

By the way, when my landlord talked to the chief of police (who happens to be his next door neighbor), he was informed that "my administration is ending. It would be silly to start a lengthy investigation now."

I hope you can help publicize what happened, and expose the apparent concern of the police and their failing to properly inform others regarding the "no report" situation.

Deanie,
Muncie, Indiana

Prisoner comments on Iranian events

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

The events in Iran have shown me just how stupid and easy to be misled some (a lot!) of the people can be. Over here in Houston some resorted to carrying a picture of John (bigot) Wayne, calling him a true patriot and American. Yes, the same person who was at the Alamo killing Mexicans with his bare hands. The same one who was a Green Beret killing the heroic Vietnamese people. He was a patriot all right. But only on the screen for not once did he ever see any real fighting.

Check this out: At a university in Houston some Iranian students were confronted by some Black students on campus. All that happened was a shouting match between some Black young lady and an Iranian. Now the young lady kept shouting about "You can't

come over here to our country and be demonstrating and going on. This is our country. We can do anything we want. This is our country." The Iranians' response went like this: "You are trying to tell me about rights? Last week the Ku Klux Klan killed some Black people. You think that's right? No, that's not right!" So the young lady had nothing else to say.

For myself, I feel nothing for the hostages. They have no business being enforcers for an oppressor in other peoples' countries.

Yours in struggle,
Ambrosio Mendez
Texas Dept. of Corrections

P.S. "I fear a newspaper more than an army of 30,000 men."—Napoleon Bonaparte. (So, keep the Torch churning!)

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BIG S

By WILLIAM FALK

On November 27, the Steel Corporation announced it will permanently close 10 plants and parts of others. In shutting down these facilities, the steel company will sack 13,000 workers, about 10 percent of its workforce. The largest plant to be closed is the Youngstown Works in Ohio (see chart).

Three days after the announcement, 800 Youngstown Works steelworkers and family members demonstrated at U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh. The demonstration was called by officials of United Steelworkers Union Local 13.

After picketing, the demonstrators marched into the lobby of the U.S. Steel building chanting "We want jobs!" and "We want erick!" (U.S. Steel chairman). The company refused to send a representative to speak to the steelworkers.

U.S. Steel claims that plants are being closed because of 1) competition "unfairly priced imports" 2) the costs of "excessive environmental regulations." These explanations stand up to examination.

Since 1978, the U.S. government has protected domestic companies from foreign competition through the trigger-price law. U.S. companies, most which produce steel for domestic firms, are subject to a sliding duty automatically raises prices to the level of the efficient U.S. producers. As a result, foreign steel companies sold 19 percent more steel in the U.S. in 1979 than in 1978. They are expected to do even worse in 1980.

Blaming the closings on environmental laws is nonsense. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations that U.S. Steel must obey are the same ones that apply to steel companies. While many of the latter have installed a substantial number of pollution control devices, U.S. Steel has not. Instead it challenged every EPA rule used every stalling tactic and appealed all rulings to the highest level. This year it lost several cases in high courts and had to consent to decrees in several others. As a result, cost that should have been spread out over many years are now showing up on U.S. Steel books all at once.

Company didn't modernize

The real reason U.S. Steel is closing 15 plants is that for years the company failed to plow enough of its profits back into building new machinery and modernizing its ones. Because of this, U.S. Steel has some of the oldest and most backward steel-making equipment in the world. Its newest plant was built in 1953. Its largest plants, Gary Works and Fairfield Works, date from

family Indiana

By the way, I had to get my own way to the hospital—none of the police even offered to stay there until I found a way, although my brother did get there before they left. They took pictures and did a lot of talking amongst themselves. And they informed me that the detectives would get in touch with me sometime the next day. Before they left, one officer asked me if I was going to live there anymore!

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BIG STEEL ANNOUNCES BIG LAYOFFS

By WILLIAM FALK

On November 27, the U.S. Steel Corporation announced it will permanently close 10 plants and parts of five others. In shutting down these facilities, the giant steel company will sack over 13,000 workers, about eight percent of its workforce. The largest plant to be closed is the Youngstown Works in Ohio (see chart).

Three days after the announcement, 800 Youngstown Works steelworkers and family members demonstrated at U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh. The demonstration was called by officials of United Steelworkers Union Local 1330.

After picketing, the demonstrators marched into the lobby of the U.S. Steel building chanting "We want jobs!" and "We want Rodrick!" (U.S. Steel chairman). The company refused to send a representative to speak to the steelworkers.

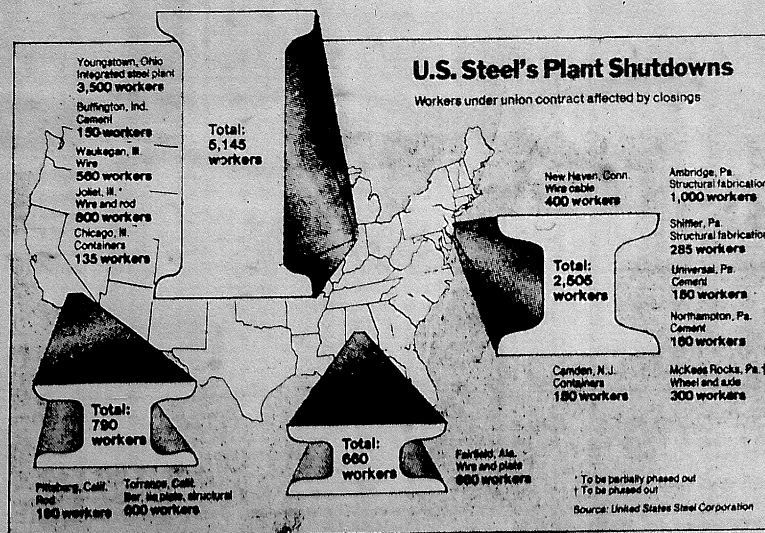
U.S. Steel claims the 15 plants are being closed because of 1) competition from "unfairly priced imports" and 2) the costs of "excessive environmental regulations." These explanations don't stand up to examination.

Since 1978, the U.S. government has protected domestic companies from foreign competition through the trigger-price law. Non-U.S. companies, most of which produce steel for less than domestic firms, are subject to a sliding duty that automatically raises their prices to the level of the less efficient U.S. producers. As a result, foreign steel companies sold 19 percent less steel in the U.S. in 1979 than in 1978. They are expected to do even worse in 1980.

Blaming the closings on environmental laws is also nonsense. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations that U.S. Steel must obey are the same ones that apply to all steel companies. While most of the latter have installed a substantial number of pollution control devices, U.S. Steel has not. Instead it has challenged every EPA ruling, used every stalling tactic, and appealed all rulings to the highest level. This year, it lost several cases in the high courts and had to sign consent decrees in several others. As a result, costs that should have been spread out over many years are now showing up on U.S. Steel's books all at once.

Company didn't modernize

The real reason U.S. Steel is closing 15 plants is that for years the company failed to plow enough of its profits back into building new mills and modernizing its old ones. Because of this, U.S. Steel has some of the oldest and most backward steel-making equipment in the world. Its newest plant was built in 1953. Its largest plants, Gary Works and Fairfield Works, date from the



turn of the century. Thirty percent of U.S. Steel's steel-making capacity consists of open hearth furnaces, an inefficient, dirty process that has long since been outmoded by the basic oxygen furnace.

At Youngstown Works, one rolling mill is powered with a 1908 steam engine. At all U.S. Steel facilities, a jumble of mills and furnaces, linked by a spaghetti plate of railroad tracks, stands in marked contrast to the efficient, almost assembly-line, layout of modern integrated steel mills.

About 80 percent of U.S. Steel's steel is molded into ingots and allowed to cool. It then must be reheated for shaping. In Japan, the steel companies shape most of their steel into slabs immediately, using the newer, more efficient continuous-casting process.

For a long time, U.S. Steel got away with allowing its mills and other facilities to rot because it dominated the steel market through sheer size. U.S. Steel is the largest steel company in the United States, with assets of \$10.5 billion. It has been the only steel company to make the full range of steel products and for years it has produced around 20 percent of all domestic steel. In the steel industry, U.S. Steel is called "Big Steel"; everything else is called "Little."

U.S. Steel's size and domination of the market allowed it to hide the declining profitability of its steel-making divisions. Instead of investing in new equipment, U.S. Steel funneled its profits into other, more profitable, sectors, such as chemicals, mining and real estate. In the last three years, U.S. Steel's non-steel assets have increased by 80 percent, while steel-making assets have increased by only 13 percent (and much of that is due to inflation of the price of inventory and stockpiled raw materials).

A recent study concluded that in the last five years U.S. Steel should have spent \$7.6 billion to repair its equipment, simply to maintain its steel-making capacity. Instead it spent half of that. The "extra" \$3.5 billion

was used to pay out dividends to stockholders (thus artificially boosting the price of U.S. Steel stock) and to fund the surge of non-steel investment.

U.S. Steel's strategy

The closings of the 15 mills are part of a larger strategy designed to try to salvage the ailing company. In the short run, U.S. Steel wants to get a 1979 tax write-off on the closed plants. It also wants to try to intimidate steelworkers just before negotiations on a new contract with the United Steelworkers get underway. The company hopes the closings and layoffs will scare the steelworkers into moderating their demands and agreeing to boost productivity in the remaining facilities. In the longer run, the company plans to let its mills fall apart while it squeezes the last possible profits from them. Eventually, when the facilities have disintegrated beyond salvation, the company will abandon them.

This strategy can be seen clearly in the recent history of Youngstown Works. Several years ago the company threatened to close down the plant. The only way it could remain open, they said, was if the union and the workers agreed to a productivity plan.

Under the threat of a shutdown (intensified by the closings of other steel mills in the Youngstown area) the workers agreed. The company in turn promised that as long as the plant made profits it would remain open.

But while the workers sweated to boost production, and even won a contest with the more modern Baytown, Texas, plant to see who could produce the most profits, U.S. Steel management quietly prepared to stab the workers in the back. They made no moves to replace outmoded sections of the plant nor did they do anything for the day they would have to stop dumping cyanide into the Mahoning River. In fact, they never really intended to keep the

plant open. In return for their efforts, the Youngstown workers got the shaft.

The closings of the 15 plants should make job security a key issue when negotiations for a new steelworkers' contract open on February 5. Workers at U.S. Steel are under the most pressure right now, but as the recession deepens there will be mass layoffs and permanent shutdowns at the

other steel companies as well.

However, the steelworkers' union leadership seems content to basically ignore the issue. At the Basic Steel Conference, which met December 6-7 to set the union's bargaining demands, job security wasn't even placed on the list of top-priority issues. Instead, the conference set COLA for retirees as the number one demand. While this is an important demand, it will do nothing to help the tens of thousands of steelworkers who will lose their jobs long before they get to retirement age.

The conference limited its demands around the closings to two points: 1) The union must be given one year's notice of intent to close a plant; and 2) steelworkers who lose their jobs due to plant closings may transfer their pensions if they get hired by another company covered by the Basic Steel Agreement.

If a fight over jobs is to be waged, it must start by steelworkers organizing themselves. Future issues of the *Torch/La Antorcha* will carry reports from our supporters in the steel mills on efforts to wage that fight and to prevent what could be the wholesale destruction of the steel workforce.



Photo: Dave Warren

Rally Demands U.S. Steel End Sex Discrimination

By a STEELWORKER CORRESPONDENT

CHICAGO—A plant-gate rally demanding washrooms for women workers at U.S. Steel South Works was held here on November 14. The rally was the first union-sponsored demonstration in over 10 years. The goal of the rally was to expose U.S. Steel's blatant policy of sex discrimination, and to demand decent washroom facilities for all women and men employees.

The rally of over 70 people received full press coverage on TV and radio, and in several newspapers. The rally accomplished its goal in publicizing the complaint, but no new washroom facilities have been won. Many women are laid off, and the company is closing many of its plants down. The struggle ahead will not only be for washrooms but will be a struggle for our very jobs. The rally is a first in the many battles ahead.

Alice Peurala, president of United Steelworkers Local 65, and the rest of the union bureaucracy were forced to have the rally against their will. They had wanted to rely on the grievance procedure, not to mobilize the rank and file. However, U.S. Steel management refused to so much as discuss the grievances, so Peurala, under pressure from the workers, called the rally. The rally taught workers at South Works and throughout this city that the rank and file in all unions must be mobilized and organized to publicize grievances and fight for what we need.

By ROD MILLER

Despite an all-out effort by Carter, Rockefeller, Kissinger and the capitalist news media to whip up anti-Iranian hysteria in the U.S., there have been growing numbers of demonstrations in recent weeks supporting the demand of the Iranian people for the return of the butcher shah. The RSL has been active in many of these demonstrations, often working in coalitions with other left groups and Iranian student organizations. The following article discusses our work inside one of these coalitions—the Chicago-based Coalition in Defense of Iranian people.

On Tuesday, November 13, following a 10-day barrage of patriotic jingoism in the press, the first of a series of right-wing, anti-Iranian mobilizations took place at the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle Campus. Daily rallies were held where effigies of Iranian students were burned. The sentiment at these rallies was not only anti-Iranian, but racist, anti-gay and anti-communist as well. Chants of "U.S.A. All the Way" and "The Ayatollah Sucks" accompanied flag waving and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

On the day of the first right-wing demonstration at Circle, someone selling the *Militant* (newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party—SWP) around the edges of the rally was grabbed, his papers ripped out of his hands and scattered. RSL

supporters who saw the incident intervened to push the crowd back, allowing the *Militant* salesperson to escape unharmed. The next

day, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) was attacked while taking pictures of one of the rallies. RSL supporters again intervened, recovering the camera and preventing the RCP'er from being beaten. This time, campus police stepped in, arresting one RSL supporter for "inciting to riot."

On November 14, with the right wing gaining momentum and attacks on Iranian students and leftists growing throughout the country, supporters of the RSL and RCP, plus several independent students, met at Circle to discuss how to organize a response. The following night a meeting was called at the RCP's hall. Present, in addition to the RSL and RCP, were representatives from the SWP, Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, Workers World Party, New World Resource Center, Sojourner Truth Organization and a wing of the Iranian Student Association.

The RCP put forward two slogans to the meeting: "U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran" and "Send the Shah Back to Face the Wrath of the Iranian People." The RSL proposed two additional slogans: "Smash U.S. Imperialism" and "Defend Iranian People in the U.S."

The meeting quickly divided into two wings. A majority, supported by the RSL, stressed the need to clearly explain the relationship between the events in Iran and the nature and role of U.S. imperialism. A minority, led by the SWP, wanted to keep the coalition more limited. Specifically, the SWP opposed raising the issue of U.S. imperialism.

RSL supporters argued that it was necessary, above

all, to tell the truth about the struggle between U.S. imperialism and the Iranian people. Only if people understand what is really going on, what is behind the crisis and who is responsible, can a solid movement capable of fighting U.S. imperialism be built. A movement made up of people who do not understand that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy will not be able to withstand imperialist propaganda. It will be disoriented by political developments and easy prey to liberal and reformist apologists for U.S. imperialism.

The SWP claimed that raising the issue of U.S. imperialism would "turn people off." They argued for building a "broader coalition," which according to them would be able to draw in people who would not come to an anti-imperialist demonstration. This, they argued, was the most effective way to combat U.S. imperialist intervention in Iran.



SWP worked to prevent anti-imperialist slogans in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

RSL FIGHTS FOR LEFT LINE IN IRAN SUPPORT COALITION

"We Must Tell the Truth About U.S. Imperialism"



November 17 Coalition demonstration at Chicago Federal Buildings.

Right-Wingers Attack Boston Rally

By RICHARD ARETHORN

BOSTON—On November 27, the Committee to Defend the Iranian Students held an Iranian support demonstration at Boston University here. The committee, a coalition of student groups and left organizations, included the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Workers World Party (WWP) and the Northeast University Iranian Students Association.

Unfortunately, the demonstration was weak and disorganized, allowing the right-wing counter-demonstrators to take the initiative. The right-wingers taunted the demonstration, chanting "Deport the Students."

The demonstrators in turn began chanting "Deport the Shah," but the organizers quickly added "Free the Hostages" to the chant. This attempt to appease, rather than confront, the right-wingers only made them more bold and increased their harassment of the demonstration.

At the attempted rally, the right wing shouted down speakers with "U.S.A. All the Way." As the demonstration tried to move on, 30 right-wingers blocked their way. They ripped up the RCP's banner. At this point the cops moved in and ended the demonstration.

At a committee meeting afterwards, supporters of several organizations tried to blame the RCP for the demonstration's failure. They claimed that the RCP had "provoked" the right wing. The real reason they were angry, however, was because the RCP was the only group within the coalition to confront the right wing and point out the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism. Using the RCP's supposedly unauthorized banner as a pretext, they proceeded to throw the RCP out of the committee. An RSL supporter who was present walked out in solidarity with the RCP.

In fact, the demonstration failed largely because most of its organizers refused to stand up, politically or in any other way, to the right-wingers. Every step of the way they capitulated to the patriotic sentiment, rather than taking it head on. This kind of political cowardice will never build a movement that can successfully fight the growing war plans of U.S. imperialism.

When it became clear to the SWP that it was in a distinct minority, SWP'ers began to bait the rest of the meeting for planning an "adventure." After shouting some quotes from Lenin on "revolutionary phrasemongering" they walked out of the meeting.

Despite the SWP's attempt to sabotage the building of an anti-imperialist protest, a successful demonstration was held on short notice. More than 100 people rallied and marched in downtown Chicago on November 17 against U.S. imperialist intervention in Iran and in defense of Iranian people in the U.S. The protest, which was widely covered by Chicago's major television networks, was the first real response to the growing right-wing, pro-imperialist sentiment in Chicago.

When the SWP recognized the success of this "adventure," they hastily formed a new coalition which announced plans for a second demonstration on December 8. Allied with the pro-China Revolutionary Workers Headquarters group, the SWP backed a resolution banning leaflets, placards or chants which attacked U.S. imperialism. The SWP's second effort to sabotage the building of an anti-imperialist movement also failed. The RSL organized an anti-imperialist contingent of 30 people which marched in the 150-person demonstration with chants, banners, placards and leaflets pointing to U.S. imperialism as the real enemy. The SWP and its allies wisely decided not to try to carry out their plan to silence the revolutionary left.

The political issues in the struggle inside the Chicago coalition are not new. Nor is the role of the Socialist Workers Party. For years, the SWP made a profession of trying to tie leftward moving movements to the liberal wing of U.S. imperialism. One of the clearest illustrations of this is the role the SWP played inside the mass anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and early 70s.

The steady escalation of the Vietnam War throughout the 1960s radicalized millions of people. Tens of thousands came to understand that this war was no "isolated mistake" in U.S. foreign policy. Many people were beginning to understand the need for a move-

ment which attacked and exposed the roots of the war—U.S. imperialism and capitalism.

Rather than fighting to build this kind of movement, the SWP did the exact opposite. Instead of exposing liberal illusions in U.S. imperialism, the SWP worked overtime to tie the anti-war movement to liberal politicians who were opposed to the war because it was a losing war, one which was causing tremendous social upheavals in the U.S. and exposing the true nature of U.S. imperialism to millions throughout the world. These pro-capitalist liberals (like George McGovern, Vance Hartke, Eugene McCarthy, Victor Reuther) thought that it was in the long-term interests of U.S. imperialism to "give up Vietnam"—in order to be better able to fight another day.

The SWP made an open alliance with these people. They invited them into the anti-war movement, and gave them a platform from which to speak to the large anti-war marches and the movement as a whole. The SWP worked to build up the credibility of these liberals, painting them as "true anti-war activists" precisely at a time when thousands of people were starting to see through U.S. capitalism's liberal facade. The SWP made it its main business to "police" the anti-war movement for the liberals, trying to keep radical and revolutionary ideas and proposals out and the movement limited to programs and activities acceptable to their allies—the liberal politicians.

The result was that the liberals retained control of the anti-war movement. Much of the movement was eventually channeled into giving harmless (from the U.S. ruling class's point of view) electoral support for Democratic Party politicians like George McGovern. The potential that had existed for building a strong and durable anti-imperialist movement was lost—as it has turned out—for nearly a decade. Most importantly, the thousands of people who were becoming open to revolutionary ideas and looking for answers turned away from Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism. The SWP, which claimed to be Trotskyist, had turned Trotskyism into hated liberalism in the eyes of thousands. Tragically, many of these people instead looked to the Stalinism of China and Mao Zedong, which appeared to be miles to the left of the SWP. This represented a significant setback in the struggle to build a Leninist revolutionary party in the U.S.

Today, these same issues are coming to the fore once again. The U.S. ruling class is making it clear that "new Vietnams"—whether in Iran or elsewhere—will soon be fought in the interests of imperialist profit and plunder. The SWP is making its plans clear as well. Despite 10 years to learn some lessons, the SWP is demonstrating it will follow the same path of treacherous opportunism it has followed so faithfully in the past. □

When it became clear to the SWP that it was in a distinct minority, SWPers began to bait the rest of the meeting for planning an "adventure." After shouting some quotes from Lenin on "revolutionary phrasemongering" they walked out of the meeting.

Despite the SWP's attempt to sabotage the building of an anti-imperialist protest, a successful demonstration was held on short notice. More than 100 people rallied and marched in downtown Chicago on November 17 against U.S. imperialist intervention in Iran and in defense of Iranian people in the U.S. The protest, which was widely covered by Chicago's major television networks, was the first real response to the growing right-wing, pro-imperialist sentiment in Chicago.

When the SWP recognized the success of this "adventure," they hastily formed a new coalition which announced plans for a second demonstration on December 8. Allied with the pro-China Revolutionary Workers Headquarters group, the SWP backed a resolution banning leaflets, placards or chants which attacked U.S. imperialism. The SWP's second effort to sabotage the building of an anti-imperialist movement also failed. The RSL organized an anti-imperialist contingent of 30 people which marched in the 150-person demonstration with chants, banners, placards and leaflets pointing to U.S. imperialism as the real enemy. The SWP and its allies wisely decided not to try to carry out their plan to silence the revolutionary left.

The political issues in the struggle inside the Chicago coalition are not new. Nor is the role of the Socialist Workers Party. For years, the SWP made a profession of trying to tie leftward moving movements to the liberal wing of U.S. imperialism. One of the clearest illustrations of this is the role the SWP played inside the mass anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and early '70s.

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Carter Uses Iranian Crisis

U.S. STEPS UP WAR PLANS

(Continued from page 1) defend. Their propaganda barrage is just a good cover for something else—an increasingly desperate attempt to shore up the sagging power of U.S. imperialism.

Military measures

Already the U.S. ruling class has used the Iranian situation to:

- Mass 21 warships in the Arabian Sea off the southern coast of Iran. Two other warships are on stand-by alert in the Mediterranean.
- Activate plans to build a 110,000-person "rapid deployment force" that would be able to invade other countries more swiftly than present U.S. forces, including the Marines.
- Approve a hike in military spending of 4.5 percent a year in real—not inflated—dollars. An extra \$4 billion will be spent by the military in 1980 alone.
- Press the NATO powers to accept the deployment in Europe of new nuclear-armed missiles (Pershing-2 and Cruise) with the capability of striking targets in Russia. This would be the first time such missiles have been deployed in Western Europe.

These direct military steps have been accompanied by a massive effort to create a climate, both in the U.S. and abroad, which would allow the U.S. to intervene militarily in the affairs of other countries. Hiding behind "international law" and nervously trying to suppress the record of their former

stooge, the shah (who they have whisked away to a military base outside San Antonio, Texas, for safekeeping), the U.S. imperialists are whipping up a racist, patriotic hysteria in order to justify a military build-up and, possibly, a military invasion of Iran.

The U.S. imperialists have

more people turned against what they saw as a losing and pointless war that was responsible for economic and social problems and was wasting a lot of innocent lives. Along with Watergate, Vietnam made it more and more difficult for the imperialists to defend their empire in the ways they were

alism are cheering the Iranian people's open defiance of the U.S. Following the takeover in Teheran, U.S. embassies were stormed in Pakistan, Libya, India, Kuwait and the Philippines. In addition, the ability of the Iranian people to focus worldwide attention on the crimes of U.S. imperialism and its puppet, the shah, has further increased anti-imperialist sentiment.

Not surprisingly, there is a great deal more pro-imperialist sentiment in the U.S. itself. However, while much of the middle class has been taken in by the flag-waving patriotism, a lot of working-class people are not swallowing the lie that protecting the shah is a matter of "truth, justice and the American way." Many working-class people have not forgotten Vietnam, where sons, brothers or friends died to defend the profits of U.S. corporations. Many, as they learn just who the butcher shah is—and what he has done—are not anxious to fight and die in defense of his torture, mass murder and stolen riches.



U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, after being stormed on November 20.

good reason to try to strengthen their hand. After they got smashed in Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia, they were thrown on the defensive as far as military intervention was concerned. Most of the world's people became fed up with the invasions, assassinations and coups carried out by the imperialists and were no longer prepared to allow the U.S. to get away with its old tricks.

There was a similar reaction in the U.S. More and

used to. In particular, it became more difficult for the imperialists to get away with actually invading other countries to maintain or install the puppet dictators that had defended the outposts of the U.S. empire. While the imperialists didn't like this, there wasn't much they could do about it except to pretend to be for "peace" and "human rights," while they waited for the appropriate time to try to regain the initiative.

The Iranian crisis is the chance they have been waiting for. To a degree, they have been successful in creating an international and domestic climate that would support or at least accept direct U.S. military intervention.

But it would be a mistake for the imperialists to count their chickens too soon. Despite the overtime efforts of the capitalist press, politicians, labor bureaucrats, and a host of other pillars of imperialism, many people aren't buying U.S. imperialism's phony line. This is most true internationally. Millions who have suffered the brutality of U.S. imperi-

Same enemy in Iran and U.S.

Equally important, the working class is feeling the tightening pinch of the economy, particularly the unemployment and inflation that is eating away at paychecks. Over 110,000 autoworkers are out of jobs, steel plants are closing down and essential services are being slashed in most cities. As a result, working people are becoming increasingly aware that the U.S. ruling class—the same people screaming about violations of international law and human rights in Iran—has launched an offensive to force them to pay for the economic crisis.

The present crisis in Iran will pass. But the real problems for U.S. imperialism, the decline of its power, the economic crisis and the building fightback on the part of the U.S. working class will remain. All the flag-waving and phony sermons about human rights in the world won't be able to save the imperialists from the fate they deserve. □



USS Kitty Hawk, now in Arabian Gulf.

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Iran Explodes; Mass Protests Sweep Country

(Continued from page 1)
civil war or imperialist intervention in Iran.

It is the revolt of Iran's national minorities that is having the most dramatic impact on the society. Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, Kurds, Turkomenis and others responded to the draft constitution with mass boycotts of the voting and demonstrations against the government. Open rebellion broke out in Azerbaijan, in north-west Iran, on December 5, after pro-Khomeini forces attacked the home of Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari in the holy city of Qom. Shariat-Madari, who is the religious leader of the Azerbaijanis, had encouraged the boycott and given guarded support to demands for Azerbaijani regional autonomy.

When news of the attack reached Tabriz, the capital of East Azerbaijan, demonstrators took control of government offices and the radio/television station. Leaders of the Muslim People's Party, Shariat-Madari's political party, announced they would no longer recognize officials appointed by the central government to rule the province. Local army and police units supported the revolt. Frontmen for Shariat-Madari and Khomeini are trying to negotiate a solution to the crisis, but the situation in Azerbaijan remains extremely tense. On December 9, Azerbaijani militants defeated an armed attempt by pro-Khomeini students to take over the radio station. At least three people were killed and 60 wounded in the fighting.

Other national minorities have also been revolting against Khomeini's regime. Kurdish nationalists in western Iran have been fighting with government troops and the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guard) since August. Although a cease-fire is supposed to be in effect, the government has been moving more troops into the region. On December 6, government helicopters bombed three Kurdish villages, while commando units moved in to surround the city of Sanandaj. In Baluchistan, in southeastern Iran, Baluchi militants took the governor general hostage on December 8, and are demanding that Khomeini grant the Baluchis regional autonomy within 30 days. Boycotts and demonstrations also were reported in the Turkoman regions of eastern Iran.

Around 40 percent of Iran's population is made up of various national minorities. These peoples have been demanding regional autonomy ever since the shah was overthrown. But Khomeini rejected their demands in framing the new constitution.

In addition, most of the oppressed nationalities belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. Like the Shi'a Muslims, who are the majority in Iran, many Sunnis favor some form of Islamic Republic. But unlike the Shi'a,



Pasdaran—Revolutionary Guards loyal to Khomeini.

the Sunnis do not recognize the supreme moral and political authority of religious leaders (ayatollahs) that the constitution grants to Khomeini and his supporters. They also fear religious discrimination, since the constitution makes the Shi'a branch of Islam the state religion in Iran.

Economy in chaos

In addition to the nationalist revolts, the disintegration of the economy is tearing the fabric of Iranian society apart at the seams. Three million workers out of a workforce of 11 million are unemployed. Prices are going up at a 50-percent annual rate. There are shortages of rice, meat and other goods. Industrial production has plunged to 40 percent of capacity. The only thing keeping the economy afloat is the sea of Iranian oil revenues. But oil production is slowing down because of lack of spare parts, essential chemicals and equipment, and sabotage of oil pipe lines.

The working class is responding to the crisis with a growing militant upsurge. Workers' committees, or shoras, are springing up

everywhere. Oil workers have formed a national organization, the Common Union of Oil Workers, and are demanding a 40-hour week and the opening of the books of the national oil company. Earlier this fall, they forced Khomeini's Revolutionary Council to back down on its attempts to introduce a six-day workweek at the huge Abadan oil refinery.

In addition, in late October fishermen in Anzali protested against the government fishing monopoly by seizing a company boat, distributing 80,000 fish to the townspeople and fighting with police. And on November 12, 4,000 unemployed workers occupied the Labor Department's offices in Tehran, saying they were "fed up with empty promises."

Even workers who support Khomeini are wondering whether his Islamic Republic can satisfy their demands. For instance, Sayed Zabi-Ollah Mousavi, a sanitation worker in Tehran, told reporters: "Our first concern is housing. Will this new constitution create the right circumstances for us to get better housing?"

At the same time, business leaders are demanding that the government crack down on the workers. Masoud Elhami, managing director of the Behshahr indus-

trial group, declares: "People will have to be trained to work harder for less money," to stabilize the economy.

Central government barely exists

But the government they are appealing to hardly exists. Since the shah and his puppet Bakhtiar were overthrown last winter, Khomeini has not been able to establish a central government apparatus that can effectively run the country. Instead, real political power is dispersed among the local clergy, or mullahs. The mullahs have a mass base among the peasantry, the urban shopkeepers, and the landless peasants who have flocked to the cities to find work. But they can only maintain their influence by responding to the radical demands of their followers. The ayatollahs in turn are forced to seek support from different factions among the mullahs in order to maintain their own prestige and influence. Meanwhile, the middle-class nationalist politicians nominally in charge of the government have no mass political base of their own, and are divided into cliques around the rival ayatollahs.

The successive crises following the takeover of the U.S. embassy on November 4 clearly demonstrate the lack of a strong central government. The administration of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, which never had any real power, collapsed completely two days after the takeover. Then, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Iran's Economic Minister and a member of the Revolutionary Council who opposed Bazargan, took over as Foreign Minister. But when he offered to attend the UN debate over the hostages, popular opposition forced his dismissal on November 28. His successor, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, at first tried to curry popular favor by supporting demands that all the hostages be tried as spies before an Islamic revolutionary court. But on December 7, he announced that the

government might release most of the hostages and organize an "international tribunal" to determine if any of those remaining should stand trial. Like his predecessors, Ghotbzadeh is looking for a face-saving way out of a confrontation with U.S. imperialism. But (also like his predecessors) he lacks the power to enforce his proposals. The students occupying the U.S. embassy have rejected Ghotbzadeh's maneuvers, saying they will hold all the hostages prisoner until Khomeini himself orders their release.

Khomeini's influence declining

While Khomeini himself is trying to use the confrontation with the U.S. to unite the Iranian people behind him, his actual influence appears to be declining. Workers and small shopkeepers, for example, are beginning to question his intentions. Masoumeh Akbarzadeh, who runs a grocery store in the "City of Tin," the poor working-class district in Tehran, said: "We are Tehran's zero class. We have done what he (Khomeini) has asked us—we have voted for his constitution. Now will he give us what we want—a more decent life?"

And members of the Revolutionary Council are criticizing him openly. On December 1, Bani-Sadr accused Khomeini and Ghotbzadeh of undermining negotiations to end the embassy crisis, and called for immediate release of the hostages. And on December 11, it was announced that the Ayatollah Hossein Lahouti, a member of the council, commander of the Revolutionary Guard, and a popular hero of the struggle against the shah, had resigned his post in mid-November. He accused Khomeini and the government of "dictatorial methods."

The crisis of Iranian society has enabled the left, which was driven underground in August, to raise its head. The government has allowed the Tudeh (Communist) Party, the Hezb-e Kargan-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) and other groups to resume publication of their newspapers. It has released two of 14 HKS militants imprisoned since last spring. And it has allowed groups like the Marxist-Leninist Fedayee to organize public anti-imperialist demonstrations.

But none of these groups is calling on the workers and peasants to form their own political party and fight for socialist revolution in Iran. The Tudeh Party gives blanket support to Khomeini. The HKS, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., is covering up the truth about Khomeini's reactionary constitution, saying only that it does not "reflect the gains made by the revolution." While the party called for a vote against the constitution, it condemned the boycott carried out by masses of the oppressed nationalities and others as "reactionary." The Marxist-Leninist Fedayee are in political alliance

with the nationalist leadership of the revolt in Kurdistan and are reported to be demanding a "better imperialist struggle" in response to the embassy crisis.

All these groups are vying in one way or another to pro-capitalist forces in Iran. They are all in favor of uniting the opposition movements under the leadership of the working class.

There is no telling what will happen next in Iran.

Black

Black workers in Africa (South Africa) are striking heavy blows to the apartheid system in its vulnerable spot—basic industry, which forms the heart of the South African economy.

On October 30, al



Thozamile Botha speaking. Behind him (right) For

Black workers at the Motor Company's St. Dale plant in Port Elizabeth walked off the job. They were protesting the firing of Thozamile Botha, a student trainee. In an obvious political move, the company claimed Botha was taking too much time off work to build the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, which he had founded. The Black workers' action forced Ford to back down, and Botha was reinstated. Ford also agreed to pay strikers for the three days they were out.

But the Black workers didn't win a complete victory. The whites who voted for Ford called a press meeting, calling the settlement a surrender to Black pressure. At the meeting, white supervisor made a number of racist comments.

So the Black workers walked out once again, demanding apologies from whites as well as the transfer of the racist supervisor. They also raised objections to the mostly-white supervisory staff, who are extremely racist.

The whites refused to apologize and two more walkouts followed. At that point, Ford, which had lost production total of 1,000 cars due to the walkouts, ordered the strikers back to work by noon of November 25, and said that anyone who didn't return would be considered to have quit. While the Black workers ignore



Azerbaijani leader Ayatollah Shariat-Madari (left) with Ayatollah Khomeini.

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There is no telling what will happen next in Iran. Civil

war could break out between the oppressed nationalities and the central government. Confrontations may escalate between the workers and urban poor on one side, and the capitalists and central government on the other. Or a strongman may emerge from the army or Revolutionary Guard to take over before everything falls apart.

One candidate for such a takeover is already on the scene: Rear-Admiral Ahmed Madani, commander of the Iranian Navy and governor-

general of Khuzestan province. Both the **Christian Science Monitor** and the **Wall Street Journal** have already singled out Madani as a possible "new shah" for Iran. The **Journal** in particular praised his ruthless crushing of an Arab revolt in Khuzestan last summer as an example of the kind of policy it thinks is needed in Iran.

There is also a growing threat that Iran could become a battleground for the U.S. and Russia in their im-

perialist rivalry for control of the Middle East. The U.S. has threatened military action against Iran, and has massed a 21-ship fleet in the Arabian Sea off the Iranian coast. Russia, which is reported to have 23 army divisions along its 1,000-mile common border with Iran, is threatening "grave consequences" if the U.S. intervenes.

It was the workers, the urban poor, and the peasants themselves who overthrew the shah. But instead

of seizing their victory with both hands, the Iranian people allowed power to slip into the hands of demagogues like Khomeini, Shariat-Madari, and their cronies. If Iran is to be saved from a new shah, or total disintegration, the working class must take the lead of all the oppressed people and fight to put state power in its own hands. Otherwise the Iranian people face the threat of fascism, civil war, or death at the hands of the imperialist powers. □

Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid

Black workers in Azania (South Africa) are striking heavy blows to the racist apartheid system in its most vulnerable spot—basic industry, which forms the heart of the South African economy.

On October 30, all 700

the ultimatum, the company called in riot police who sealed off the plant gates.

Ford said it would "re-hire" any of the Blacks who re-applied and, as of this writing, 170 have returned to work.

Meanwhile, the Ford work-



Thozamile Botha speaking to Port Elizabeth Ford workers. Behind him (right) Ford executives listen.

Black workers at the Ford Motor Company's Struan-dale plant in Port Elizabeth walked off the job. They were protesting the firing of Thozamile Botha, a work-study trainee. In an obviously political move, the company claimed Botha was taking too much time off work to build the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, which he had founded. The Black workers' action forced Ford to back down, and Botha was reinstated. Ford also agreed to pay the strikers for the three days they were out.

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The whites refused to apologize and two more walkouts followed. At this point, Ford, which had lost a production total of 1,000 cars due to the walkouts, set out to bust the strikes. They ordered the strikers back to work by noon of November 25, and said that anyone who didn't return would be considered to have quit. When the Black workers ignored

ers' action sparked Black workers throughout Port Elizabeth mark a significant step in the area, Black workers boycotted the canteens in sympathy with the Struan-dale plant strike. The Black workers at the Adanas Paper Mill walked off the job, demanding higher wages and union recognition.

And at the General Tire and Rubber plant, 625 Blacks

walked off the job to protest the firing of two Black workers and to demand union recognition. The company responded by firing all the strikers. The Ford and General Tire workers have been meeting together to plan further actions. On November 29, they held a solidarity rally, which 1,000 Black workers attended. At this rally, the workers made it clear that what they were fighting about wasn't just some minor changes in supervisory personnel at the plants, or a few cents more an hour. They chanted "Amandla ngawethu!"—the traditional slogan standing for Black Power and freedom for the Azanian people.

The strikes in Port Elizabeth mark a significant step forward for the anti-apartheid struggle in Azania. In the tremendous struggles that followed the Soweto Rebellion of June 1976, the Black working class did not play a central role. The workers did stage several one-day general strikes in support of student-led community actions, but they didn't have their own organizations or use their power at the workplace to challenge the apartheid system. Now, however, the Black working class is spearheading the freedom struggle.

The current strike wave

was preceded by an increase in the strength and number of Black unions. Up until recently the only legal unions were associations of whites which bargained for increased benefits and privileges for the whites at the direct expense of the Blacks.

But as tens of thousands of Black workers formed illegal unions, companies were forced to bargain with them. The apartheid government got nervous. They sought to regain control by allowing Black unions if they

registered with the government. But the rulers' plans have not been working out. Many Black unions, including the United Automobile, Rubber and Allied Workers Union that the General Tire and Ford strikers belong to, have refused to register.

Black workers have the power not only to free Azania from apartheid, but from the capitalist system it supports. The strikes in Port Elizabeth are a sign that they are organizing to use that power.

Settlement in Zimbabwe—Will It Last?

The British ruling class's attempt to undermine the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe through an imperialist settlement has temporarily succeeded. On December 5 British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, who has been conducting the negotiations, announced agreement on arrangements for a cease-fire between the Patriotic Front (PF), which has been leading the national liberation struggle, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa's regime. Agreement on a constitution and a transitional

government to organize new elections in Zimbabwe had been reached in earlier discussions.

In brief, the settlement states that Muzorewa will resign as Prime Minister and Zimbabwe will temporarily revert to its former status as a British colony. A British governor will preside over a transitional government in which representatives of the Patriotic Front will be allowed to participate along with representatives of the Muzorewa regime.

In return, PF leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe have surrendered to British demands for a settlement that protects the power and privileges of the white minority ruling class in Zimbabwe. For instance, although whites are only four percent of the population, they are guaranteed 20 percent of the seats in parliament, and would be able to bloc with right-wing Black politicians like Muzorewa to maintain control of the country. Moreover, the constitution promises that whites, who own 50 percent of the land, will be able to keep most of it, while receiving ample compensation for any property nationalized by the government.

It remains to be seen how the British diplomatic triumph will affect the real balance of power in Zimbabwe. PF forces are pouring into Zimbabwe from bases in Zambia and Mozambique. Muzorewa is trying to double the size of his private army, the Pumo Revanu. Neither side is likely to peacefully accept defeat in the election, and a renewal of the war is likely.

Inflation Hits China

By LEE RAMIE

One argument used by groups trying to prove that the state-capitalist countries—China, Russia, Cuba, etc.—are not capitalist is that these countries don't suffer such traditional capitalist evils as unemployment and inflation. But recent news out of China shows that this is not true. Today inflation is hitting the Chinese people hard.

On November 1, the Chinese government ordered price increases of from 20 to 33 percent on basic foodstuffs such as meat, eggs, milk and fish. Costs of essential services such as transportation, hospitals and laundries have also risen, in some cases as much as 50 percent. In addition, prices on 10,000 consumer items (about one-fifth of the goods available to Chinese workers) have been "deregulated" and will now be determined by "supply and demand."

The use of "supply and demand" to determine prices means that prices will go up. What exists in China is a "seller's

market." There are tremendous shortages of consumer goods. Supply is low and demand is high. As a result, prices will tend to go as high "as the market will bear," limited only by the ability of people to pay them. Some sections of the Chinese working class will be able to pay higher prices. China's state-capitalist rulers have offered wage increases and production bonuses to 40 percent of the urban workforce in order to boost production. So no matter how you cut it, the workers pay: On the one hand, killing themselves on the job to surpass old production levels so they can get the bonuses; on the other, if they fail to make the quotas, finding themselves unable to buy even their most basic necessities.

This is the same thing that happens in all capitalist countries. The capitalists try to boost their profits by increasing the rate of exploitation, driving down the standard of living of the working class and using bonuses to get the workers to produce more. In China, as in the United States, inflation and productivity drives are two specific ways of doing this.



Fleeta Drumgo murdered

Fleeta Drumgo was found murdered in Oakland, California, on November 24. He had been shot in the head and stomach. Drumgo had been a well-known political prisoner. He was framed twice on murder charges—first as one of the Soledad Brothers and then as one of the San Quentin Six.

The Soledad Brothers—George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette—were accused of killing a guard in Soledad prison in January 1970. The case sparked an international protest movement, which made the state doubt that they could convict the Brothers. Therefore they decided to assassinate George Jackson. They shot him in San Quentin on August 21, 1971 and then tried to cover up the murder by inventing a conspiracy. The state claimed Jackson died during an attempted jailbreak, in which three guards were also killed. And they charged six Black and Latin prisoners, including Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo, with murder and conspiracy.

In March 1972, the charges against the Soledad Brothers were dropped. Jackson was declared legally innocent eight months after his murder! In 1976, after a 15-month trial, three of the San Quentin Six, including Fleeta Drumgo, were acquitted.

Even when he was free, Fleeta Drumgo was still hounded by the cops. Only a month before his death, he was picked up on a rape and robbery charge. He was released when it turned out he didn't fit the description of the suspect.

Willie Sanders acquitted, for now

On November 23, Willie Sanders, a 39-year-old Black man, was acquitted in Boston on charges of raping a white woman. He still faces three more rape charges.

Sanders is the victim of a racist frame-up. Last year, eight women were raped in the Brighton community. In the lynch-mob atmosphere whipped up by the media any Black man could have been arrested. But Sanders had the bad luck to be employed as a painter in an apartment building where one of the rapes occurred. Sanders has no record. Not one of the women was able to identify him as her attacker.

His acquittal is the result of wide support from both Black and white people in the Boston area. Now the struggle must be broadened, in order to free him on the other charges.

Reidsville Brother freed

On November 30 an all-white, all-woman jury acquitted James Collins on murder charges stemming from the July 23, 1978, rebellion at the Georgia State Prison in Reidsville. Collins is the first of the Reidsville Brothers to be freed. His original sentence ended October 28.

The demands of the rebellion were: An end to guard brutality, to degrading living conditions and non-nutritious food, and to the arming of white prisoners by the guards. The prisoners took no hostages and were unarmed. As they were lining up to present their demands, guards and state troopers opened fire, leaving one guard and two white prisoners dead. The authorities blamed the deaths on six Black prisoners: Dwight Lindsay, Jesse Whitaker, Forrest Jordan, Moses Evans, James Andrew Johnson and James Collins, who came to be known as the Reidsville Brothers. All except Collins were leaders of the Inmate Unity Committee, a coalition of Black and white prisoners that organized against the inhuman conditions in Reidsville. Whitaker and Jordan have been convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. They have filed appeals. Lindsay was also found guilty. At this writing we don't have any information on his sentence or whether he appealed. Johnson's trial ended in a hung jury, with 10 jurors voting for acquittal.

In brief...

Felony charges against 17 supporters of the **Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)** were dismissed by a Washington, D.C., judge on November 14. The 17, including RCP chairman Bob Avakian, were indicted as a result of their demonstration against the visit of China's Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping last January 29, at which 78 were arrested. However, the 17 aren't free and clear. The prosecution is planning an appeal to a higher court.

Rita Brown, a former member of the George Jackson Brigade, was placed in "Administrative Detention" at the federal women's prison in Alderson, West Virginia, for an indefinite time. She is confined to her room at least 22 hours a day and isn't allowed to go to work. The miserable \$10 a day she made working in the prison garage was her only income. The reason for the arbitrary punishment: She was close friends with Assata Shakur, when both women were in maximum security.

—AL

Carl Harp Transferred; Kangaroo Trial Begins

Last month we reported that Carl Harp, long-time revolutionary prisoner activist, faced transfer from San Quentin prison in California to the Washington state prison system—a move that could cost him his life.

Unfortunately, we learned several days after we went to press that Harp had indeed been transferred on November 13. He is currently at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla.

The state of Washington wanted Harp so he could be put on trial for an action he and two other prisoners took at Walla Walla last May 9. On that day, Harp, Shane Green and Robert Washburn took over the parole and classifications building in an attempt to publicize the brutal conditions at the prison. They took 10 hostages and held them for 12 hours—long enough to be granted an hour's television time to expose the daily harassment and brutality inflicted on the prisoners. The publicity helped spark a support campaign outside the prison.

Inside the prison, however, the guards were given the green light to go on the rampage. On July 7, Carl Harp was beaten, tortured and raped in a murder attempt by the Washington state guards. Because Harp was able to get the word out about this, several guards were fired and Harp was transferred to San Quentin for his protection.

But now he is back at Walla Walla, where the guards would love for him to

have an "accident," or supposedly "try to escape." His safety is in the hands of the state, and all they've done is throw him in segregation—away from other prisoners who might help to protect him.

The trial of Carl Harp and Shane Green opened on December 3. The presiding judge is the prosecutor's uncle. As of this writing, we don't know much about how

the trial is going, but one thing is for sure—Harp's life is in serious danger.

We are asking all readers of the **Torch/La Antorcha** to send letters of protest, demanding Harp's immediate release to: **Gov. Dixy Lee Ray, Capitol Building, Olympia, Washington.** And send letters of support to Carl Harp, in care of the **Torch/La Antorcha, PO Box 562, NYC 10036.** □

Breaking Those Chains???

Are you being released soon? If so, please let us know where to continue sending your free subscription to the **TORCH/LA ANTORCHA**. We know that when you get out you don't necessarily have the money for a paid subscription, SO WE'LL CONTINUE SENDING THE **TORCH/LA ANTORCHA TO YOU FOR FREE FOR SIX MONTHS.**

And when you hit the street, why not pass your copy of the **TORCH/LA ANTORCHA** around? See if there are others who might like to get the paper. One of the best ways you could help build the **Revolutionary Socialist League** is by introducing people to our newspaper. Or see if you can find bookstores or newsstands that would carry the paper every month. If you find any, write us and we can set it up.

Finally, let us know what you're doing when you get home. The struggle doesn't end when you walk out of the cage—it only begins on a different level. Continue to struggle! Contact us in any of our branch cities (see the listings on page 14). Or write to the closest branch to you or the National Office and maybe we could arrange to meet you somewhere. There are always lots of activities going on in which your participation and experience could be a big help. Or there are classes on revolutionary politics you could join.

The point is, we don't want to lose touch with you just because you're out now. In fact, we want and need to tighten our relationship with you—and convince you to join our party!

U.S. Murders Jailed Puerto Rican Activist

BY ADELE LOHMAN

Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, a 33-year-old Puerto Rican political prisoner, was murdered November 11 at the federal penitentiary in Tallahassee, Florida. Rodriguez was found hanged with a bed sheet from the upper bars of his cell shortly after midnight. He had a gash above one eyebrow, bruises on his head and body, and a stab wound in his side. There was blood on his clothes, his bed and all over his cell. Yet the prison keepers have the nerve to call his death a suicide!

Rodriguez was a central committee member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP—Puerto Rican Socialist League). He was imprisoned for participating in protests against the U.S. occupation of Vieques, the Puerto Rican offshore island which is used for target practice by the U.S. Navy.

The U.S. took over Vieques during World War II, occupying three-quarters of the island and forcing its people to move. Today, 8,000 Viequesians are confined to a small strip of land—about 6,000 acres.

The U.S. claims Vieques is the only place available to the Atlantic Fleet for joint air, sea, land and submarine exercises. But it's more than that. It is a reservoir for ammunition and weapons, which are stored in hollowed-out mountains. And along with instal-

lations in Puerto Rico, Vieques is the war base for all Atlantic operations, as well as for control of the Panama Canal.

The struggle to drive the U.S. out of Vieques erupted in February and March of 1978. Vieques fishermen in their small boats managed to interrupt naval operations twice. By May the demonstrations included supporters from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the Navy was forced to cancel its planned maneuvers. In the biggest action, on May 19, demonstrators battled military police, who arrested 21 people, among them Angel Rodriguez Cristobal.

This past September, 11 of the "Vieques 21" were convicted of trespassing. Rodriguez was sentenced to six months on September 26 and secretly transferred to Tallahassee two days later. From October 25 to November 8, Rodriguez was in solitary, supposedly for feigning illness. While there the guards threatened to poison his food, and he was forcibly injected with Thorazine.

On November 9, Rodriguez had a visit from Juan Antonio Corretier, secretary general of the LSP, who found him looking pale, but militant as always, "with a steeled and serene attitude." He was looking forward to a visit from his wife and children. After Corretier's visit, Rodriguez was transferred to a solitary cell in an isolated wing of the prison. He was murdered the next day.

On November 15, 8,000 angry mourners attended the funeral of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal in Ciales, Puerto Rico. On the same day, protesters marched through New York's Spanish Harlem. On December 3, armed guerrillas bombed a Navy bus to avenge three murdered independence fighters, including Rodriguez Cristobal. The struggle will continue until the Yankee capitalists are kicked out of Puerto Rico for good!

**U.S. Navy out of Vieques!
U.S. out of Puerto Rico!**

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Use Chains???

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Navy out of Vieques!
out of Puerto Rico!

PONTIAC PRISONERS SPEAK OUT

A bomb was in the making— Gov. Thompson supplied the fuse

The following article was written shortly after the July 22, 1978, rebellion at Pontiac prison in Illinois by a Pontiac Brother who was indicted in March of this year on 15 counts of murder, two counts of attempted murder and one count of mob action.

Since the Rebellion at Pontiac prison much has been and will be said and written



Attica rebellion, 1971.

about it. The reason, cause and blame has been put on the weather, overcrowding, lack of security and the gangs. It has been said that the killing of the three guards and the assault of three others was senseless, done by men who need no reason to kill or rebel. We all know that men do not kill or rebel just for the sake of killing or rebelling; something had to be wrong and it had to be wrong for a long time for so many men to just kill or rebel knowing that in doing so, they will also be killed or spend the rest of their lives in prison.

I have been an inmate of Pontiac prison for five years. Since 1973, I have seen four different administrations, the population change over and the overcrowding become unbearable. Back in 1975 when the inmate population first began to rise, new officers were hired and they brought with them an overseer's understanding and the knowledge of a moron concerning young Black men from an urban area as opposed to their upbringing in a small rural town.

The senior officers recognized that it would soon be

trouble and requested to be transferred out of the cell-houses and many sought employment elsewhere. Then came the doubling-up (two men to a cell), that was protested peacefully, verbally and in the courts, but to no avail. The overcrowding brought on cutbacks and soon the food was not fit to eat at all and there were problems with medical care and getting basic necessities that one needs to live

men and giving them the excuse that "a parole at this time would promote disrespect for the law." In spite of the fact that some men had gone without any disciplinary reports for years, had jobs and had done just about all their time, the parole board still refused to allow them a chance at parole. Some men after appearing at the parole board felt that they would never have the chance of being free. Others just refused to appear because they felt the parole board would not give them a parole anyway.

Over the years a bomb was in the making at Pontiac and Governor "Big Jim" Thompson supplied the fuse with his Class X law. The Class X law now put the power in the guards' hands on who would earn goodtime and how much goodtime he will earn. Disciplinary reports were being written for anything and everything you say or do to the guards' liking or disliking. Every infraction is a loss of goodtime, not less than 10 days and no more than one year. Men started wondering how they were going to earn a day of goodtime when disciplinary reports were being written up for being five minutes late on a pass when they had no control over the officer who had the keys that unlocked the doors they must go through to reach their destination.

In the last five years numerous laws have been enacted to keep one in prison longer. The electric chair is now dusted off and awaiting for its first victim with great anticipation. The lock 'em up, throw away the key concept is here once again and you ask, "Is there going to be another rebellion?" Indictments are a sure thing and regardless if one is guilty of any acts because of his participation in the rebellion, that will not be the issue, any one of us can and will be used to take the blame because of our attitudes against the way men are treated, our affiliation with certain organizations and groups and we were in

the building that the officers were killed in, plus the fact that we are Black men and white officers were killed. Inmates will give false information against others for many reasons, but the main reasons will be from fear and intimidation; many will give

feed and clothe his family, that problem should be addressed. We must always keep in mind that, "men without hope, have no fears, not even death."

Bruce Jackson wrote about prison after the Attica Riot and the following are

Conditions are the same as they were before rebellion

Dear Torch,

On October 12 a mini-riot jumped off here in Pontiac prison. All I know is one prisoner got in another prisoner's way and pushed him by mistake and boom, before I knew what happened two men were stabbed and at least 15 more hurt.

But you can't blame the prisoners; it's the same tension of the July 22 rebellion. They still haven't done anything for the prisoners. With all the money the state has given, all they do is build towers. The conditions here are still the same as they were then. There are over 1,900 prisoners here. And the prison was made to hold 1,200. So we live two men in a cell of 5 by 10. That causes a lot of problems between prisoners also. You can hardly walk in the cell without bumping into your cellie.

The guards are all racist. I was boomed with gas and mace just because I demanded hospital treatment. I'm asthmatic and instead of medical treatment they almost killed me with gas.

The only reason I see for all this harassment is so the prisoners will revolt like July 22, 1978, again. And now that they have all these towers, they just want the chance to shoot us all down like dogs.

I would like to say I enjoy reading the *Torch*. And that I've read a lot of things that concern us here at Pontiac prison. Keep up the good work.

WR
Pontiac prison

false information for promises of parole or time cut from their sentences.

Governor Thompson thinks that building more prisons, keeping men confined longer and the electric chair will solve the problems of crime in the state of Illinois. The money that he is using to build more prisons could go into the communities that the men come from for better housing, schools, social and welfare programs. Something must be done before a man gets to the point that he must rob to

excerpts from his book *Attica*.

"A good inmate is one who makes no trouble for the institution. He may do whatever he wants, as long as he is quiet about it and makes no trouble that the administration can't ignore. A bad inmate is one who makes ripples, someone who complains about treatment or food or lack of educational opportunity or humiliation by the guards. A very bad inmate is one who talks such things up among his fellow inmates; an outrageously bad inmate is one who suggests to his fellow inmates that they do not have to stand for such treatment, who tells them that the courts may have sentenced them to punishment by incarceration but that does not mean that the prison authorities have any duty or right to punish them further.

"Confusion, violence and repression seem more and more common in prisons, and more and more inmates are responding with riots, strikes, assassinations and sabotage. The institutions are cracking at the seams... and they will blow up again. There will be more Atticas, there will be more George Jacksons, men turned bitter as gall by years behind a welded door, men spitting back in the face of certain death because they find defiance preferable to the slow death of day after day living in brutality and squalor and lawlessness." □

'Big Jim, I Dare You!'

You called us "animals" to the newspapers. You stated on nationwide TV to "come down hard on the prisoners, and if any disturbance starts, shoot to kill." So in view of that you think that these camps are "good" for us, I'll tell you what I'm willing to do:

*I dare you to come to my cell and stay at least six months with no toilets or running water on them.

*I dare you to come and stay in a cell and get sick and can't get medical help.

*I dare you most of all to yell for an officer and tell him you're sick and you need a doctor.

*I dare you to be in a cell and just because you're sick and start yelling for a doctor, six or eight officers come to your cell, handcuff you and start hitting you until you're almost unconscious.

*I dare you to let your taste buds get used to the "Elmer's Glue" meat that these dieticians "claim" to be their specialty.

*I dare you to be in this cage without a shower for seven days.

*I dare you to be in this kamp in winter without a blanket or some heat.

*I dare you to try and make a complaint when you get assaulted by these Nazi/Klan enforcers.

For all these reasons, I dare you to come and stay six months. And for every day you spend down here under these conditions, I will give you five years of incarceration in any "kamp" you want to put me. I dare you "Big Jim" to all this, I dare you because I know you. I know what you're up to. So far, you have succeeded by making me and my brothers and sisters go through all this and more, but let me tell you, you will never change my mind. I will always struggle until true justice is done. I will never stop until I see all my brothers and oppressed sisters free from this capitalist system. I will never stop until this system is destroyed. I have struggled hard, but I will struggle harder as each and every day goes by... until the day I die.

In solidarity,
Build to win...
Brother Roberto Tosado

On November 15, George Meany officially stepped down as head of the AFL-CIO. For 27 years, Meany, a former plumber from the Bronx in New York City, has personified everything that's narrow and rotten in the U.S. labor movement. He is now being succeeded by Lane Kirkland, a polished and well-educated administrator/bureaucrat who will try to continue Meany's policies with some slight changes in style.

Meany himself summed up his approach in 1955: "I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."

In place of strikes and a struggle against the capitalists, Meany had another approach: First, allow the capitalists to attack unorganized and oppressed sections of the working class in exchange for a truce and higher wages and benefits in the unionized sectors; and, second, discipline the unionized workforce and give management a free hand to boost productivity.

Internationally, this policy has meant full support for U.S. imperialism. The AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs has worked hand-in-glove with the CIA to control the trade union movements in other countries.

Domestically, Meany's strategy has involved opposition to the demands of Black workers, campaigns against undocumented workers and imported products,

GEORGE MEANY'S LEGACY:



"I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike, never had anything to do with a picket line."

and tying the unions to the capitalist parties. For example, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) has become an important part of the Democratic Party, funneling millions of dollars and thousands of labor-hours to capitalist candidates.

The deal between the AFL-CIO and the capitalists was summed up by a recent *New York Times* article: "Many companies decided that strong secure unions could be a constructive force in preventing wildcat strikes, fostering productivity and equalizing labor costs within each industry. In return, employers became the principal recruiting agents for a union movement that had run out of steam."

This is the union movement that Lane Kirkland has spent his adult life serving. Kirkland left his father's South Carolina cotton plantation in 1938 to attend college. A year later he joined the Merchant Marine, where he remained

during World War II. After the war, Kirkland trained for a diplomatic career at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. When he graduated in 1948, he decided against a State Department position and got a job in the research department of the American Federation of Labor Instead. Later Kirkland became Meany's executive assistant, and in 1969 he was elected AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer.

Kirkland is a professional executive who happened to choose to work as a labor bureaucrat instead of at General Motors or the U.S. embassy in Madrid.

In his 30 years at the AFL and the AFL-CIO, Kirkland has never disagreed with Meany on a matter of substance. In the past few months he has continued the Meany tradition. In September he negotiated a "National Accord" with the Carter Administration in which the labor leaders agreed to serve on a Pay Advisory Board to

hold down wages and accept the "usual level of unemployment." In return, they got some vague promises of job programs.

Meanwhile, Kirkland has been giving whole-hearted support to U.S. imperialism's offensive against Iran. The few changes Kirkland has made are cosmetic. He appointed a committee, for instance, to study what could be done about there being only one Black person and no women on the AFL-CIO Executive Board.

And Kirkland's personal style is different from Meany's. He is soft-spoken and tends to ask others their opinions before he makes a decision. Aside from this, Kirkland would like to continue business-as-usual at the AFL-CIO. But times are changing. In the past few years, the U.S. ruling class has launched a brutal across-the-board attack on the trade union movement. As the British bourgeois journal *The Economist* put

it: "The U.S. labor movement has been rewarded by its loyalty to capitalism with a sustained business offensive which has sent it reeling."

The results of this assault are the following:

- With the help of sophisticated union-busting techniques, the capitalists are now defeating union organizing drives more often than not. And they are winning three out of four attempts to kick established unions out.

- Capitalists in unionized industries, such as auto, have moved plants to the non-union South. Companies are also contracting out work to non-union outfits and closing plants that are organized.

- Today, unionized workers make up only 20 percent of the workforce, compared to 34 percent in 1955.

- Business has launched an intense lobbying campaign that has blocked legislation that the AFL-CIO was working hard to get passed. This was something business only dreamed about just a few years ago.

Kirkland accepted election as AFL-CIO president with a speech that ignored the real crisis that is now hitting the union movement. "And I now declare the speed and course: Full ahead. Steady as she goes!" he finished. But the coming years will be marked by a terrific escalation of the class struggle and it is unlikely that either the capitalists or the rank-and-file workers will pay much attention to this command. □



LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Harvester workers stand firm

On December 12, over 500 striking International Harvester (IH) workers and their supporters demonstrated in front of IH headquarters in downtown Chicago. Workers from at least six United Auto Workers (UAW) locals at IH plants were there. The workers have been on strike since November 1. They have refused to accept an agreement similar to that negotiated by the UAW for General Motors workers earlier this year. Over 40,000 workers at a second large agricultural and construction machinery firm, Caterpillar Co., are on strike for the same reason.

Workers at IH are determined to hold on to their contract clause making all overtime voluntary. They are the only UAW workers who still have this protection. The major demand of the December 12 demonstration was "Forced Overtime—Hell No!"

Spirits are high among workers and they are prepared for the strike to go on into January. On the same day as the rally, workers at IH's Melrose Park plant outside Chicago brought an effigy of management to the picket line. After several attempts to burn the effigy were stopped by the police, the strikers got some ketchup and had management bleed to death.

Church takes over UMW

Sam Church, the new president of the United Mine Workers (UMW), won several major victories at the UMW convention which began December 10 in Denver, Colorado. The convention gave him authority to appoint his own vice-president, waiving constitutional requirements for a special membership election. It also authorized him to levy the union's first strike fund in 30 years, as well as passing a heavy dues increase.

These measures reveal how Church plans to run the UMW. He is trying to tighten his hold over the

union and is justifying this to the ranks on the grounds that tough measures are needed to unite the union and wage a real fight against the coal companies.

Church, the former vice-president, became leader of the UMW after Arnold Miller resigned as president on November 16. Miller cited ill-health as the reason for his retirement. While there's some truth to this, it's more likely that he decided to accept the title of "president emeritus" at full pay rather than face almost certain ouster at the convention.

Miller used a massive rank-and-file rebellion to climb to the presidency in 1972. But as president he was too weak a negotiator to stand up to the coal bosses, and too weak a bureaucrat to control the ranks when they rebelled against his sellout contracts. In 1978, miners twice rejected Miller's contract proposals in the course of fighting a bitter 111-day strike. Miller is now so unpopular that Local 750, his home local, refused to elect him a delegate to the convention.

Many rank-and-file miners appear to be willing to go along with Church because they know Miller had reduced the union to a shambles, and think Church might lead some kind of fight against the coal bosses. Union bureaucrats and industry leaders know better. They are elated over Church's takeover because they now have a president strong enough to enforce "labor peace" in the coalfields.

Steelworkers nix wage freeze

On November 16, workers at the three plants of U.S. Steel's American Bridge Division voted down a proposal for a two-year wage freeze by a wide margin. United Steelworkers officials had recommended that the workers accept the freeze. The company itself threatened that if the wage freeze were rejected, "American Bridge will cease to be a source of job opportunities."

On the day the ballots were cast the *Wall Street Journal* commented that the voting "will be closely

watched by the steel industry. The nine largest steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America are to start negotiations on a new contract in February, and the vote at Ambridge should be a clue to the willingness of thousands of steelworkers nation-wide to give up some of the gains they have made over the years."

This points to the real motive behind the proposal. On November 27, U.S. Steel's Board of Directors voted for widespread plant shut-downs that eliminated 13,000 jobs, including 1,000 at the American Bridge facility in Ambridge, Pennsylvania. It's likely that the company was planning to close the Ambridge facility soon no matter how the vote came out. But by forcing a section of the workforce to accept a wage freeze now, they would be in a good position to launch wider attacks against all steelworkers when contract negotiations begin. By rejecting the two-year wage freeze, the American Bridge workers prevented the first act in the contract round from being a rout.

ACTWU wins Stevens election

On November 2, textile workers at the J.P. Stevens plant in Allendale, South Carolina, voted to accept the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) as their bargaining agent. This follows an earlier election victory for the ACTWU at the J.P. Stevens plant in High Point, North Carolina.

J.P. Stevens employs 45,000 workers in 84 plants, most of them in the Carolinas. The ACTWU has been fighting to unionize these plants for 15 years. The company has used every dirty trick in the book to stop them.

The two recent ACTWU victories were the first for the union organizing drive in over five years. Although both involved small plants, they represent a step forward in the struggle to win union rights for Southern textile workers.

—PB & WF

Company Fails to

Organize Glyndon

On December 3, the Glydons, Inc., a garment Los Angeles, voted on to bring the Internationalment Workers Union to their bargaining agent. Their votes could be counted company charged that broken labor laws and Labor Relations Board the ballot boxes. But doubt, Glydons work the majority of voted union.

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it: "The U.S. labor movement has been rewarded by its loyalty to capitalism with a sustained business offensive which has sent it reeling."

The results of this assault are the following:

- With the help of sophisticated union-busting techniques, the capitalists are now defeating union organizing drives more often than not. And they are winning three out of four attempts to kick established unions out.

- Capitalists in unionized industries, such as auto, have moved plants to the non-union South. Companies are also contracting out work to non-union outfits and closing plants that are organized.

- Today, unionized workers make up only 20 percent of the workforce, compared to 34 percent in 1955.

- Business has launched an intense lobbying campaign that has blocked legislation that the AFL-CIO was working hard to get passed. This was something business only dreamed about just a few years ago.

Kirkland accepted election as AFL-CIO president with a speech that ignored the real crisis that is now hitting the union movement. "And I now declare the speed and course: Full ahead. Steady as she goes!" he finished. But the coming years will be marked by a terrific escalation of the class struggle and it is unlikely that either the capitalists or the rank-and-file workers will pay much attention to this command. □

Company Fails to Stop Garment Workers

Organizing Drive at Glydons Nears Victory

On December 3, the 250 workers at Glydons, Inc., a garment factory in Los Angeles, voted on whether or not to bring the International Ladies Garment Workers Union into the shop as their bargaining agent. Before the votes could be counted, however, the company charged that the union had broken labor laws and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) sealed the ballot boxes. But there is no doubt, Glydons workers report, that the majority of votes were for the union.

As we discussed in the last issue, most of the workers at Glydons are Latin women. In the past, many Latin workers in LA have been afraid to try to unionize because many of them are undocumented workers from Mexico or Central America. They can be deported at any time, and bosses have frequently used this threat to defeat organizing attempts.

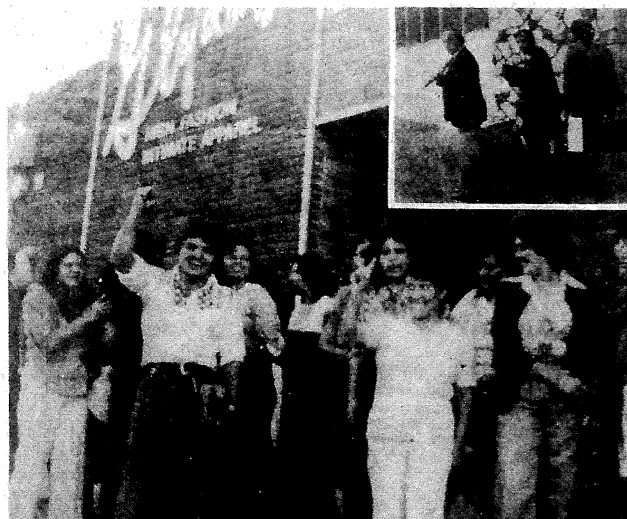
In the past year, however, many undocumented workers have become determined to fight the sweatshop conditions they work under no matter what the risks. As a result, a series of garment shops have been success-

fully organized. The five-month-old union organizing drive at Glydons is part of this movement.

As election day neared, the boss at Glydons increased his campaign to divide and defeat the workers. He hired a number of new people, hoping they would be "uncontaminated" by the union organizing and ready to scab on future strikes. At the same time, he fired several of the most active organizers, claiming they were merely being laid off for lack of work. Since it is illegal to fire someone for union activity, the workers involved have appealed their "layoffs" to the NLRB.

On the day of the election, company lawyers asked that the ballots be impounded, claiming that union organizers had illegally trespassed on company property during the drive. The NLRB could have dismissed this baseless charge, but instead has chosen to investigate it. This is why the ballot boxes were sealed.

The day after the election the talk at work was about how to fight this maneuver. Many people wanted to



Glydons workers demonstrate in front of factory. Upper right corner: NLRB officials carry away ballot boxes.

strike the company or at least immediately picket the NLRB. At a meeting that night, the union did not accept either proposal. Instead the plan is to picket the NLRB if the election results are not announced by December 10.

Meanwhile, inside the shop, the boss is tightening work discipline. A new rule has it that if you're as little as one minute late more than twice,

you're fired.

Glydons will be closed for two weeks over the holidays. When the workers come back they will have to continue the fight to get their union. So far, neither the attacks from the boss, nor the legalistic stalling from the NLRB, have demoralized or confused the workers. There is every indication that they will stick together and go on to victory.

Chrysler Workers Fight Harassment

Militant Wins Job Back

On November 7, Brian Detloff, a worker at Chrysler's Warren Tank plant just outside Detroit, was fired for distributing copies of "Revolutionary Autoworker." The leaflets urged rejection of the sub-standard Chrysler contract. Supporters of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the RSL then began a campaign to get Detloff re-hired. The campaign received the support of many workers at the plant and, eventually, of the local union officials, who, faced with possibly having to sell a wage freeze (see box), felt they had to show some militancy.

On December 6, Detloff was reinstated with 80 hours' back pay, full seniority and the charges erased from his record. Two other workers who had been suspended with Detloff in an earlier attempt to fire him also had their records cleaned. Finally, Detloff was offered a spot on the union educational committee.

Below is an article from the "Warren Tank Organizer," a plant newsletter, written as part of the campaign to re-hire Detloff.

There has been a major increase in management's harassment going on recently. It has hit hardest particularly against anyone who has tried to oppose the harassment or who voices opposition to the national contract agreement—and it will continue until people can become organized and pressure our local union to stand up and fight for our rights.

As a result of management's harassment campaign, one worker, Brian Detloff of department 4960, has been framed and discharged. The harassment of Detloff started when he began to organize co-workers for a class on numerical control technology and what its impact on our jobs will be. He was telling workers that the numerical control technology which Chrysler is introducing will do three things: 1) Eliminate jobs through layoffs and speedup; 2) give

management total control over the shop floor; 3) eventually thin out the work force and weaken the union.

In organizing this class, Detloff posed a threat to management. They saw that workers were interested in getting organized and educated. So management started a campaign to get Detloff.

Management began harassing Detloff and his co-workers by telling them they were not allowed to talk on or inside the job. This did not go over too well because it involved the whole department, and a group grievance was filed in an attempt to stop the unwarranted harassment. As a result, most of the people who filed the grievance were harassed, suspended, or fired. First, Detloff and two other workers were sus-

pending because their foreman outright lied and accused them of possession and use of a "suspected hallucinogenic drug"—although, of course, he had no evidence whatsoever. This did not go over too well with the other workers and resulted in the firing of another worker who spoke up in favor of the three that had just been framed. The pressure was put on management, and as a result, they brought back the suspended three.

This was not enough, however, in management's attempts to stop workers from organizing to defend ourselves. They had to go a step further by again discharging Detloff on Wednesday, November 7. He was discharged on Chrysler conduct codes #7 and #18, and later #27 was added. All of these charges are false. It is a total frame-up!

Code #18 states: "No unauthorized distribution of literature, except such

distribution, during non-working time in non-working areas as is protected by the National Labor Relations Act." Detloff was charged with violating this and was fired—for distributing union-related leaflets, in the cafeteria, during his break time! The main reason was because what he was distributing was a leaflet that was opposed to the national contract agreement called "Revolutionary Autoworker."

Management's actions against Detloff are a direct infringement of Detloff's and all workers' freedom of speech, freedom of press, and the right to assemble and organize. It is important that as many individuals and groups of workers as possible get involved and pressure the local and national union leadership to bring back Detloff and anyone who has been fired or suspended with full seniority and back pay. The company is going to use this firing as a threat to beat down all militant shop floor organizing at Chrysler Detroit Tank plant. This militancy is the type of union leadership and the type of political struggle that will be needed in order to save our jobs and keep the company from driving down our living standards.

If the company can get away with firing Detloff because he was getting workers organized, then none of us will have the right to organize. Management wants complete control over us. And they are trying to frame Detloff and harass the rest of us into submission.

In a time when the country's economy is going downhill, inflation has eroded our checks, and we may well be on the way to a third world war or faced with another great depression, workers will have to organize against these kinds of attacks by the companies even more than ever. We must defend ourselves and our right to organize!

We must demand that Detloff be brought back immediately, without delay! We must join together and pressure the union to demand defense of Detloff and all of the unjustly fired workers, and an end to management's harassment.

No More Concessions!

After giving \$203 million to Chrysler through a sub-standard contract and lending the company \$200 million through deferred pension fund payments, the Chrysler workers are being pressed to give more.

Three versions of Chrysler aid plans are now in Congress. One, passed by the House Banking Committee, fits in with the already approved contract. Another, passed by the Senate Banking Committee, calls for a three-year wage freeze for Chrysler workers—a 39-percent pay cut after inflation. At first, Doug Fraser, head of the United Autoworkers Union, seemed ready to accept this wage freeze.

But after hearing from local union leaders, he changed his tune. At a meeting of shop committeemen in Ohio on November 30 and a meeting in Washington the next week, they made clear that there was no way they could sell a wage freeze to Chrysler workers. So Fraser now supports the third—"compromise"—bill. This one adds \$200 million more to union aid to the company, but probably in a form that wouldn't require re-opening the contract.

In all the bail-out plans for Chrysler, only the workers are being forced to give up money. The banks will simply make loans and the government will pay back a portion of the loans if, despite the aid, Chrysler fails.

Meanwhile, the Dodge Main plant in Detroit, scheduled to close in June, is now being closed on January 4. About 8,000 workers will lose their jobs. The momentum of what was a large campaign against the closing seems to have been lost, at least for now. Chrysler plans to shift more senior Dodge Main workers to other plants, laying off the newer workers there. This has dispersed the effects of the closing and breaks up the unity of Dodge Main workers essential to a fight.



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Stevens election

2, textile workers at the J.P. Allendale, South Carolina, voted to join the United Textile and Apparel Workers (ACTWU) as their bargaining agent. This was an earlier election victory for the ACTWU at the J.P. Stevens plant in High Point.

The ACTWU employs 45,000 workers in 84 plants in the Carolinas. The ACTWU is now organizing these plants for 15 years. The company has used every dirty trick in the book.

ACTWU victories were the first in organizing drive in over five years. They involved small plants, they were a forward in the struggle to win Southern textile workers.

The following is the second part of an edited version of a presentation given to an RSL Central Committee meeting this September by Ron Taber, RSL National Secretary. In the first part, "The Post-War Boom Unravels," Taber discussed the origin of the post-war boom and the reasons it has now come to an end. He showed how the capitalists reorganized world capitalism in such a way that prosperity was created in the short run at the expense of the long-term health of the system. The third and final part of the talk will appear next month.

By RON TABER

Now, what's happening as the economic crisis deepens is that all the contradictions of the system are becoming tremendously intensified.

Even when capitalism is relatively stable it is still an antagonistic, competitive system. Each part is at war with the others. The different classes fight to increase their respective shares of the social product, that is, the class struggle in no way stops. And there's still competition within each class, right down to the level of individuals competing for jobs, status and other things.

But no matter how antagonistic these social relations are during periods of prosperity, they become a hundred times more so when things get bad. And the deeper the crisis gets, the more intense all the competition becomes.

I'd like to talk now about what these contradictions are and how they'll develop, so comrades have a clear idea of what the coming period will look like and why.

Class struggle heats up

The most fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system is, of course, the contradiction between capital and labor, between the capitalist class and the working class.

This contradiction is the class struggle and we can expect to see it really heat up in the coming period.

For the capitalists, the only answer to the economic crisis is a systematic campaign to increase the rate of exploitation of labor. This means speeding up production, laying off workers, lengthening the working day for those who still have jobs, and generally lowering the living standards of the working class. It also means that the attack on the unions will escalate, with the bosses more and more demanding actual takeaways in new contracts, as well as all-out attempts to bust unions, and topple the labor movement as a whole.

In fact, the capitalist offensive against the workers has been underway for some time now and is being pressed harder every year. Some of it has been indirect, like inflation, which lowers real wages. Workers may be making more than they used to when you just add up the number of dollars, but every year these dollars can buy fewer goods and services.

Similarly, the deterioration of the cities represents an indirect attack on the workers' living standards, as do the cutbacks in health care, etc.

And then there's the direct attack that's been going on, with more and more companies closing factories or demanding wage freezes and, on some occasions, actual wage cuts.

Under the impact of the crisis and the ruling-class assault, the working class has started to radicalize and fight back, though the response is still at a relatively low level. For example, only a week or so ago the auto-workers' union settled for a lousy contract with GM without a strike, no wildcats, nothing.

But there have been militant actions, such as the miners' strike about a year and a half ago. The miners not only defied the coal bosses, but they also said "fuck you" to the union leadership on two contract proposals, and to the government around Taft-Hartley.

And earlier this year there was the Newport News shipyard strike, and

there's been militant organizing going on in garment, textiles and other industries.

In addition, working-class militancy is on the rise outside of workplace struggles. For example, working-class people have organized in Chicago, Detroit and other cities against hospital closings. And, in more spectacular actions, you had the Blackout Rebellion in New York City and the Humboldt Park Rebellion in Chicago, both two years ago, and the Levittown gas riot last spring.

As the economic crisis deepens, and the ruling class steps up its offensive, the working class and oppressed people will respond in a tremendously more militant and organized way. There will be a general escalation of the class struggle—more strikes and mass demonstrations, the trade union movement will become more political and the bureaucrats, as well as other reformist leaders, will start talking and acting more militant. Already some of these types are calling themselves socialists. The left as a whole will grow considerably.

Eventually there'll be mass strikes, general strikes, and uprisings, and the struggles will be increasingly revolutionary.

Of course this process is a lot further along in other parts of the world, particularly the underdeveloped and imperialized countries. The struggle in the U.S. is at a lot lower level than, for example, in Iran or Nicaragua. But the direction is the same.

I'd like to emphasize, however, that we can't predict exactly when or in what form the class struggle is going to break loose on that kind of scale here.

Competition among capitalists increases

So far I've focussed on the competition between the capitalists and the workers—that is, the class struggle. But I'd also like to talk about the contradictions within the capitalist class itself. These too are becoming intensified under the impact of the crisis.

The capitalists, or different blocs of capital, compete among themselves all the time, even when the system is relatively prosperous. The capitalists



Miners' strike, 1978. The miners not only fought the coal bosses, they also fought the union leadership and defied the government around Taft-Hartley.

compete for access to raw materials, such as oil, gas, copper, etc. They compete for investment opportunities and markets—like who gets the cola franchise in China: Coke or Pepsi? They compete for market shares. And they fight for general political and economic influence.

What's behind this competition is: Which capital is going to get what share of the available surplus value produced throughout the society?

Now, as the rate of profit declines, the competition among the capitalists turns into a frantic scramble, since there is a diminishing amount of surplus value available. I made this point

Capitalism in Crisis

Part 2:

The Contradictions Deepen



Sandinista rally in Nicaragua. Today, the U.S. would have a lot of trouble invading Nicaragua. When Cyrus Vance went to the OAS with a proposal for an American intervention, he couldn't even muster one other vote.

to invade Cuba in 1961, to name a few. And of course the U.S. masterminded right-wing coups, assassinations and similar moves in dozens of countries.

But since the U.S. got defeated in Vietnam, this has changed a great deal. Today, the U.S. would have a lot of trouble invading Nicaragua. In fact, when Vance went to the OAS (Organization of American States) meeting on Nicaragua in the spring with a proposal for an American interventionary force, he couldn't muster even one other vote. Instead the U.S. ruling class has got to try to bribe the Sandinista regime with money and promises of further aid. And the same thing is true in Iran—the U.S. couldn't invade it to save the shah and it can't invade it now to bring in a pro-U.S. government.

One final example. When Carter visited Mexico early this year he made a racist remark about "Montezuma's revenge." Now, in the past, everyone would have laughed politely. Instead, Mexican President Lopez Portillo, who is a conservative, told Carter off and put him in his place.

This may seem small, but it shows that the ability of the U.S. ruling class to run roughshod over the peoples and culture of other countries is coming to an end.

However it's not as if Russia is rising to take the U.S.'s place as top dog. Russian strength and influence are increasing but only relative to the U.S. It won't become the hegemonic power in the coming period.

In fact, the Russians are in some ways actually losing power to the U.S. For example, Russian influence in Eastern Europe is being weakened.

Some, if not most, of the Eastern European countries are in debt to Western banks, i.e., the Western capitalists. There have been a lot of articles recently about how massively in debt Poland is to Western banks. This debt will lead to influence over Poland on the part of the European and U.S. imperialists. Sooner or later, if the Polish government cannot pay off its debts to the West, the banks are going to demand that the Polish govern-

ment implement certain policies as conditions for further loans.

You'll have the same situation as when a country borrows from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). When the government of a country needs to borrow money from the IMF, the IMF in turn tells the government to implement certain policies, all of which add up to stepping up the exploitation of the workers and peasants of that country. If the government refuses, it can forget about a loan.

Since the Russians don't have the foreign currency to bail out their allies, Poland and the other Eastern European governments may have no choice but to accept similar conditions made by the Western banks.

There are other signs that Russian influence is not particularly growing. If the Western imperialists can put together some kind of negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe—which is a real possibility—then it is highly doubtful that that country would become pro-Russian. Similarly, the new government in Nicaragua appears to be trying to chart a more neutral, i.e., not pro-Russia, course than many people expected.

One final example. In Afghanistan, a clique of Westernized Stalinist intellectuals seized power in Kabul, the capital, without doing their homework in the countryside. Today, a revolt, led by Islamic religious forces, is underway and appears to have substantial support among the people. So, despite the coup against the previous pro-Western regime, and the establishment of a pro-Moscow government, the Russians cannot really control Afghanistan.

So what we're seeing is the decline of U.S. imperialism without a comparable increase in the influence of the Russians. Instead, power has been, and continues to be, dispersed among different sections of the international capitalist class. Some of the advanced capitalist countries, like Japan and West Germany, have increasing influence and power, as do some of the less developed countries, such as Saudi Arabia and the other OPEC nations.

Capitalism in Crisis

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This tendency, as it gets intensified, turns into a drive toward war. As the competition among the ruling classes heats up, and no one country has the clout to whip everybody else into line, there is an increasing tendency for conflicts to be "solved" by war.

For example, the capitalists of almost all countries, including Russia and other state-capitalist countries, are getting freaked out about having access to oil. They no longer can get unlimited supplies by looting the oil-rich countries. Sooner or later, some country—it could be the U.S. or it could be Russia—is going to invade an oil-rich nation to get oil. They may use some pretext but the end result will be the same: a takeover, in some form or another, of that nation's oil.

But given the incredible interdependence of all the nations of the world today, and the more equal distribution of power among a number of different national capitals, almost any war could potentially become a world war. This could mean total destruction.

In general, then, all the contradictions within the capitalist class are being heightened. There's this increased competition, an increased scramble for natural resources—for surplus value in the most general sense. And more and more countries have a certain amount of clout to use in this struggle.

Political system less functional

I'd like to turn now to the impact of all this on the U.S. political scene.

The first point I want to make is that the political system in this country is becoming less and less functional for the capitalists.

The bourgeoisie is a mass of competing groups and individuals. It needs somebody, or some group, to impose order on it—a leadership. Somehow or another, the capitalists have to get together and figure out

what to do.

When the economy is prosperous, there are enough profits to go around and satisfy the claims of relatively broad sectors of the capitalist class as well as buy the loyalty of sections of the middle class and the better-off layers of the working class.

The clearest example of what goes on in Congress, where deals are made in the open. One Senator will say "I'll support your bill if you support mine." This is known as log-rolling, because both ends of the log have to get rolled. Or they'll add riders dealing with one issue onto bills that are about something else entirely.

These deals are just small-scale reflections of the broader wheeling and dealing, giving and taking, that goes on among the various sectors of the capitalist class. And the ability to make deals depends to a great extent on the fact that there's enough grease to keep the different parts of the capitalist class more or less satisfied.

But when the economy goes into crisis, profits diminish; the grease dries up. Increasingly, the demands of some sectors of the capitalist class can only be met at the expense of others, while the middle class and upper layers of the working class, formerly cut into the action, get cut out altogether. This puts an enormous strain on the political system and can paralyze the capitalist class.

For example, today most sections of the capitalist class want to cut the budget deficit to try to cut down inflation and stabilize the dollar. But if the budget is cut, some subsidy to a group of capitalists, some program the economy needs, some **something** has got to go, which means somebody has to suffer. This cutting hurts the workers and middle class most of all, but it also hurts one or another section of the capitalist class. Because these sectors have, or can buy, enough influence in Congress, to oppose these cuts, Congress has been unable to come up with enough cuts to get anywhere near balancing the budget. On this question the ruling class is stuck at dead center. This is one of the reasons, by the way, why Carter looks so bad.

In a million ways, therefore, the economic crisis, the increase in the class struggle, and the competition among the capitalists means that the regular political structures are becoming less and less adequate to deal with the capitalists' problems. Increasingly, they will need, and look for, something or someone to come in and impose some order on them, i.e., to force them to make the hard decisions that are required to save capitalism.

What will happen is that the capitalists will end up leaning on and building up the state apparatus. As Marx, Engels and Lenin wrote, the state is primarily a tool of the ruling class to keep the exploited classes, the workers and other oppressed people, down. As these people fight back against the capitalists' attack on them, the capitalists will build up the state to use as a club against them.

But this built-up state will not only serve to discipline the working class and other oppressed people. It will also serve to discipline the capitalist class. The state, and the bureaucracy

that runs it, will try to force through changes in the system that are in the interests of capitalism, but which the majority of the capitalist class may not be ready to accept. For example, much of Roosevelt's New Deal policies, which shored up capitalism during the 1930s—and through the 1960s—had to be implemented against the opposition of much or most of the capitalist class at the time.

The need to impose "order" on both the working class and the capitalist class itself will lead to the enlargement of the state apparatus and an increase in its role in society. This will take place despite the fact that the capitalist class at the moment is leaning toward laissez-faire policies, that is, away from state intervention. Eventually the needs of the system, as it gets deeper and deeper into crisis, will override the capitalists' present desires.

Middle class polarizes

As the state grows, so will the role of social layers that are closely tied to it. These layers make up what is known as the middle class.

The middle class, made up of doctors, lawyers and other professionals, managers, supervisors and bureaucrats in banks, corporations and various organizations, middle level government employees, plays an important role in the day to day running of capitalism. In many ways, they actually keep the machine running; they staff the corporate bureaucracy, the state bureaucracy, the labor bureaucracy, as well as play an important role, as professionals and non-professionals, in the political parties. Because of this function, the state looms very large in their lives.

As a social layer, however, the middle class is quite unstable. Most members of the middle class, as individuals, don't have much property and are not very influential. In addition, the social structure of the middle class tends to disperse people rather than unite them. Finally, the middle class is caught between the capitalist class at the top and the working class at the bottom and gets squeezed when the class struggle heats up. For these and other reasons, members of the middle class tend to feel powerless and vulnerable in times of crisis. When things get bad, many of them freak out and start looking for extreme solutions, ultimately statist solutions.

This is already happening to a degree. A lot of these people, perhaps even a majority of the white middle class, are moving to the right. Many of them are seeking refuge in religion, the family, the police and the flag as supposed solutions to what they see as "social decay." As a result, large sections of the middle class will become a mass social base for right-wing and fascist movements.

But not all of the middle class will move to the right. As the working class begins to fight back in a big way, other sectors of the middle class will

(Continued on page 15)



The U.S. tried to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, 1961. U.S. imperialism also invaded Guatemala in 1954, Lebanon in 1958 and the Dominican Republic in 1965.

Militants Discuss Anti-Klan Strategy at RSL Conference

By FRANK HOPKINS

CHICAGO—On December 8 and 9 the Detroit and Chicago branches of the Revolutionary Socialist League held a Midwest conference here on "The Revolutionary Strategy Against the Klan." More than 50 people attended the conference from Muncie, Indiana, and Hastings, Michigan, as well as Detroit and Chicago. Trade union militants, gay activists and anti-racist fighters from the prisoner movement and the pro-Iran movement participated.

The conference began with a speech by Miriam Lee on what fascism looks like when it is in power. The speech concentrated on the impact of fascism in Germany on women. In order to divide and demoralize the working-class movement, the Nazis had to crush all organizations of women. The workers' movement in Germany refused to defend one-half of the working class—and paid for it with the destruction of the entire workers' movement.

Steve Miller then discussed why the Nazis and Klan are growing today. Miller explained that as capitalist society falls apart,

large sections of the middle class and the better-off workers begin to freak out. They look for radical solutions to a dying social system which breeds unemployment, crime, and the class war. Fascism can appear to be such a solution. The capitalists then rely on this movement of the middle class to fight against the working class and oppressed people.

Discussion groups were held after these speeches. The groups discussed why the strategy of non-violence cripples our movement. They also discussed the need for political education of the anti-Klan movement as well as confrontations with the Klan. People must understand what they are fighting against. And we also discussed the need to explain out that socialism and freedom are real answers to the crisis.

Sunday's session started with a talk by Paul Aldridge on the state of the Klan and Nazi organizations. Aldridge, whose two-part series on the Klan appeared in the *Torch/La Antorcha* earlier this year, explained that the Klan and the Nazis have differences. Aldridge noted, for example, that the Nazis

call for a "revolution," while the Klans are pro-U.S. Constitution. But Aldridge also pointed out that some of these differences were breaking down and that Nazi and Klan groups are more and more working together.

Following this, Brent Davis discussed differing strategies in the fight against the Klan. As Davis explained, the differences in strategy come down to whether you are trying to preserve capitalism or build the unity and strength of the working class in order to fight for socialism. Reformists, like the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and the Socialist Workers Party, want to invite capitalist politicians to lead the anti-Klan movement and call for federal troops to "protect" us from the Klan. In opposition to this, the RSL teaches working people to rely on their own strength, not the state. The RSL tries to build the broadest unity of working-class people. And the RSL points out that the solution to the Klan and the racism it breeds is to smash the capitalist system.

The last speaker was Jim Kelly, who spoke on the fight for socialism and the RSL's role in that fight. Kelly placed emphasis on how we in the RSL train ourselves, and the people we join with in struggle, to fight for socialism by fighting for working people controlling their own lives.

Solidarity messages from two prisoners were read during the conference. One message was from Carl Harp, an anarchist prisoner, held at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. Albert Jackson, indicted on murder charges for the 1978 rebellion at Pontiac prison in Illinois also sent a message. An anti-Klan slide show was shown at a party Saturday night.

The anti-Klan conference was a real success. It was not a mass conference, and wasn't intended to be. People were invited who had involved themselves in strug-



Torchphoto/Eugene V. Lee

NYC, Boston Actions Protest KKK Terror

NEW YORK CITY—Despite freezing rain, 50 people gathered in Herald Square on December 8 for the city's first public demonstration against the November 3 Klan murders in Greensboro, North Carolina. The demonstrators chanted "No More Greensboros—Smash Racist KKK Terror!" and listened to speakers condemning the murders and calling for a united workers' movement to smash the Klan. Even though the rally was small, it was an important show of the kind of unity that is needed on the left.

The rally was sponsored by a coalition of groups, which formed in response to a call by the RSL. Sponsors included New York Rock Against Racism, Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group, Gay Activists Alliance, Youth International Party, and the RSL. The Communist Workers Party (CWP), five of whose members were killed in Greensboro, sent a speaker to the rally. The CWP speaker raised the need for a united struggle against the Klan, a welcome and much needed change from the CWP's attitude in the first month after the murders. At that time they opposed actions unless they were under CWP control and discipline.

BOSTON—Also on December 8, 400 anti-racist demonstrators turned out to prevent David Duke, National Director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, from holding a rally to announce his candidacy for U.S. president. Demonstrators gathered at the State House, where Duke had claimed he would hold a rally. The Klan, however, failed to show. The anti-racists then marched through the downtown shopping area, where they got a good response from by-standers, and ended up at City Hall Plaza where they held their own rally.

The anti-Klan mobilization was planned on only two days' notice. Nevertheless, this was one of the largest demonstrations since the murders in Greensboro. And it was a particularly good sign in light of the increasing boldness of racist attacks in Boston. The primary organizers of the action were the City-Wide Coalition for Justice and Equality and the National Alliance Against Political and Racist Repression. Boston RSL supporters organized people for the demonstration and brought over a dozen militants. Also participating in the march and rally were the Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization.

gles against the right wing and who had a real interest in discussing a strategy for fighting the KKK. This meant that everyone at the conference learned from the talks

and discussions. This kind of political training and education is crucial to building a revolutionary leadership in the struggle against the right-wing movement. □

UAW Local 906 Condemns Greensboro Klan/Nazi Murders

On December 1, the 150 members attending a United Auto-workers Local 906 (Ford Mahwah, N.J.) meeting unanimously passed the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) motion condemning the murders in Greensboro, N.C., by the Klan and Nazis. A second motion, introduced by the Militant Solidarity Caucus, to contact N.Y./N.J. unions and Black community groups to organize a rally against Klan terror also passed unanimously. Reprinted below is the leaflet RAC handed out to organize for the union meeting.

Across the country, the Klan and Nazis grow stronger and bolder every day. The Klan stands for racist terror—cross burnings, lynchings, bombings and murder—this is the Ku Klux Klan. Their terror tactics and propaganda are aimed at dividing and weakening the whole working class. The murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, are only the most recent examples of what the Klan and Nazis have in store for people fighting for their rights. And they are organizing right here in Vineland and Barnegat, New Jersey.

As the economic crisis gets worse, the Klan and the Nazis will step up their activities. They will attack our picket lines and our unions. They will try to divide us with their racism. And the bosses will use all of this to drive down our standard of living even further.

It's crucial that our unions begin to play a role in beating back these racist, anti-union forces. The UAW has the power to organize a united struggle against the Klan and Nazis and to defend workers against Klan and Nazi terror.

At the Local 906 union meeting we plan to introduce the following motions:

1) UAW Local 906 condemns the murders of the anti-Klan demonstrators by the KKK and the Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina.

2) UAW Local 906 will set up a committee to educate the membership about the Klan and the Nazis and to plan union organized defense of Local 906 members, their families and communities from attacks by the Klan and other racist, anti-union forces. □

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CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

(Continued from page 13)

move to the left. Some will join or support the reformist socialists, the social democrats, such as the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Others will embrace socialist organizations which, while reformist in their practice, claim to be Marxist or Leninist. Such organizations include the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Still others will join the more left-wing Stalinist groups, such as the ex-Maoists.

Of course, some members of the middle class will actually become Marxist revolutionaries and dedicate themselves to the seizure of power by the working class.

Now these organizations, despite what they claim, are not really for socialism. They are for one or another kind of state capitalism, capitalism in which some, most or all of the means of production are owned by the state. The reformists, such as DSOC, are for building up the state within the present form of capitalist economy. But the CP, the SWP and the other groups are for creating a more fully developed form of state capitalism, which they call "socialism" or "workers' states" of various kinds. Taken together, these organizations really make up a kind of state-capitalist movement, which will grow and play a larger and larger role in the working-class movement as the crisis gets worse. In the future these organizations may actually define the ideology and political direction of the unions and the workers' movement as a whole.

In sum, as the crisis hits, the middle class will tend to polarize, one section moving to the right, toward fascism, another to the left, toward reformism and Stalinism in particular. Over time, the polarization will become more and more visible, and the middle class, taken as a whole, will play an increasingly important role in the political life of society.

Now it's crucial to understand the dynamic that's involved. Insofar as the right-wing fascist organizations and state-capitalist groups are for preserving capitalism, in one form or another, they can be considered agents of capitalism. But this doesn't mean that they are simply tools of

the capitalists. They have their own dynamic, their own drive and their own demands. What happens is that these movements compete with each other for the right to run capitalism and solve the social crisis. As this crisis deepens, and the class struggle really heats up, these movements mushroom. Meanwhile, the capitalist class becomes less and less able to run society—most importantly they can't control the working class—and the capitalists start looking at the middle-class movements as potential instruments to maintain their rule.

Now even though the fascist movements and the state-capitalist organizations are all statist, that is, they all seek to build up the capitalist state, this doesn't mean that they agree or that it makes no difference to the capitalists which of them gets into power. The Stalinists' program is to preserve capitalism by kicking out the capitalist class, nationalizing the means of production and creating a supposedly more efficient, "planned" capitalism. Needless to say, this doesn't make the capitalists all that friendly to the CP.

The social democrats want to stabilize capitalism by nationalizing some sections of the economy. Increasing government regulations and coming up with various reforms to give the better-off workers a stake in the system. Since they want to preserve the private capitalists they are more acceptable to the capitalist class. But there are real drawbacks to the reformist approach from the capitalists' point of view. One is the fact that capitalism in crisis can't afford the concessions to the workers that the reformists advocate. Another and ultimately more important drawback is that there's no guarantee the social democrats can keep the working class under control. Once the workers are mobilized, there is always the possibility that they will move beyond the social democratic leaders and strike out in a revolutionary direction.

For these reasons, when things really get hot, the capitalist class, or most of it, usually moves to the right and places its bets on fascist movements. Using their freaked-out middle-class base as a club, the fascists promise to take the workers' movement on directly. Once in power

they smash the workers' organizations, imprison and kill its leaders and most-advanced militants, and build up the state apparatus as a way to keep the system together.

This is what happened in Germany in the early 1930s. The German bourgeoisie couldn't control the working class, which was well-organized and militant. Half of it was organized in social democratic organizations or followed the Social Democratic Party. A good chunk of it followed the Stalinist Communist Party which was in the "Third Period" and running a very revolutionary-sounding line. The German economy was collapsing under the impact of the Depression. The middle class was freaking out:

Large sectors were moving to the right and joining the Nazi party and other right-wing organizations.

Meanwhile, the German bourgeoisie was politically paralyzed. The Weimar Republic had been falling apart for years and became totally unworkable by the late '20s and early '30s. More and more of the capitalists began seeing Hitler and the Nazis as a way to beat down the workers' movement and prevent a revolution. They began financing him.

Ultimately, Hitler was placed in power, legally. But while he did things the capitalists approved of, such as smashing the working class and the left, he also did things they didn't like, such as leading Germany to destruction in World War II.

The point of all this is to show that when capitalism

falls apart, various groupings in the middle class vie for the right to run, and reorganize, capitalist society. Some build right-wing, Nazi-type movements which the capitalists will put in power when they are pressed to the wall. Others form state-capitalist organizations and strive to lead—rather, mislead—the working class. In other words, they try to use the workers as a battering ram to create state capitalism. As the capitalists become less capable of ruling, the middle class and the polarization within it play an increasingly important role in society. This is something we, and the entire working class, have got to understand, if we are to actually make a socialist revolution—a revolution that places the working class, and not some section of the middle class, in power. □

Boston Actions Smash KKK Terror

—Despite freezing rain, 50 people gathered on December 8 for the city's demonstration against the November 3 Klanboro, North Carolina. The demonstration in Greensboro—Smash Racist KKK led to speakers condemning the Klan and a united workers' movement to end though the rally was small, it was of the kind of unity that is needed on

sponsored by a coalition of groups, which led to a call by the RSL. Sponsors included Rock Against Racism, Brooklyn Anti-Racist Activists Alliance, Youth International Party, the Communist Workers Party and the RSL. The Communist Workers Party members were killed in Greensboro, the rally. The CWP speaker raised the struggle against the Klan, a welcome change from the CWP's attitude in the past. At that time they opposed the Klan were under CWP control and disci-

on December 8, 400 anti-racist demonstrators gathered to prevent David Duke, National Leader of the Ku Klux Klan, from holding his candidacy for U.S. president. Duke was arrested at the State House, where Duke would hold a rally. The Klan, however, anti-racists then marched through the downtown area, where they got a good reception, and ended up at City Hall where they held their own rally.

The demonstration was planned on only two days, but this was one of the largest anti-racist demonstrations in Greensboro. And it was a good sign in light of the increasing anti-racist attacks in Boston. The primary action were the City-Wide Coalition for Anti-Racism and the National Alliance Against Racial Repression. Boston RSL supporters participated in the demonstration and brought speakers. Also participating in the march were the Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organi-

and discussions. This kind of political training and education is crucial to building a revolutionary leadership in the struggle against the right-wing movement. □

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