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**What's at Stake
in This Year's
UMW
Contract Fight
No More
Three Mile
Islands!**

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**Conference
for Jobs
Held in Michigan
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El Salvador: The Next Vietnam?

The new administration headed by Ronald Reagan has chosen to make El Salvador the first battle in its frantic attempt to reverse the decline of U.S. imperialism. Accompanied by a barrage of 1950s-style propaganda about an international communist conspiracy taking over the world, the Reagan administration has announced that it is seeking a \$25 million increase in military aid to the army-dominated junta in El Salvador. The new aid includes 25 additional U.S. military advisers, bringing the total to 45. Economic aid will also be increased, perhaps enough to give the current Salvadorean regime more than \$200 million over the next year.

The significance of these developments is not the precise number. It is that they are steps toward what may be a full-scale U.S. intervention in El Salvador, designed to prevent a popular opposition movement from overthrowing a reactionary government—and the even more reactionary social forces the government is trying to defend.

El Salvador, like the rest of Central America, has been politically and eco-



Salvadorean leftist opposition marches, January 1980.

nomically dominated by U.S. imperialism for years. The U.S. government, working closely with the U.S. companies that have big investments in the area, has time and again installed,

trained and armed repressive and brutal military governments that protect their interests. The U.S. policy in El Salvador today is a continuation of
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DEATH TOLL MOUNTS IN ATLANTA

MARCH 13—Joseph Bell, 15, missing since March 2, is probably the latest victim of an unknown killer in Atlanta. Yesterday, Bell's name was added to the list of missing or dead Black Atlanta children, the fourth name to be added in the last month. Also added were:

- Patrick Baltazar, 11, missing since February 6, found dead one week later.
- Curtis Walker, 13, last seen alive on February 19, found dead March 6.
- Aaron Wyche, 10, found

dead last June, but whose death had previously been ruled an accident.

The total now stands at 20 Black children dead, two others missing and believed dead.

The media and the authorities would have us believe that these 22 were simply victims of a psychotic killer or killers, that their deaths had nothing to do with racism. "We might be dealing with a foot smeller," said one Atlanta medical examiner.

Indeed, when Washington, D.C., mayor Marion Barry correctly noted that "A certain mood exists in this country encouraged by the leadership, that it is all right to do anything to Black people," he was roundly de-

nounced in the press as trying to create a race issue where there is none.

But it is not Marion Barry who is creating a race issue. Out of thousands of Black and white children in Atlanta, only Black children have dis-

appeared and been found dead. Despite the attempts of the media and authorities to deny it, and whatever the psychological hangups of the killers, these are racist murders. They are of a piece with the murders of Black men in Buffalo, the stabbings of Black men in New York City, the shootings of Black joggers in Salt Lake City and Urban League head Vernon Jordan in Fort

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Wayne, Indiana, and dozens of other attacks on Black people in the past year. They are of a piece with the increasing boldness of organized racist groups like

the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. And they are of a piece with the now-official government policy of ignoring Black people when discussing the needs of the nation.

"I'll tell you straight," Camille Bell, mother of Yusuf Bell, who was found dead over a year ago, told the *Washington Post*, "the feeling in the community is that if it ain't the Klan it's the cops" who are killing the children.

It took nearly a year and nine disappearances before the Black mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, and his Black police chief began a
(Continued on page 4)

**SECCION
EN
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readers
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Send letters to:
TORCH, PO Box 1288
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Nazis harass anti-racist

To the RSL:

Butchery in Buffalo made many aware that racist horror wasn't unique to Dixie. Yet media spectacles of mass murders are only the tip of the iceberg. There are unreported, suppressed reports and fearful whispers of countless acts of racist terror against individuals everywhere. Just north of New York City I have been confronted and told I would be assassinated by Nazis. Attempts have been made on my life and property and endangered my family. Now, with the terror of Atlanta lingering in the recesses of children's minds these fascist scum are attempting to frighten little children by mailing horrible hate papers to them disguised as Valentine cards.

Since it is clear that authoritarian police agencies are part of the repression everywhere there is no recourse to the courts their guns uphold.

And the local National Anti-Klan Network affiliated "leaders" busily pursuing their image of respectability refuse to deal with my problem while they pretend "busy work" drafting impotent legislation for those courts. I firmly believe they could feel comfortable at my assassination by fascists for they could then make a public exhibition of shock and try to use my case to advance recruitment to the false cause of "legal" activity.

In the event that my attempts to resist fascist oppression and protect my life by whatever means necessary should fail I want all to know that I find that kind of behavior no real alternative to fascism. It seems there are still some posing as socialists while riding the backs of the oppressed. In effect, they abet fascism.

In struggle,
A Reader

New Right poses dire threat to basic rights

Dear Friends:

I very much appreciated Pat Nelson's article detailing the increasing assaults on women's rights, while warning that these are just part of an overall war against numerous gains that the people have won through years of struggle. Now, when the economy is falling apart, the rulers need to tighten their control over the masses of people, while at the same time attempting to direct our anger onto convenient scapegoats. Toward this end, they have formed a strategic alliance with several powerful fundamentalist religious groups, which are attracting huge followings through their crusades for a return to traditional moral values (the standardized nuclear family) as the remedy for our economic and political ills.

I am becoming increasingly alarmed at the effectiveness of their extremely well-organized and well-financed campaigns which seek to legislatively invade every household with compulsory norms of behavior, while simultaneously prohibiting any government interference with our "free market economy." Thus, in addition to their "Human Life Amendment," the moralists are enthusiastically promoting such repressive legislation as Senator Paul Laxalt's "Family Protection Act." This comprehensive piece of legislation would regulate the individual's control over his/her own body through elimination of funding for contraception, abortion, and venereal disease treatment programs. It would

reinforce permitted models of sex-role behavior through regulation of material in public school textbooks. It would prohibit federal protection of the civil rights of people with "perverse lifestyles," and would even terminate programs designed to prevent child abuse.

Another frightening example of Big Brother's intentions was described in a January 11 column in the *New York Daily News* by Jimmy Breslin, discussing a proposed federal law to prohibit motels on interstate highways from renting to any but married couples, who would have to prove their status by means of official identification cards. The intent here is to "strengthen the deteriorating American family" by preventing "fornication," adultery, and homosexual acts. This legislation is reportedly backed by the Reverend Jerry Falwell, powerful leader of the Moral Majority.

While this type of legislation might have seemed preposterous a few years ago, such observers as Breslin and former Senator George McGovern point out that public sentiment and congressional support now make its prospects for passage increasingly realistic. Meanwhile, leaders of less recognized groups have made public statements advocating capital punishment for homosexuals. As if this all is not scary enough, there is a growing nationwide effort to mandate Congress to call a Constitutional Convention, which would have the power to so revise the U.S.

Constitution that legislation now considered entirely unthinkable could suddenly become quite routine. Already, the coordinated efforts of "new right" groups have caused the legislatures of 19 states (out of a required 34) to request Congress to call this convention.

I am writing because I believe it is a matter of great urgency for all people to be aware of this threat to the basic rights we have come to take for granted in this country, and to realize that we cannot rely on legislative reforms and liberal attitudes to achieve a free society. The ruling class allows only as much liberty as suits its needs, and when its own position becomes threatened it cracks down instantly to eliminate any kind of independent, "deviant" thought or lifestyle that might lead to rebellion against the system. My hope is that through our realization of this present danger, we can begin to unite all working people in a massive effort to get rid of our oppressor and take control over our own lives.

Yours in Struggle,
Michelle Katz

Health care cutbacks

Dear brothers and sisters,

The bosses' economic crisis and Reagan's budget cuts spare no one in the working class. Some of us health workers have been under the illusion that we are in a recession-proof and layoff-proof field. It is not so. During the second week of February a great number of workers (in their majority, women and third world persons) were laid off at Forkosh Hospital in the northwest of Chicago. All categories of workers were affected—even highly skilled workers such as registered nurses and inhalation therapists felt the impact of the layoffs. Two wings of the hospital were shut down.

In contrast to the dire situation the workers face, the following week, the Forkosh Hospital administration gave the doctors a dinner of steak and trout.

It is high time that we health workers join the rest of the working class and the oppressed and fight back against the bosses' economic crisis.

In the struggle,
Apolinar Bonifacio

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'Inner-Connections'

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

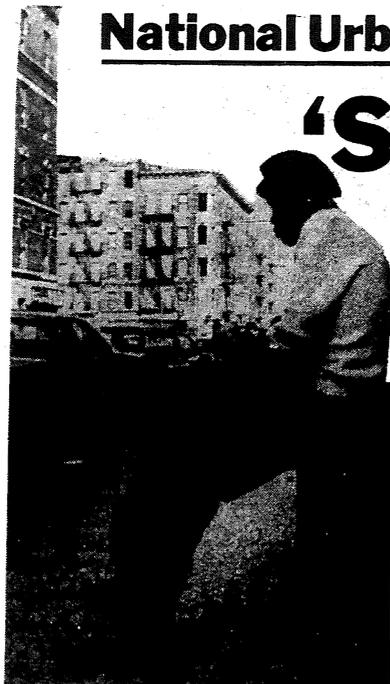
We are three sisters that have spent several years getting in touch with who we are, what we're about as women and coming out of the oppressive roles of female stagnation in the man's system. One of us has been in and out of the correctional system and prisons for 25 years. We feel that women in prison are the most oppressed people in the world. Being cut off from family and children, denied basic respect and rights—our needs ignored, our bodies neglected, our voice silenced and our thoughts assassinated.

Inner-Connections is about breaking down the walls that separate those of us imprisoned inside from those of us imprisoned outside, we believe as long as we are under the illusion of separateness we can never achieve the soli-

arity necessary to win the struggle of all people. We want to communicate with sisters and brothers who are about the sisters' struggle, to share information and support and to build unity within a system that says we cannot Unify. We see as a beginning place the need for sisters' voices to be heard. So our efforts are directed to printing a newsletter... "Writing for Rights: Voices Behind Prison Walls." The first issue will be out by April. Please let us know if you would like to receive the first issue. We want sisters and brothers in the prisons to receive the newsletter free of charge. We welcome any donations, feedback and energy from sisters and brothers outside, as well as inside.

Sisters of Inner-Connections
259 South 60th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19139

'State of Black America'— Bad and Getting Worse



By FRANK HOPKINS

In January, the National Urban League (NUL) released its "State of Black America—1981" report. The National Urban League is a reform organization that works through the capitalist system in an attempt to win gains for Black people. For example, it tries to "look on the bright side" of the Reagan election victory by saying that now Black people may have a bit more of an impact on "restructuring the Democratic Party" after its 1980 defeat.

Despite the Urban League's middle class and reformist orientation, however, the NUL report is a valuable discussion of the economic and social position that the majority of Black people are in these days. What it says is that things are very bad and are getting worse.

To begin with, the report points out that there will soon be another recession. The document goes on to explain that Black people are always hit harder than white people in times of recession. Economic advances of Black people are quickly eroded, and this is becoming increasingly true.

The 1980 recession illustrates this point. This recession officially lasted less than half as long as the 17-month recession in 1974-75. But in 1980, 200,000 more Black people were unemployed than at the height of the 1974-75 recession. One and a half million Black people were unemployed in 1974-75. In 1980, that figure rose to 1.7 million.

In fact, in the past five years, from 1975 to 1980, Black people accounted for 15 percent of the increase in the total number of people of working age. But Black people only got 10 percent of new jobs.

Further, in every region of

the country, the income gap between Blacks and whites is widening. In the early 1970s, the income of Black people in the Northeast was 71 percent that of white people. Today, Black people make only 58 percent of what white people make. In the West, Black people used to get 77 percent of what whites got paid. Today it's 62 percent. Even in

the South, where Black people had it really lousy to begin with—only 57 percent of what whites got—the figure has dropped. It's now 56 percent.

Black women face low pay, few jobs

One of the major reasons cited by the NUL report for this is that there is a decline in the number of Black families that are able to have two or more family members working. In 1970, 54 percent of Black families had two or more family members with jobs. By 1979, it was only 47 percent. In particular, of all adult workers, Black women are the lowest-paid and the most unemployed workers in the nation. Black women who are heading families today are three times more likely to be unemployed than they were in the early 1970s.

And then there are the problems young Black people face. Official unemployment among Black youth is 36 percent. The Urban League figures that actual unemployment among young Black people is 59 percent. And in specific inner-city areas the actual unemployment rate is more like 80-90 percent.

Lack of jobs means a whole world of other forms of misery—rotten housing, lousy health care, educational needs that aren't met, and many other forms of social oppression. For example, there is the housing situation. Racism is a tremendous factor in the inequality in housing in the U.S.

But even where it's not up-front racism that keeps Black people from living in better places, more and more it's the fact that fewer Black people can afford to move into better housing.

Black youth without a future

Probably the clearest way to see how brutal the capitalist system is to Black people is to take a look at what it means for the Black children who are trying to grow up in the U.S. today. First, the NUL report notes, one out of every 40 Black babies dies in the first year of life. Then Black children get less health care. Twice as many Black children lack a regular source of health care as white children. This means, among other things, that twice as many Black children as white children between the ages of one and four die of heart disease. And Black children between one and four years old die 50 percent more often than white children of the same age as a

looks down on people who raise children any other way than through the nuclear family (that is, father, mother and children as one unit). In fact, the society preaches this to the children—on television, in school, at church. But at the same time, we live in a society where so many people are jobless that the nuclear family simply falls apart among poorer people. This is very true for Black people. Less than half of all Black children live with both parents. Most live with a single parent or with relatives. Black children are also over-represented among the more than 500,000 children in foster homes, group homes and similar institutions. In this society that means you grow up lonely. And, in this society that means you grow up feeling inferior because you don't have a "normal" family.

Moreover, the NUL reports, once a Black child enters school, he or she is:

- twice as likely as a white child to be held back a grade;
- three times as likely to be placed in a class for the educable mentally retarded;

reading, writing and counting to read want ads, fill out job applications or figure that they got the right change from the supermarket.

This happens both because of lack of proper funding to Black schools, and also because educational officials are prejudiced against Black students, and so have low expectations for them. Many times the students themselves end up internalizing these expectations. They end up thinking of themselves as failures before they've ever really had a chance.

The popular attitude in this society has for a long time been, "If you study, you'll get ahead." Unfortunately, for Black people this is rarely true. So even those Black students who manage to get all the way through college are three times as likely as white college graduates to be unemployed.

This is what growing up in the U.S. means if you are Black. It generally means that your life is ruined for you in advance. And the whole society expects you to blame yourself for the fact that capitalism has destroyed all your chances at having a decent life.

Racist climate deepening

What is worse is that this is only the beginning. What the NUL report fails to really spell



Urban League report mentions the reforms Black people won in the 1960s. But its authors ignore the mass actions that led to these gains. Pictures show three of these actions: 1963 March on Washington; 1963 Birmingham demonstrators being sprayed by water hoses; 1960-61 sit-ins to desegregate lunch counters.

result of accidents. Further, new cases of tuberculosis occur five times more often among Black children than among white children.

We live in a society that tries to force people into marriage. The whole society

is twice as likely to be suspended from school.

This kind of oppression within the educational system means that 13 percent of 17-year-old Black youth end up functionally illiterate. They are unable to do the basic

reading, writing and counting to read want ads, fill out job applications or figure that they got the right change from the supermarket.

(Continued on page 16)

DEATH TOLL MOUNTS IN ATLANTA

(Continued from page 1) serious investigation. Even after several of the mothers of the victims held a press conference to protest that "no one gives a damn," nothing was done for months.

"They did not want rumors to be spread because they were afraid it may hurt Jimmy Carter," the Reverend Charles Kenyatta of New York wrote recently about Mayor Jackson's inaction last summer and early fall.

"It's a class thing," Camille Bell noted. "If it were Mayor Jackson's son or some big-

time Black, then you would have seen some quick response. But certain people's death in our society don't seem to mean anything." All of the dead children came from Atlanta's poor and working class Black neighborhoods, seemingly a million miles away from Atlanta's glittering downtown and the attractive neighborhoods where the city's dominant Black middle class live. Despite Atlanta's reputation as a boom town, the number of jobs inside the city has dropped in the past 10 years,

and the areas all the victims lived in show it.

Today, few are still trying to ignore the Atlanta murders. A growing shout of outrage has made that impossible: In cities across the country people are wearing green ribbons as a sign of concern—and anger—over the Atlanta killings. Meetings, services and vigils have been held in all major cities, and thousands of people have marched in Newark, Chattanooga and elsewhere to demonstrate their indignation.

The establishment, from Ronald Reagan to the New

York Times and Maynard Jackson, have responded to this outcry by expressing a new-found "concern" over the murders. But their real concern is over the possibility of explosions in Black communities across the country.

Particularly worried and on the defensive is the national Black establishment, based in Atlanta. In an attempt to show they were doing something, the Black elite held a benefit March 10 to raise money for the Atlanta police department. The concert raised \$148,000, as more than 3,000 people

paid \$25 or \$100 a person to be part of what the New York Times called a "lavishly dressed audience" that heard Sammy Davis, Jr., and Frank Sinatra perform.

"I don't need this," said the ever outspoken Camille Bell outside the benefit. "Seems like a bake sale to buy a bomber to me."

Meanwhile, in the poor and working class Black neighborhoods of Atlanta, parents and children wait in fear for the next murder, which, according to the past pattern, is due at the end of March. □

L.A. Cops Racist and Violent, Says Survey

By ED DUMITRESCU

Forty-nine people were shot by on-duty members of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) last year, 15 of them fatally. Recent examples include a mentally disturbed man who refused to accept treatment from paramedics. The cops shot him dead. Neighbors pleaded with the cops to let them talk to the man first. The cops refused, then later said they had to kill him because he was uncontrollable. In another incident, a Black man, arrested as a robbery suspect, was shot dead while handcuffed and lying face down on the sidewalk. Cops said it was an accident.

NOT surprisingly, the LAPD has developed what it calls an "image" problem. To try to deal with this, the Police Protective League, a group which represents almost all LAPD officers, is looking for help from Madison Avenue. It has hired the Elliott Curson Advertising Agency to come up with a gimmick to improve the "image" of the LAPD. Police officers are paying \$1 million out of their own pockets for this advertising campaign.

Last September, they commissioned a poll to find out public attitudes toward the cops. It revealed that nearly 90 percent of those questioned think there's either "some" or "a lot" of police brutality in Los Angeles. Sixty-five percent of the respondents said cops are racist and 62 percent said they are violent. Nearly a third think that approaching a cop is dangerous because he might think you are a criminal and shoot you. What else should people think when last year cops shot 50 percent more unarmed people than in 1978? (Figures for 1979 are not available.) Police shot fewer animals last year, though, and Police Chief Daryl Gates admits that's the

only good thing about the data. "People get really upset when you shoot animals," he added.

Another way the cops are trying to improve their reputation is to make it appear they are really trying to fight crime. During January they began sending a special Crime Task Force from one section of the city to another. Its first stop was the nearly all-white San

Fernando Valley. Here, 293 cops, most of them on motorcycles, with a special helicopter hovering overhead, posed for reporters and television cameras. According to Jeff Koopersmith, a partner in the Curson advertising agency that is managing the image campaign, "We've already been successful in changing the news coverage of the police. By talking to editors and

assignment directors, we've focused the issue and the press has neatly and responsibly gone after it."

The cops themselves have been less successful. During the two weeks their special task force was in the Valley, they arrested over 10 times more people than usual. But of 1,509 arrests, only 25 were for burglary; 672 were for truancy. Commented the Los An-

geles Times: "They were on the prowl for daytime burglars, but they found mostly truants, traffic violators and drug users." In other words, their big attack on crime has done nothing but bust a lot of kids for not attending school and getting high, and a few speeders, while getting the LAPD lots of publicity.

The cops had been scheduled to hit Hollywood next, but after two Black members of the City Council complained that the area they represent was going to be the last to receive the cops, plans were changed. Watts would be the second target.

BLACKS have good reason to be concerned about crime, since crime is rampant in Black neighborhoods, already hit hard by the economic crisis and the prime targets for cuts in municipal, state and federal budgets. But is bringing more cops going to help? Forty-seven percent of the people cops killed last year were Blacks, and 47 percent is more than twice the percentage of Blacks in the total city population.

Maybe the advertising campaign will fool some for a while, but it will take more than advertising to alter people's perceptions of the cops. The cops will have to actually change. And that is not going to happen under this capitalist system. The cops' main job is to defend the property and power of the bosses and politicians from the mass of people who have little or no property and no power. As long as we live under capitalism, as long as people don't have jobs, as long as our schools and neighborhoods continue to deteriorate, as long as all we see are cutbacks in social services, crime as the capitalists define it will continue to rise. Meanwhile, the real criminals, those who run the capitalist system and profit by it and those who protect it, will keep trying to beat us down. □

Toronto Gays Protest Police Raids on Baths

By BEN FREIBERG

On February 5, 160 police armed with crowbars and sledgehammers raided four gay baths in Toronto, Canada. Smashing windows, walls and furniture, they arrested over 250 people. The baths' customers were rudely searched, ridiculed and insulted by the cops. Some patrons were prevented from dressing for a long time, and one guy who was ill was roughed up by the cops because they thought he was faking. Local television news reports showed broken doors, tons of broken glass lying around, and huge holes in the walls.

The next evening some 3,000 people attended a rally organized by gay activists from The Body Politic, the Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario (CGRO) and other groups to protest the police raids. After listening to speeches, the crowd marched down Toronto's streets to the local police station. They stopped traffic and chanted "Stop the Cops" and "Gay Rights, Right Now!" When the cops attempted to block the march with their squad cars, the crowd smashed police car windows and continued down the street. Arriving at the police station, demonstrators found it surrounded by a wall of cops. The crowd responded by chanting, "Resign, Resign, Resign!" and "No More Cops!" Protesters threw bottles, spray painted and overturned one cop car. Later they moved to Queens Park, the provincial legislature, and back to the police station again. Several times through the night, cops charged the crowd and beat people up. According to a participant:

"One man was dragged into a doorway and all five cops used their sticks on him."

Several days later, 2,000 people attended a meeting to organize a defense of those arrested. One of the victims of the raids who spoke at the meeting likened the police to the Nazis, and said: "I am the son of concentration camp victims and I never knew what my parents thought till that night—to be surrounded by raw power, to be engulfed in terror." The meeting demanded that Police Chief Jack Akroid resign. On February 13, the Board of Police Commissioners was forced to hold hearings to debate whether to investigate themselves. After three hours of speeches from church representatives, political parties, and civil rights groups, they voted not to investigate. The audience responded to the decision with shouts of "Gang of Swine, Resign!"

At a time when attacks on lesbians and gay men are rapidly increasing, the fact that lesbians and gays in Toronto fought back against the cops in a militant, spirited way serves as an inspiration to us not to take these attacks lying down. As capitalism decays, the capitalists are attempting to save their system by leading attacks on all working and oppressed people, including blaming gays for the moral decay of society. We need to prepare ourselves by organizing for armed self-defense and uniting with all working and oppressed people under attack in Canada, the U.S., and around the world to build a movement that can turn back these attacks. □

"THIRTY Capt read the decept Times. The 28 n come from Mexic jobs upon arriva Instead, they completely bare r of Andrew and R paid for safe pass 15 days, they w



Undocumented w by police. They

survived an atten On February 1 despite gunshots and went to the Coronado family robbery and kidn emaciated of the handcuffed the 30 over to the Immig (INS—known as Just two weeks the largest bust of Investigating a re Bronx neighborho people from the D the truck and 33 r

Chica facto

Dear Editors,

For years I have ing about INS raids umented workers in of the Torch/La An cently, I saw one raids and it's hard just how terrifying I WORK in a sma turing plant where percent of the w Mexican. Many of t ers are "undocume all obtained green one means or anot seven weeks ago, was raided by the l gration agents seal plant at 8:30 in th and every foreign-b in the place had b and checked out by When it was over

'La Migra' Raids on the Rise

By WILLIAM FALK

"THIRTY Captive Illegal Aliens Freed by Police" read the deceptive headline in the *Los Angeles Times*. The 28 men and two women involved had come from Mexico, lured by the promises of good jobs upon arrival in Los Angeles.

Instead, they were robbed and locked up in a completely bare room—with no toilet—in the house of Andrew and Rita Coronado, the people they had paid for safe passage into the U.S. Held from five to 15 days, they were given no food or water, and

police also found \$10,150—the total still left from the \$500 fees the Dominicans had paid to be smuggled from Mexico to El Paso and then to New York.

Several of the 84 people spoke to the *New York Times* before they were deported, describing the three-day, non-stop trip crammed into the tractor-trailer as an "infierno"—a hell. But they made the trip, they said, because the prospects for life at home were even worse.

★ ★ ★ ★

LA MIGRA attacks on undocumented workers are on the rise. A key reason for this is that a year-old suspension of raids at workplaces, including farm labor housing camps, has now ended. This ban was imposed by the U.S. Justice Department so that 1980 census takers could work in Latin and Caribbean neighborhoods without being mistaken for INS agents. On January 16, just four days before leaving office, the Carter administration's attorney general, Benjamin Civiletti, lifted the suspension.

In the next five days, the INS picked up 203 undocumented workers on farms in the San Diego area alone. In Chicago, the INS had been arresting 1,000 people a month before the ban, but only half that many in the past year. Ted Giorgetti, the chief investigator in the Chicago INS office, told the *Torch/La Antorcha* on February 27 that the number of "apprehensions" was again near 1,000 a month. (See accompanying letter for an eyewitness account of one Chicago factory raid.)

In addition, the Supreme Court recently liberalized the rules under which the Border Police can stop cars inside the U.S. Six years ago the court said that agents must have "specific articulable facts... that reasonably warrant suspicion" to stop a vehicle. But on January 21, 1981, the court upheld the smuggling conviction of Jesus Cortez and Pedro Hernandez-Loera whose van carrying six undocumented workers was stopped simply because La Migra had evidence that people were coming across the border in a certain area and presumed they were traveling in a solid-body van.

★ ★ ★ ★

JUST WHAT the overall immigration policies of the Reagan administration will be is not clear. On February 27, a Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy created by Congress in 1979

turned in its final report. Among other things, the commission recommended:

- 1) a large increase in personnel and equipment for the Border Patrol and INS investigation agencies;
- 2) coordinating the activities of the INS, the Customs Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Coast Guard; and,
- 3) making it illegal for an employer to hire an undocumented worker.

The commission also recommended that after (and only after) all the immigration police forces have been beefed up, an amnesty be declared for undocumented workers already in the U.S.

The commission's report, however, is not likely to carry much weight with Reagan, given that the eight-member body included four Carter Cabinet members. Rather, Reagan's immigration policy will be based on his own political considerations. Reagan has long-standing ties to California agribusiness and other West Coast and Southwestern capitalists, such as garment bosses, who are among the major employers of undocumented workers. These capitalists' profits are based on their ability to hire and brutally exploit undocumented workers, whose "illegal" status makes it extremely difficult for them to organize and fight for decent wages and working conditions. For this reason, Reagan has tended to support the status quo: using the INS as a threat to keep undocumented workers intimidated, but not using it so effectively as to seal the border.

When pressed about a policy Reagan has supported a revival of the "Braceros" or guest-worker program. Under this program, agribusiness could employ citizens of other countries to pick crops, but their visas would be dependent on their retaining the specific job they came to do. Thus agribusiness would get the benefit of employing workers who live under the constant threat of deportation, but wouldn't appear to be encouraging extra-legal immigration.

But Reagan is certainly under some pressure for a stricter immigration policy. Growing anti-foreign worker, anti-immigrant feelings are a part of the general shift to the right that put Reagan in the White House. Many of Reagan's New Right supporters believe that undocumented immigrants are taking jobs away from "American" workers. They are also vocal advocates of Anglo "cultural purity" for the U.S.

Whatever the exact shape of the Reagan Immigration policy turns out to be, INS raids like those of the past month are sure to continue and increase. □



Undocumented workers in L.A. after being "freed" by police. They were later deported.

survived an attempt to gas them.

On February 17, two of the men escaped and, despite gunshots fired at them, made it to safety and went to the police. The four members of the Coronado family were arrested on suspicion of robbery and kidnapping. After feeding the most emaciated of the Coronados' victims, the cops handcuffed the 30 former hostages and turned them over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS—known as "La Migra") for deportation.

Just two weeks before, the New York INS made the largest bust of smuggled workers in seven years. Investigating a report of a "suspicious" truck in a Bronx neighborhood, New York City police found 51 people from the Dominican Republic in the back of the truck and 33 more in a nearby apartment. The

Chicago INS factory sweep 'terrifying'

Dear Editors,

For years I have been reading about INS raids on undocumented workers in the pages of the *Torch/La Antorcha*. Recently, I saw one of these raids and it's hard to describe just how terrifying it was.

WORK in a small manufacturing plant where about 70 percent of the workers are Mexican. Many of these workers are "undocumented," but all obtained green cards by one means or another. About seven weeks ago, the plant was raided by the INS. Immigration agents sealed off the plant at 8:30 in the morning and every foreign-born worker in the place had been grilled and checked out by 11:00 a.m.

When it was over, 17 work-

ers were on their way back to Mexico and at least a half dozen more were afraid to come back to the job. In another plant owned by the same company, 23 workers were busted the same day. As one of the INS agents left, he thanked the plant manager and squealed, "It's been a great day." A "great day" for the INS is similar to how the Nazis must have felt when they rounded up the Jews in Germany.

AS soon as the rumor started that a raid was in progress, all hell broke loose. Mexican workers were running out the back of the plant trying to escape over the back fence. Others were petrified or grimly went along. Still others

broke down in tears. I'm telling you, it was enough to make you want to take the heads off the INS pigs.

Some of the Anglos in the plant helped to hide a few of the workers, but it really didn't make much difference. From what I can tell, the company knew something was up beforehand. The workers on the midnight shift were sent home an hour early, at 7:00 a.m. And it just so happened that the raid came the day after a majority of Black and Mexican workers in the plant had voted to take Martin Luther King's birthday off—against the wishes of the company.

REGARDLESS of whether the bosses called in the INS, this kind of crap goes on all the

time. Because many Mexican workers are forced to sneak into this country, they must work for shit wages under rotten conditions with no real



rights—not even the right to work a job that nobody else wants—and always with the threat of the INS at their back.

WITH the way the economy is going, many U.S. workers are down on foreign-born workers. They blame undocumented workers because there aren't enough jobs. This is bullshit. We have to realize that what's important is not where you're born, but the fact that the vast majority of us have to work to survive. We all have the right to a decent job, making enough money to provide for ourselves and our loved ones. The only way we're going to make this right real is to take it. And to take it, we have to unite, smash this rotten system and reorganize society for ourselves. Only the bosses benefit when we fight among ourselves.

By the way, one good thing did happen the day of the raid. When the INS agents got ready to leave, they discovered their car had two slashed tires. Still, it was far too little, too late.

Fight for socialism, PA Chicago



Artis and Carter may win new trial

John Artis and Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, the former middle-weight boxer, may get a new opportunity to overturn their frame-up convictions for the 1966 shooting deaths of three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar. On March 3, the New Jersey Supreme Court ordered a hearing to determine whether the state withheld vital evidence from the defense in Artis and Carter's second trial. Both Artis and Carter have been convicted of the shooting deaths in two previous trials and are serving life prison sentences.

Artis and Carter were originally arrested at a time of extreme racial tension in Paterson. Rubin Carter was well-known in the area, not only because he was a top contender for the middle-weight boxing crown, but also because he was an outspoken advocate of armed self-defense for Black people. Artis and Carter were convicted in their first trial in 1967 on the testimony of the state's eyewitness to the shootings, Alfred Bello. Bello testified that he could positively identify Artis and Carter as the gunmen. However, in 1974 Bello recanted his testimony. This opened the door to a second trial for the two men. At the new trial, Bello decided that he hadn't lied in the first place and repeated his testimony that Artis and Carter had been the gunmen. The state, recognizing that Bello's testimony was highly suspect, made racist appeals to the jury, painting the shootings as "racial revenge" for the killing of a Black bar owner the previous night. The jury found Artis and Carter guilty for a second time.

A hearing has been ordered because defense lawyers claim that the prosecution deliberately misled them about a lie detector test which Bello took. Defense lawyers were told before the start of the second trial that the test confirmed Bello's story. This prevented the defense lawyers from challenging the credibility of the only so-called "eyewitness." However, it turns out that while the lie detector test confirmed one of Bello's many stories, it did not confirm the story he told to the jury. If the hearing confirms the defense contentions, Artis and Carter may get another chance to prove their innocence.

Death penalty claims latest victim

Shortly after midnight on March 9, Steven Timothy Judy, age 24, was killed in the electric chair at the Indiana State Penitentiary at Michigan City. Judy was the fourth person to be executed since the U.S. Supreme Court restored the death penalty in 1976.

All four people who have been executed were white. Three of the four "wished to die." Neither of these facts is an accident. The death penalty has been restored because the U.S. ruling class needs to step up its repression in the coming period. The capitalists are throwing people out of work, cutting wages, stripping away hard-won gains of working people and whipping up an increasingly reactionary and racist climate. Not being fools, they know that there will be an increasingly militant and even violent response from working and oppressed people to these attacks. "Tougher" laws, more prisons and the death penalty are the varying means of repression the ruling class is putting in place to try to crush this coming resistance. To gain acceptance for the cold-blooded murder signified by the death penalty, it has been useful to execute people who "wanted to die."

Moreover, it is not an accident that no Black people have yet been executed. This has served to hide the racist character of the death penalty. Countless studies have shown the racist nature of "justice" in the U.S. Blacks are convicted more often and receive substantially stiffer sentences than whites for similar crimes—particularly if a Black person is accused of committing a crime against a white person. Today, there are 290 Black prisoners on death row—40 percent of all prisoners condemned to death. Between 1930 and 1967, when the Supreme Court halted executions, 53.5 percent of those executed were Black—yet Black people make up only a little over 10 percent of the population. In the South in particular, the death penalty has long provided the basis for legal lynchings of Black people. Today, while Reagan proclaims the virtues of "states' rights," the ground is being laid for a return to racist executions and general repression against working and poor people.

—AL & RR

Butner: Federal Prison System's 'Cuckoo's Nest'

Dear Torch,

Readers of your newspaper may be interested to know that the research center for the federal prison system's "behavior modification" and "drug therapy" programs alluded to in your article on Marion in the last issue is located at a neo-modernist, concrete-and-plexiglass Skinner Box, located at Butner, North Carolina, and dubbed "the Federal Center for Correctional Research." Although Butner is regarded by many in the federal prison system (as well as the rest of the world prison industry) as being "the best of all possible prisons," and the model for the "prisons of the future," we are afraid the reality is somewhat more dismal.

BUTNER FIRST opened its doors in 1976, after a lengthy and expensive (at least \$20,000,000 of the workers' money) construction project. The Butner concept had its origins in the rather sadistic and bizarre mind of Dr. Marty Groder, who was formerly on the medical staff at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Missouri. Dr. Groder envisioned what he termed a "behavior modification center for management problems at other institutions" in the system. Of course, this translates to a place for turning hard cases and activists into vegetables, as was so aptly pointed out in your story on Marion. Dr. Groder urged the extensive

use of surgical, electrical and chemical lobotomies in an effort to make the inmates at the institution "better adjusted to society." The real aim, of course, was to eliminate the aggressive, independent and intelligent individuals in the system altogether.

UNFORTUNATELY for Dr. Groder, when the details of his proposal were made known to the professional psychological community in the nation, a groundswell of academic op-

scapegoated and forced to leave his job in the federal prison system. However, the center at Butner was nonetheless opened.

At present, the population at Butner consists largely of individuals who are either court-designated mental cases, or individuals "randomly selected by computer for research," for which read "management problems at other institutions." Those "randomly selected" are ad-



position to such a plan forced the hierarchy to conclude that, if the project were continued under the auspices of Dr. Groder, a public relations disaster of the first magnitude might well ensue. Thus, in order to eliminate the public relations problem, yet keep the program virtually intact, Dr. Groder was officially

vised upon arrival that they have been done a "wonderful favor" by having been transferred from wherever they were in the system before. They are assured that Butner is the "Holiday Inn," or "college campus" of the federal prison system. They are assured that the staff is here to "help them to become productive citizens" in every way possible.

WHAT the staff neglects to tell the newly arrived inmate is that, in most cases, he will be redesignated to a higher security level (or designated an "exception case" to prevent a lessening of security restrictions), that he will receive fewer beneficial programs and be subjected to more harassment over minor details of the "rules and regulations," and that he will be put through an endless labyrinth of staff-initiated mind games to the point where, sooner or later, if he is one of the lucky ones on the "voluntary program," he will find himself eagerly "opting out" in order to return to his former institution, overcrowded and unpleasant in comparison to Butner though it may be. If he is one of those who have been designated a "mental health problem," he has no chance whatever to escape whatever ingenious program of mental torture awaits him.

The unspoken but ever-present threat which hangs over an inmate's head at Butner is that he could at any

Getting Out Soon?

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We are providing these FREE six-month subscriptions because we know that when you get out, you don't necessarily have the money for a paid subscription. And we don't want to lose touch with you just because you're out. In fact, we want and need to tighten our relationship with you—and convince you to join us in building a revolutionary socialist party.

When you're back on the street, why not pass your copy of the Torch/La Antorcha around? One of the best ways you can help build the Revolutionary Socialist League is by introducing people to our newspaper. And 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 listing on page 15), or write to our 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.

Finally, we know that a lot of you don't have your own subscription to the Torch/La Antorcha—that you read someone else's copy. If you are being released, you can still get a FREE six-month subscription to the newspaper. Just drop us a line with your new address and the name of the prison you were in.

By DAR

The trial of Pontiac Brother... charged with... Pontiac Prison... July 22, 1978... with six F... whose trial... June, face... electric chair... guilty. All 10... are the lar... defendants... penalty in on... in many dec... expected to... months.

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Pontiac Brothers' Trial Opens in Chicago; 16 Black Men Face Death Penalty

By DARRYL CLARK

The trial of 10 of the Pontiac Brothers opened in Chicago on March 5. All are charged with murdering three white guards during a riot at Pontiac Prison in Illinois on July 22, 1978. The 10, together with six Pontiac Brothers whose trial is set to begin in June, face execution in the electric chair if they are found guilty. All 16 are Black. They are the largest number of defendants facing the death penalty in one case in the U.S. in many decades. The trial is expected to last three to five months.

THE riot in 1978 was a spontaneous explosion touched off by unbearable conditions, including drastic overcrowding, heat, guard brutality and harassment, rotten food, and lack of jobs and training programs. Prison experts knew a riot was breeding. Right afterwards, they admitted that the terrible conditions had produced an explosion. The head of the Illinois Department of Corrections said shortly after the rebellion that it happened "a year later than most of us



September 1978 demonstration in protest against frame-up of Pontiac Brothers.

anticipated. You can only crowd so many people into a warehouse for so long before something happens."

But now the state, led by Illinois Governor James Thompson, has changed its line. The state is charging that the riot was a conspiracy among members of several street gangs supposedly active at Pontiac. The prosecutors are trying to portray the Pontiac Brothers as a bunch

of vicious animals who kill for no reason, and therefore deserve to be sent to the chair. And they are using this to build support for a "law-and-order" campaign. In Illinois, Thompson has approved funds for several new prisons to be built, and has brought in so-called "Class X" legislation to enforce much longer prison terms.

It took a long time and a lot of money and power to manu-

facture the state's case. The prison was illegally kept on deadlock (prisoners kept in their tiny cells 24 hours a day, denied phone calls, visitors, etc.) for eight months while investigators grilled prisoners. Many were offered transfers, time off, and cash upfront if they would testify—and threatened with being indicted and put on trial for murder if they wouldn't. The government just picked who it wanted to get and extorted accusations against these prisoners. The prosecution's whole case is based on this kind of testimony, built on bribes and coercion. At least one witness has already recanted and denounced the state's tactics.

Court proceedings — pre-trial motions and jury selection—have already been going on for most of a year. The courtroom was specially built for the trial, with a bullet-proof glass shield between the audience and the prisoners, jury, etc. Judge Ben Miller, imported from downstate, has shown tremendous favoritism to the state. He has repeatedly threatened defense

lawyers with contempt-of-court citations. The defense is hamstrung in many ways. They are prevented from interviewing some state witnesses. Defense lawyers are paid less than half of what prosecutors are getting. They don't have enough staff. And so on. A lot of things about the trial are reminiscent of the infamous Chicago Eight Conspiracy trial under Judge Julius Hoffman, but this time lives are at stake, and the racism is even thicker.

AS THE trial opened, the defendants and their lawyers expressed optimism. One of the defendants told the *Torch/La Antorcha* that the prisoners' morale is good, there is a strong spirit of unity, and they are confident that the state's manufactured case will fall apart in court. They regard the jury as satisfactory: seven Blacks and five whites, six men and six women, selected over a five-month period.

If there is mass support for the Pontiac Brothers, it will turn a spotlight on the case and expose the state's frame-up. This can have an effect on what happens in the courtroom and the jury box. □

time be designated a "mental health problem," and be subjected to what is not-so-laughingly described on the compound as "the Thorazine shuffle." The psychiatric staff has available more psychoactive pharmaceuticals than Ronald Reagan has jelly beans, and they are always on the lookout for the chance to increase their job security by adding another "patient" to their caseload. Faced with the prospect of being turned into a slobbering, mindless zombie by the "enlightened" psychiatric staff, many inmates are terrified to protest any sort of improper or illegal treatment by the staff whatsoever.

THE macabre irony in this "Cuckoo's Nest" operation is that, to quote an unnamed specialist on the staff of the institution, "90 percent of the staff is in far greater need of psychiatric treatment than any of the inmates." He has further stated that "every staff member feels that he is a psychologist, even if he can't spell the word." This leads to the almost incredible (but actual) situation where inmates (who may or may not need some form of psychological treatment or assistance) are uniformly made not "better" but worse.

Although at first blush this may seem merely to be yet

another unfortunate but essentially accidental byproduct of the empire in its collapse, the truth is far different, and even more sinister in its implications. The fact is that by worsening rather than improving the psychological condition of the inmates in its care, the federal prison system guarantees that a high percentage of those who are eventually released back into society are foredoomed to return to prison sooner or later, thus increasing the prison population and assuring future job security for those whom the system employs. It must not be overlooked that staff members at these institutions without exception are making a substantial living; all paid for, of course, by the workers whom the system is supposed to protect.

FOR THE benefit of fellow inmates at other federal institutions who might be tempted by rumors on the prison grapevine to wangle a transfer to Butner, we leave this message: stay where you are! From the moment you step off the bus at Butner, you will be required to struggle to keep the one thing you thought even the government couldn't take away from you—your mind.

**In Struggle,
Rabbi & Fingers**

THE MASTER THIEF

First I stole the Indians' land,
Almost killed them to a man.
Reduced them to a motley band,
I am the Master Thief.

From Africa I stole some men,
Hunted, captured, branded them,
Separated kith from kin,
I am the Master Thief.

When I first came from the west,
I found a world at peace and rest,
But turned it to a bloody mess,
I am the Master Thief.

Yes, I buy the worker's soul,
Pay him brass from others' gold,
I will not loose my deadly hold,
I am the Master Thief.

The tanks I make, the bombs I build
Are guaranteed to maim and kill,
The easier for me to steal,
I am the Master Thief.

Hungry folk I do not feed,
For PROFIT is my sacred creed.
So what if there's a world in need?
I am the Master Thief.

Peoples curse me here and there,
But I am strong, I do not care,
To challenge me no one would dare,
I am the Master Thief.

Arrogant, you say I am,
Me, your loving Uncle Sam.
(Really, I don't give a damn)
I am the Master Thief.

My symbol stands unchanged today,
The eagle is a bird of prey.
Through fear I keep the world at bay,
I am the Master Thief.

My colors are red, white and blue,
Quite simple is my form of rule,
DEMOCRACY FOR THE WEALTHY FEW,
I am the Master Thief.

Terror is my bag, you see,
Imprison those who disagree,
Poisoned air, polluted sea,
I am the Master Thief.

Now I bid you all good-bye,
I leave you with this pretty lie,
"For freedom I will fight and die,"
I AM THE MASTER THIEF!

Mateen
October, 1980

Mateen, a/k/a Michael E. Garnett, is a prisoner at the maximum-security federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. "The Master Thief" will be included in an international anthology published by Southern Illinois University, due out this Spring.

GM Moves Another Step Closer to Poletown Demolition

By PAUL CARSON

DETROIT, February 26—A chant of "Cardinal Deardon with his cross, sold us out to the GM boss" rang out in front of the chancery of the archdiocese of Detroit as 30 residents of Poletown and their supporters demonstrated today. The demonstration followed the announcement that the archdiocese had sold the Church of the Immaculate Conception to the city of Detroit for \$1.3 million to help clear the way for the proposed



Poletown residents compare Cardinal Deardon to Judas.

new GM plant. (See *Torch/La Antorcha*, Vol. 7, No. 11 for details.)

Immaculate Conception has served as a headquarters for the Poletown Neighborhood Council, which has been fighting to save the Poletown neighborhood. Parishioners from Immaculate Conception now feel betrayed by the church hierarchy. Ann Locklear told the *Detroit News*: "They sold us out to GM and the city for 30 pieces of silver."

Poletown residents today face tremendous odds. On the positive side, there is still a core of people who refuse to give up the fight against having their homes and community destroyed to make way for a new, highly-automated GM plant. They have been joined recently by four members of consumer activist Ralph Nader's staff, who have moved to Detroit to organize against the project on a

full-time basis.

But, unfortunately, the Poletown Neighborhood Council's active support in the community seems to be decreasing, as more and more people have simply given up. The city of Detroit has gotten agreements to sell from the owners of most of the parcels in the project area. Vandalism in the neighborhood is rising as more homes are vacated.

Most residents think GM will inevitably get its way and their neighborhood will be destroyed.

GM's tremendous clout was demonstrated recently after it was announced that a federal urban development grant program on which the GM plant depends was being eliminated by the Reagan administration. This announcement came at a time when Ralph Nader was

UAW Leaders Accept Wage Cut at River Rouge

The Ford Motor Company has successfully blackmailed leaders of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600, which represents workers at the company's giant Rouge Complex just outside Detroit, into accepting a wage cut for steelworkers at the plant. Early in March Ford demanded that 3,760 steel division workers at Rouge accept a 50 percent cut in incentive pay rates. These rates provide workers with a bonus for reaching specified productivity levels. The company threatened to lay off 560 workers at the Rouge steel mill on April 1, and 2,640 by June 1, if the union refused to accept the cuts. On March 9, Mike Rinaldi, president of Local 600, announced that the union and the company had agreed to a reduction of "slightly less than 50 percent." Rinaldi also left open

the possibility of future talks on a Ford proposal to reduce the number of steelworkers eligible for incentive pay. As we go to press, workers at Rouge are voting on the agreement.

In the wake of Chrysler's successful campaign to cut the wages of its workers, Ford and General Motors are preparing their own offensive against the UAW. Both companies have already announced they will either demand renegotiation of their contracts with the UAW, or will ask for major reductions in wages and benefits when the current contract expires in 1982. The attack on Rouge steelworkers is merely the opening shot in Ford's campaign to roll back UAW wage scales across the board. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Walkout shuts Hooker plant

In early February, 30 containers of nitric oxide were delivered to the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Corporation's plant in Burlington, NJ. The chemical was to be used to neutralize "runaway reactions" in the plant's plastic-making vats which produce vinyl chloride, a cancer-causing substance. However, Hooker did not warn workers in the plant that nitric oxide is itself a highly poisonous gas which can cause instant death. Only truckers who delivered the chemical warned them how dangerous it was. Moreover, workers noticed that the containers were being stored next to vats that heat up to 200 degrees, risking an explosion which could release the nitric oxide. At a union meeting on February 23, the 350 workers at the plant decided to ignore a no-strike pledge in their contract and walk out to enforce demands for the removal of the containers. As we go to press, they are still out.

Hooker is notorious for its criminal neglect of even minimal safety precautions in using and disposing of toxic material. The company's dumping of toxic wastes in the Love Canal neighborhood of Niagara Falls, NY, caused deaths, birth defects, and the eventual evacuation of the entire neighborhood beginning in 1978. When workers at the Burlington plant found out about Love Canal, they immediately demanded an investigation into the high number of deaths from cancer among workers at the factory. The company refused to respond, and took action to neutralize vinyl chloride emissions at Burlington only when

ordered to by the Environmental Protection Agency. But its "solution" to the problem has only increased the dangers faced by the Burlington workers.

Stewart-Warner workers strike

Over 2,500 workers at Stewart-Warner, a producer of auto parts and the largest employer on Chicago's north side, have been on strike since January 23. The workers were actually locked out on the 22nd, one day after voting to strike when their contract expired at the end of the month. They are fighting for higher wages, dental and medical coverage, cost-of-living allowances, and a pension plan. The company is "philosophically opposed" to the last two points.

The strike is the first at Stewart-Warner in over 30 years. According to striker Steve Cohn, "The reason they haven't had a strike for so long is because we had a rotten union." In 1979 a rank and file group, the United Workers Association (UWA), succeeded in decertifying the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which then represented Stewart-Warner workers, and set up an independent local. Last summer the UWA affiliated with the United Electrical Workers union.

Many of the Stewart-Warner workers are Black women who face constant racist and sexist discrimination on the job. Out of 11 labor grades at the plant, 70 percent of the women are in the bottom two. The bottom grade, number 11, is 99 percent women. Another major complaint of the

workers is company abuse of the seniority system. The company hires younger people and kicks out older workers, who have no pension protection. Verna Scott, an anti-discrimination officer in the union, declared, "This strike isn't only for money, it's a matter of pride, of being able to live decently."

Defeat at Sanderson Farms

The two-year strike at the Sanderson Farms poultry processing plant in Laurel, Mississippi, ended in defeat on February 23 when 33 strikers—all that were left of the original 200—signed up to get their jobs back without a union contract. In 1979 the Sanderson workers, most of them Black women, joined the International Chemical Workers Union (ICWU) and went on strike to win union recognition. Their struggle against Sanderson's racist, anti-union policies won national attention. Last May over 3,000 demonstrators from all over the South marched in Laurel to support the strike.

Sanderson was able to keep the plant operating at near-capacity by hiring scab labor. Instead of trying to stop the scabs, the ICWU national leadership relied on a favorable ruling from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to win the strike. On January 22 the NLRB ordered Sanderson to rehire the strikers and return to the bargaining table. But this was a hollow victory. Sanderson is appealing the decision and is refusing to resume contract talks. Meanwhile, by the time the NLRB finally announced its decision most of the strikers had abandoned hopes for a victory and found other jobs. This left the remaining workers no choice but to return to work without a contract.

—MB & PB

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Conference for Jobs Held in Michigan

Stop Plant Closings and Wage Cuts!

More than 200 union members attended a "Conference for Jobs" in Dearborn, Michigan, on February 28. Most participants were from the Detroit area—autoworkers from the shut-down Dodge Main plant, from Chrysler's Warren Stamping, Lynch Road and Jefferson Avenue plants, from Ford's Rouge Complex where the Michigan Casting Center is slated for shutdown in 1982; steelworkers from District 29, USWA; and workers from several other Detroit-area unions. The sponsors of the conference have called for a "rally of 10,000 for jobs," to be held in Lansing, Michigan, in the spring. Several conference workshops discussed the need to broaden this into a national fightback against layoffs and unemployment. Two workshops adopted resolutions calling for a Labor Day march on Washington to demand "No Plant Closings; Jobs for All!" Unfortunately, the conference leadership refused to allow these proposals to be voted on, claiming the conference "was not a decision-making body." Several UAW members who are RSL supporters attended the conference. Below, we reprint a paper they distributed there.

Autoworkers are threatened today as we have never been threatened before. This is brought out most clearly by the recent Chrysler settlement. Chrysler workers have just given the "new" Chrysler Corporation the third round of concessions in little over a year. The sums of money involved are enormous. Over a billion dollars of workers' money goes to the capitalists who own Chrysler. This comes to about \$15,000 per worker. Also lost are 19 paid personal holidays.

None of this has saved jobs. Chrysler is half the size that it used to be and it is still shrinking. The government loans and concessions will be used to automate plants and

duals and families will be reduced to below poverty levels. People will have to double and triple up to live. Young people and others will often turn to hustling and crime. Black, Arab and women workers will be among the hardest hit as they have the least seniority. Very few of these workers will be able to get job retraining or other jobs. Almost none will get jobs that pay as well.

Is there really no alternative?

For decades the United Auto Workers (UAW) was a pacesetter union. It helped to raise the pay and benefit scale of all workers by the contracts it won. Now the UAW has been rocked with the most severe givebacks. Other corporations see the Chrysler contract as a major breakthrough that they want to pursue.

By accepting the Chrysler concessions the UAW has helped establish the principle that workers must sacrifice to make corporations competitive and profitable.

Otherwise it will be the workers' own fault when there are no jobs at all.

Autoworkers have been told over and over that there is no alternative. UAW head Douglas Fraser, the media, Chrysler, the government, and learned economists all say the same thing. The worker must sacrifice to make the corporation profitable. No sacrifice, no profits. No profits, no jobs. Each and every day we are bombarded with this propaganda. Meanwhile the unemployment lines get longer and longer.

Nationalize Chrysler

Chrysler does not have to remain a private profit-making corporation. It can be nationalized. If workers are to save their jobs, they must stop trying to make Chrysler and

other corporations profitable.

Government takeover will allow all the jobs to be maintained. If there are too many plants producing cars then production can be shifted to mass transit vehicles, materials for hospitals and schools, or any of dozens of other items working people need in their daily lives. We can have jobs if we produce what is needed, not what makes a given company profitable.

When we urge nationalization we have to remember that the government is controlled by the capitalists, not the workers. We will have to fight to force government takeover and financing to preserve jobs. Secondly, workers will have to fight for control of production—line speed, what is produced and how, working conditions, etc.

Expand retraining programs

In addition, job retraining programs must be provided for all laid-off workers. Unemployment insurance should last as long as the layoff—not be cut as the capitalists are doing. Programs like TRA and CETA were never adequate enough. Now they are being slashed. Loans and grants to go to school are also being cut back. This comes at a time of increasing job losses due to both automation and recession. If capitalists want to automate, workers should be given the necessary training so we can get useful, productive jobs.

We will have to fight to tax



the profits of oil companies, banks and other corporations to finance this program. Oil profits are enormous. Defense spending is \$200 billion and going up. There is money that can be shifted to jobs if we have the strength to force it.

Our program

Our alternative to layoffs and concessions can be summarized in six main points:

- 1) No plant closings. No layoffs.
- 2) Nationalize bankrupt corporations to preserve jobs. No compensation to the capitalist owners.
- 3) Full unemployment insurance and retraining programs for workers who need it.
- 4) Use the plants to build things we need—mass transit, materials for schools, housing and hospitals, a clean and safe environment.
- 5) Fight for workers' control of production in nationalized corporations.
- 6) Tax the banks and corporations to pay for this program.

Militant struggle is necessary

We will win no easy victories. Today the majority of autoworkers are demoralized and confused. Militant struggles, strikes, and a massive

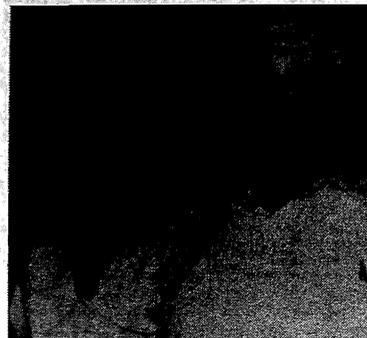
fight against the corporations seem like something out of the past. It is this lack of a fight that makes workers feel there is no alternative to the concessions. Nothing is so demoralizing as surrender without a fight. And our jobs and income have been surrendered with no fight at all.

We need to examine this ever further. In England and other countries, much of industry is nationalized. Workers have fought bitter battles for years to stop layoffs and wage cuts. While the workers have been pushed back, it was never as fast and as far as it has been with Chrysler.

High unemployment makes it more difficult to battle the companies. Government pressure also makes it more difficult. And we will still have to fight the government as our employer. This too may discourage people. But none of this makes fighting back impossible. None of it means we have to accept that there is "no alternative."

The million members of the UAW have enormous potential power. Their power must be organized, mobilized, and used. This is our task. Our task is not to figure out how to make Chrysler and other companies more profitable. To this end we need an emergency conference of the entire UAW. We want rank and file members to come, to participate and to decide. This is one way to begin mobilizing the

(Continued on page 16)



UAW president Doug Fraser.

produce more cars with fewer workers.

On top of this, Reagan's budget cuts are aimed squarely at workers. TRA, unemployment insurance, food stamps, job training programs and welfare programs are all targets for cuts. First, jobs are wiped out and then benefits to help workers tide over are to be slashed.

Furthermore, GM and Ford have announced that they too want contract concessions similar to Chrysler. Following suit, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young has stated that he wants the same for the city workers.

The cost in human terms is almost hard to imagine. Even if Chrysler is "saved," fifty, sixty, or seventy thousand or more jobs are gone for good. GM and Ford will also be closing plants, automating and shrinking their workforce. Homes will be lost. Individ-



Torchator/Gary Hammond

El Salvador...

(Continued from page 1)
this in modern dress.

The U.S. imperialists are presently supporting a junta nominally headed by a Christian Democratic politician, Jose Napoleon Duarte, but dominated by officers in the Salvadorean army; the separate Salvadorean National Guard and other government security forces. The junta is backed by sections of the Salvadorean capitalist class and some Christian Democratic politicians.

Opposing the junta from the left is a broad coalition of opposition forces supported by a considerable portion of the Salvadorean workers and peasants. This coalition, the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR—Revolutionary Democratic Front) and its armed wing, the Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberacion Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front), includes El Salvador's Social Democratic Party, several mass organizations of workers and peasants, such as the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR—Popular Revolutionary Bloc) and the Frente de Accion Popular Unificada (FAPU—United Front for Popular Action), large



FMLN contingent assembles before January "final offensive."

sections of the Catholic Church, some Christian Democrats and the Salvadorean Communist Party.

In addition to its left-wing opposition, the junta is also threatened by right-wing forces based in the army and National Guard and by private right-wing assassination squads, such as Orden. These forces are backed by the tiny group of landed capitalists—

the so-called 14 Families—who used to own 60 percent of all the land in El Salvador. This right-wing opposition believes the junta has made too many concessions to the workers and peasants (including a land reform that stripped the 14 Families of a good chunk of the land) and proposes to fight the left by a policy of straight-out repression. Of the more than 10,000 people killed

in the war in El Salvador in 1980 and more than 3,000 just this year, most have been the victims of the right-wing vigilantes.

Today, the civil war in El Salvador is at a virtual stalemate. After a 90 percent effective general strike in June, the left called another strike in August, but it was much less widely supported. In the fall, the right was on the offensive. Despite the murder of six top FDR leaders and army sweeps of the countryside, however, the left was not crushed. The left then launched a solely military "final offensive" this past January, but it failed to accomplish its goal.

It was after that failure that the Reagan administration began its verbal barrage and announced its decision to step up its military and economic aid to the junta. The only scrap of factual material in the heap of accusations the Reaganites heaved around was no real surprise: Some of the rather meager supplies of arms used by the left-wing guerrillas were sold or given to them by various countries allied with Russia, such as Czechoslovakia and Cuba, and these arms were obtained through the efforts of the Salvadorean Communist Party, one of the smaller members of the FDR. Even the State Department's "White Paper" on the subject, though, goes no

further than to allege that 200 tons of arms were obtained this way. According to Pentagon estimates, this is only enough to supply a 200-person battalion for two weeks of combat.

But using these arms as a pretext, Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig have seized on El Salvador as the place to draw the line, that is, to dramatize their "hard line" against the Russian state capitalists, to line up the West European capitalists behind this foreign policy and to notify people fighting for national liberation that the U.S. imperialists will not give up their power without a serious fight.

Reagan, Haig renew Cold War policy

Reagan and Haig chose El Salvador as the place to make this stand for two main reasons. First, El Salvador is in Central America, an area long claimed as an "American sphere of influence," that is, an area the U.S. has a "right" to dominate. Second, given this location and the small size of the country (8,200 square miles), Reagan and Haig feel that they have a good chance of beating the left-wing opposition and supposedly "beating the Rus-

Polish Workers Fight Gov't Crackdown

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

March 12—Over the objections of the national leadership of Solidarnosc (Solidarity—the Polish workers' new independent trade union federation), some 300,000 workers in the textile-producing city of Lodz stopped work two days ago in an action that marked the first significant break in the country's month-long "labor truce." The strike halted all production and stopped streetcars and buses for one hour in Poland's second-largest city. It was called by the local Solidarnosc chapter to protest the firing of five workers for union activity at a police hospital in Lodz. By the end of the day, Poland's state-capitalist government had backed down, agreeing to reinstate the workers. Threats of further strikes later forced an additional promise that Solidarnosc organizers would be able to carry out union activity free from harassment.

It was almost exactly one month ago that Poland's newly-installed prime minister and long-time defense chief, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, called for a 90-day moratorium on strikes. While Solidarnosc's national leadership re-

fused to formally endorse such a moratorium, it made it clear that it would do everything it could to prevent strikes during those 90 days.

In fact, a period of "labor peace" was seen as vital by both forces. For its part, Poland's ruling party (misleadingly named the Polish United Workers Party—PUWP) had all but lost control over the country, including large sections of its own membership. PUWP leader Stanislaw Kania and Jaruzelski knew that if they were to regain control they would have to end the strikes by Poland's workers, farmers and students. The "or else" in this situation was the ever-present threat of a Russian invasion to stabilize state-capitalist rule over the country.

For Lech Walesa and the rest of Solidarnosc's national leadership, the moratorium was seen as a necessary period in which to firm up their shaky hold over the local and regional chapters of the union, many of which are far more militant than the national leadership. Moreover, as one spokesperson for national Solidarnosc said, they too

wanted to see the government strengthened because a weak government could not be considered "a reliable partner in the implementation of agreements."

Calm ends

Now, however, hopes for a period of calm and consolidation have apparently been brought to an abrupt end. While information is sketchy, it is clear that following a March 4 emergency meeting in Moscow attended by top-level Polish and Russian leaders, including Kania, Jaruzelski, and Leonid Brezhnev, the Polish government started a campaign aimed at intimidating and weakening the union and the movement as a whole. As in Lodz, Solidarnosc organizers have apparently been harassed, particularly outside of the key cities of Gdansk, where the workers' rebellion and union movement began last summer, and Warsaw, the national capital and seat of the Solidarnosc national coordinating committee. In other related developments:

• Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, two well-known dis-

sidents from the Workers Self-Defense Committee (KOR), which has played an official advisory role to the union, were issued summonses by the police on March 5 and 6; respectively. Kuron was actually arrested and then told that he was under investigation for "slandering the state" before being released. The police were unable to take Michnik, who refused the summons; Solidarnosc's Wroclaw branch, a militant stronghold, immediately assigned a 30-person workers' defense guard to protect him and prevent the police from arresting him.

• The government has cracked down on a small, right-wing ultra-nationalist group, in a move widely interpreted as an attempt to appease the Russians' demands for a suppression of "anti-socialist" elements. Although the union has no ties with this organization, it has opposed the government's actions as a denial of free speech and democratic rights in the country.

• More ominously, a reported 600 people attended an anti-Semitic rally in Warsaw on March 8. Speakers at the rally, including several well-

known film makers and journalists, accused Solidarnosc of fronting for a "Zionist conspiracy" to take over the country; in particular, they attacked KOR, some of whose members are Jewish, as the agents of this conspiracy. (There are approximately 5,000 Jews in Poland out of a population of 35 million.) Press reports indicate that it is widely believed that some number of Communist Party officials were behind the rally; probably not coincidentally, the leader of an anti-Semitic campaign and pogroms during the 1960s, Mieczyslaw Moczar, was elevated to the PUWP Politburo in December.

• Most recently, the Soviet Union officially announced on the day of the Lodz strike that it, along with East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland, would begin military exercises on Polish soil. With some 100,000 Russian troops still poised on the Russo/Polish border, these maneuvers are intended either as the brandishing of a big stick at the Polish people, or as actual preparations for an invasion.

It is difficult from such a distance to gauge with any precision what is actually

(Continued on page 15)

WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Military coup fails in Spain

At 6:20 p.m. on February 23, 200 Spanish Civil Guard troops led by Antonio Tejero Molina occupied the House of Parliament in Madrid as part of an attempted fascist coup. An hour later General Jaime Milans del Bosch, commander of the army garrison in Valencia, declared military rule in the region. At the same time troops from the Brunete division seized control of the national radio and television complex near Madrid. Army Deputy Chief of Staff Alfonso Armada Comyn informed King Juan Carlos I, Spain's constitutional monarch, that the coup had the backing of most regional army commanders and urged the king to support it. The king refused. Over the course of the night he telephoned the regional army commanders and won their support for his stand. Consequently, the instigators of the coup were forced to surrender after 18 hours.

Massive demonstrations celebrating the coup's failure were called by Spain's four major political parties on February 27. In Madrid alone, 1.4 million people marched through the streets applauding the king and chanting "Dictatorship, No! Democracy, Yes!" and "Liberty, Liberty, Liberty!" But the near-success of the takeover reveals the fragility of Spanish democracy and raises disturbing questions about its future survival.

General Francisco Franco overthrew Spain's republican government in 1939 after a bloody civil war and established a military dictatorship that lasted until his death in 1975. King Juan Carlos, who was Franco's hand-picked successor, has presided over the introduction of democratic reforms, including free elections, legalization of trade unions and working class political parties, and grants of regional autonomy to the Euzkadi (Basque) provinces and Catalonia. Despite this, most of the fascist state machinery remains intact. Above all, control of the army rests in the hands of officers who rose to power under Franco and oppose the dismantling of the Francoist state.

Moreover, events surrounding the recent coup attempt reveal that many of Spain's present political leaders, some of whom are old Franco supporters, are sympathetic to the military. First of all, although it was well-known that the military was planning a coup, none of the "democratic" politicians did anything to prevent it. A right-wing newspaper, *El Alcázar*, printed a series of manifestos last winter declaring that "the attempt at democracy had failed." After Prime Minister Antonio Suarez reacted to these threats by resigning his post on January 29, notices appeared in the press giving the very day and hour of the coup attempt. Despite these warnings Tejero and a handful of troops were allowed to take over parliament without opposition.

Second, civilian political leaders are cooperating with the king to prevent a full-scale investigation of the army in the aftermath of the coup. To be sure, some 50 officers who openly supported the takeover have been jailed and will face a court-martial. But the king warned parliament against any effort to carry the purge any further. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, leader of the conservative Popular Alliance and a former minister under Franco declared, "We must not have a witch-hunt."

Even the two major workers' parties, the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Party (SP), refused to mobilize their supporters against the coup in the critical hours after the takeover of parliament. On the contrary, they urged workers to "remain calm" and rely on the king's efforts to defeat the coup. CP Secretary-General Santiago Carillo told reporters, "We were all aware that the only person who could oppose this adventure was the head of state."

Such a policy may well lead to disaster in the near future. The king is a rather weak anti-fascist reed to rely on. The SP is widely expected to win the 1983 Spanish national elections. The coming to power of even a moderately leftist government, along with continued unrest in the Euzkadi provinces and elsewhere, could easily lead the entire officer corps—this time supported by the king—to attempt another military takeover. By advising workers that the king will protect them from the military, the CP and SP leaders are lulling the workers into a false sense of security. This in turn can only encourage right-wing efforts to restore the Francoist fascist dictatorship.

—PB

sians" in Central America. Reagan's actions concerning El Salvador represent the definitive junking of the human rights strategy of the previous Carter administration. This policy, a liberal approach to shoring up U.S. imperialism, involved pressuring pro-U.S. regimes to make minor reforms to undercut domestic opposition, negotiating pro-U.S. deals with certain national liberation leaders, such as Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, and plenty of humanitarian rhetoric.

In contrast to this policy, Reagan and Haig want to return to a Cold War approach of openly supporting any regime that supports the U.S. regardless of how dictatorial and brutal it may be.

Behind this shift in approach is the view that the supposedly glorious days of U.S. imperialism—the immediate post-World War II period and the 1950s—can be resurrected to a considerable degree merely by "talking tough." "The amazing thing is it's been done mainly with words," bragged someone the *New York Times* described as "an in-house booster happy with Mr. Reagan's anti-Soviet line." "We sure haven't gained a single ship or division in the past month."

Extreme right claims U.S. support

Yet, the Reaganites' tough words had some effects that they hadn't expected. One was that the Salvadorean far right took the Reagan rhetoric about a "communist takeover" as a sign that Reagan was ready to drop the pretense of democracy in El Salvador altogether and look the other way if the right wing got rid of Duarte and the Christian Democrats. Thus, on March 3, former intelligence officer Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, a leader of the far right, held a press conference in San Salvador. He claimed he had contacts with Reagan and knew that the administration was ready to favor a coup. D'Aubuisson called the world's Christian Democratic parties the "rightist sector of the Communist party" and said that the Salvadorean Christian Democrats were selling out the country. He called for an end to the reforms, particularly the land reform that has deprived the 14 Families of complete control of the land and the banking reforms that have given the government more economic control. (D'Aubuisson has been officially "wanted" by police a number of times for his leadership of several death squads and his part in several conspiracies to overthrow the government. Because of the far right's control over many of the police

and security forces, however, he moves freely between El Salvador and support bases in Honduras and Miami.)

While the right wing in El Salvador took the Reagan administration's "hard line" rhetoric as a green light for a coup, it thoroughly alarmed U.S. allies in Western Europe, particularly those presently led by Social Democratic governments, such as West Germany and Denmark. The ruling circles of these countries, as well as the rulers in Mexico and several other Latin American countries, have been increasingly concerned over the evolution of U.S. policy in El Salvador over the last six months. They have now come to believe that the best way to end the war in El Salvador, achieve capitalist stability in Central America and maintain detente with the Russians is to arrange a political settlement between the more liberal forces in the ruling junta and the moderate forces in the opposition front. As a result, when Reagan and Haig unveiled their policy in El Salvador, and particularly when D'Aubuisson announced his intention of overthrowing the junta, the governments of Mexico and Germany began protesting loudly. Other allies, such as France, indicated concern over U.S. policy, while the most important newspapers in England and Canada condemned the U.S. for its opening to the right.

Joining them were liberal figures in the U.S., such as Ohio senator John Glenn and former ambassador to El Salvador John White, who voiced their fears that the Reagan/Haig approach would lead to what they called "another Vietnam," that is, U.S. intervention in a losing war against popularly-backed guerrillas. Even the U.S. Council of Bishops of the Catholic Church called for rejection of the additional military aid.

Reagan opposes coup—for now

D'Aubuisson's press conference and the outcry over their Cold War policy in El Salvador wasn't what Reagan/Haig wanted or expected. While the logic of the Reagan administration's line is to support a far-right coup if one were to occur, they were probably not ready for one so soon and in any event did not want to openly proclaim their intention to support such an act. Moreover, Reagan and Haig were hoping that through careful maneuvering they could line up the U.S. allies to follow them in their turn to a more aggressive stance. D'Aubuisson's statements and the reactions of the U.S. allies convinced Reagan and Haig

that they had gone too far, too fast.

As a result, after D'Aubuisson's press conference, the administration, somewhat hesitantly at first, disavowed D'Aubuisson and reaffirmed their support for the junta. On the morning of March 4, White House press secretary James Brady and State Department spokesperson William Dyess made somewhat weak denials of D'Aubuisson's contentions. Then later in the day, Haig and U.S. charge d'affaires in El Salvador Fredric Chapin both issued stronger statements against a far-right takeover. In the meantime, perhaps to express displeasure at the double-cross, D'Aubuisson's people shot up the U.S.



Roberto D'Aubuisson.

embassy.

Finally at a press conference on Friday, March 6, Reagan issued the strongest administration statement against the right yet, calling a coup "a grave danger."

At the same time, Duarte cancelled a trip to Europe, where he was going to link up with the German Christian Democrats, who would arrange meetings with the German Social Democrats and their Salvadorean counterparts. Both German parties have been urging a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador. Duarte also appointed a three-person commission to arrange for elections in 1982. (These elections will supposedly create an assembly to write a new constitution that will presumably call for some body, that may have some power, which will be elected later, after the constitution is approved.)

Yet the fact that the Reagan administration vetoed a right-wing takeover this month and reaffirmed its commitment to "democracy" in El Salvador says nothing about the future. The overall line and direction of U.S. foreign policy in El Salvador and elsewhere is clear. It is a return to the Cold War rhetoric and policies of the 1950s and early '60s in an increasingly desperate attempt to prevent the collapse of the once powerful worldwide empire of the U.S. ruling class. □

Last May, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology published a study called "Coal: Bridge to the Future." Sponsored by 16 nations, the study declared that coal was the answer to U.S., West European and Japanese dependence on imported oil. In particular, it touted the U.S., which has the largest reserves of coal in the world, as the future "Saudi Arabia of coal."

Not surprisingly, therefore, the energy industry, President Ronald Reagan's administration, and the capitalist class as a whole are counting on increased coal production to play a crucial role in solving the energy crisis and revitalizing the U.S. economy. Coal producers are hoping to vastly increase their domestic market as oil-using plants and utilities are converted to coal. They also project a massive rise in exports of steam coal used by electric utilities from 60 million tons in 1977 to 200 million tons by the year 2000.

The Reagan administration wants coal production to double within five years. It plans to accomplish this by "freeing" the energy industry to exploit coalfields regardless of the cost to the environment. Both James Watt, Reagan's Secretary of the Interior, and



Underground miners work in tunnels only two to three feet high. Their injury rate is the highest in U.S. industry.

James Harris, recently appointed to head the Department of the Interior's Office of Surface Mining, are notorious opponents of environmental regulations restricting strip-mining operations. The Reagan government also wants to weaken provisions of the Clean Air Act that require the use of low-sulphur coal by utilities.

Management goal: more coal

This capitalist campaign for increased coal production is a major factor in this year's contract negotiations between the United Mine Workers union (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). The current contract, which covers over 160,000 miners in 14 Eastern and Midwestern states, expires on March 27. The BCOA's ability to ensure a rapid jump in coal production hinges on its power to exact higher productivity rates from the miners while enforcing "labor peace" in the coalfields. However, in the past miners have shown their determination to resist such attacks. A company offensive during the 1977 contract talks, for example, provoked a bitter 111-day strike, the longest walkout in UMW history.

This year, both Sam Church, president of the UMW, and B.R. Brown, chief negotiator for the BCOA, say they want to reach a settlement without a

What's at Stake in This Year's UMW Contract Fight

repetition of the 1977-78 conflict. But it will be difficult for them to arrive at an agreement that both meets the demands of the coal companies and satisfies the needs of the miners.

Several conditions affecting the coal industry are leading the mine owners to renew their offensive against the UMW. First of all, the steel industry, which is a major coal consumer, is in the midst of a recession. Consequently, demand for metallurgical coal used in steel-

rules and federal safety laws enacted over the past decade. However, an expert on the coal industry, Forrest Hill, told *Business Week* (November 17, 1980) that the real limits on productivity come from management inefficiency and the lack of any major technological innovations in the industry over the past 32 years.

To overcome their difficulties the coal owners are determined to increase coal production at the expense of working and retired miners. One goal is to eliminate union work rules that restrict company power to dictate working conditions. They also want to lower costs by slashing pension funds and other benefits miners have won in past years. Above all they want to be able to eliminate miners' walkouts that reduce output and scare potential overseas customers.

Oil, steel companies dominate industry

The BCOA offensive is being led by the oil and steel companies that now dominate the coal industry. Major steel companies, including U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic and Inland Steel, acquired coal mines decades ago to assure themselves a steady supply of coal. Oil firms, such as Conoco, Standard Oil, Exxon and Mobil, began buying into the industry in the early 1960s. By 1966 steel, oil and utility companies produced 25 percent of U.S. coal. Today they produce 50 percent, and expect to reach 60 percent by 1985. These giants also own some 41 percent of known U.S. coal reserves, compared to only 12 percent owned by independent coal operators.

In recent years, the oil and steel companies have been using non-union strip mines in the Western states as a club against the UMW. These mines require a large initial capital investment for machinery and equipment, which only the biggest companies can afford. However, they can be operated by relatively few workers. The coal companies have been able to keep the UMW from organizing these mines because they can easily afford to pay the small workforce wages above union scale. This has given them the power to threaten to use scab coal from the West to break UMW strikes and to force concessions from the union at the bargaining table. To increase their leverage, the larger producers are stepping up production in the Western mines in order to drive unionized mines in the East out of business.

As a result, since 1970 UMW-mined coal has dropped from 70 percent to 44 percent of total output. Over the same

period, the portion of every dollar in coal revenue that has gone to miners' wages and benefits dropped from 49 cents in 1969 to 36 cents in 1977.

1978 strike splits BCOA

The 1977-78 strike was an effort by UMW miners to check the erosion of their working conditions, their living standards and the strength of their union. This enormous struggle was directly responsible for major changes within both the BCOA and the UMW.

The main issue in the strike was the BCOA's attempt to suppress the right of miners to strike over grievances, particularly company violations of safety regulations. Between 1974 and 1977 miners organized over 5,000 wildcat strikes over grievances. During the contract negotiations in 1977 the companies demanded a no-strike pledge, the right to fire miners who organized or participated in wildcats, and the banning of roving pickets, which the miners had used with great effect to spread

their strikes. The UMW counted demand to include the right over grievances in the next

The strike itself strained the breaking point. The coal companies united stand against the miners, down as smaller operators, at least able to survive a long strike, rank and sought separate agreements with the union. Faced with the larger operators were retreat somewhat and accept a no-strike settlement. While the miners to win the right to strike, they were forced to give up their demand for a no-strike pledge. At the same time, order to cut down the number of strikes, the settlement included provisions for immediate settlements, provided such agreements not set contract precedents.

Following the strike, the oil companies moved to take control over future contract negotiations. In May 1979 the Consolidation Coal Company (Consol), a division of Conoco, the largest employer in the coal industry, quit the BCOA because of the "discipline" of its members. In October that year, U.S. Steel also threatened to leave the association unless

NO MORE THRI

By RANDY CONRAD

March 28, 1981, marks the second anniversary of the nuclear accident at the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania. The threat that nuclear radiation poses to human survival was clear and immediate on that day, as millions of people waited to see whether the radioactive core of Three Mile Island Unit #2 would melt down, a catastrophe that would have taken thousands of lives and made uninhabitable millions of acres of land in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and possibly New York. TMI Unit #2 did not melt down, but the release of hundreds of thousands of curies of radioactive gas made it the worst reactor accident in U.S. history.

Despite the near meltdown at TMI and the evidence of the dangers of nuclear power, the Reagan administration, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), and the nuclear industry propose to aggressively expand the use of nuclear power in the U.S. For example, the federal government is planning to move ahead with the Clinch River breeder reactor project in Tennessee. Reagan is also reappointing Joseph Hendrie as head of the NRC. Hendrie was fired after the accident at TMI because of the laxness of the NRC and its efforts to cover

up the extent of the danger to life.

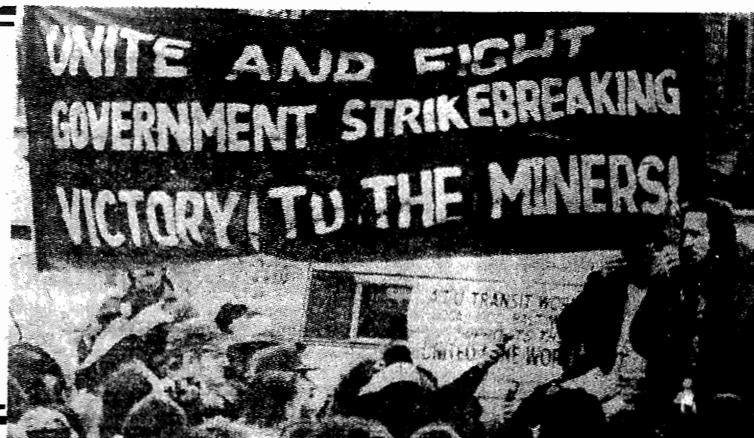
One of the key arguments that advocates of nuclear power use to answer those who warn of its dangers is that "No one died at Three Mile Island." In effect, they say, the emergency systems worked, there was no one down and no one died. They also claim there were massive releases of radiation, but deny that there is a danger to animal life near TMI.

Unfortunately for the people and animals that live near Three Mile Island, this is simply not true. An article in the February 28 *Nation* magazine by Robert Sternglass, a professor of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, documented a significant increase in infant mortality rates for the Three Mile Island area and neighboring areas where the radioactive gas released by TMI Unit #2 was detected. From March 1979, the month of the nuclear accident, to May 1979, the number of infant deaths in Pennsylvania increased from 1,000 live births increased from 15.0. Similar increases were found in parts of upstate New York where the radioactive gas was carried. During the same period, the U.S. rate as



UMW president Sam Church.

in This act Fight



Miners defied Taft-Hartley injunction ordering them back to work during 1977-78 strike, and got support from workers around the country.

their strikes. The UMW countered with a demand to include the right to strike over grievances in the next contract.

The strike itself strained the BCOA to the breaking point. The coal companies' united stand against the miners broke down as smaller operators, who were least able to survive a long strike, broke rank and sought separate agreements with the union. Faced with this threat the larger operators were forced to retreat somewhat and accept a compromise settlement. While the miners failed to win the right to strike, the companies were forced to give up their demand for a no-strike pledge. At the same time, in order to cut down the number of wildcat strikes, the settlement included provisions for immediate settlement of grievances, provided such agreements did not set contract precedents.

Following the strike, the oil and steel companies moved to take total control over future contract negotiations. In May 1979 the Consolidation Coal Company (Consol), a division of Conoco and the largest employer in the industry, quit the BCOA because of the "indiscipline" of its members. In October of that year, U.S. Steel also threatened to leave the association unless it was

restructured in favor of the major producers. Consol eventually rejoined the BCOA in March 1980 under an agreement that gave nine of the 11 seats on the association's executive council to representatives of the oil and steel companies.

As a result of these maneuvers, Consol has emerged as the acknowledged leader of the BCOA's offensive against the UMW. Conoco Chairman Ralph Bailey heads the BCOA executive council, while B.R. Brown, the president of Consol, heads the association's negotiating team.

Under Brown's leadership Consol has compiled the worst record of anti-union provocations in the industry. In particular, Brown has often rejected the grievance procedures set up in the 1978 settlement in favor of long, drawn-out negotiations through the Arbitration Review Board (ARB) set up by the union and the companies in 1974. As a result, the major wildcat strikes between the 1978 settlement and January 1981 have taken place at Consol mines.

Brown himself made a series of

speeches last winter demanding the elimination of "contract restrictions on optimum use of plant and equipment." Citing the union's declining share of output, he warned that without productivity concessions: "There will be no future for UMW-mined coal." (Wall Street Journal, December 22, 1980.) Such statements, combined with Consol's anti-union record, indicate that Brown is probably taking a hard line in the current negotiations. Meanwhile the smaller producers, who are more likely to want a settlement, now have little role in the contract talks.

Miller loses control

The 1977-78 strike and its aftermath also had a big impact on the UMW. At that time, the union was led by Arnold Miller. Miller had been swept into leadership in 1972 by a rank and file revolt against the dictatorial, gangster regime

of Tony Boyle. But once in power Miller proved to be an ineffective leader; he was unable to win concessions from the BCOA, unify the union, or control the militants who supported his election. The 1977-78 strike stripped away whatever remaining credibility Miller may have had. The union's bargaining council rejected the first contract settlement he negotiated; a second agreement negotiated by Miller and approved by the bargaining council was then voted down by the rank and file miners. When the strike ended, the UMW was split among militant rank and filers and various factions of its executive board fighting for control of the union.

In November 1979 Miller, who faced almost certain ouster at the upcoming UMW convention, suddenly resigned his post and accepted a position as "president emeritus." Sam Church, who was then vice-president, took over the leadership of the union. At the December 1979 convention, Church strengthened his hold over the UMW administration by pushing through a motion allowing him to appoint his replacement as vice-president, rather than holding an election for the post as required by the UMW constitution. He then named Wilbert Killion, a supporter of the old Boyle regime, to fill the post. Church also won approval for a heavy dues increase to fund organizing efforts in the West, a measure Miller had been unable to get passed at the previous convention.

Church was able to win these victories because most miners recognized they needed a strong, unified union to defend themselves against the coal companies. Church was able to link this need with his own campaign to increase his control over the UMW's administrative machinery. As one delegate put it: "We've got to show these operators that we're behind this new administration." (Wall Street Journal, December 12, 1979.)

Since taking office, however, Church has sought an alliance with the BCOA, rather than preparing miners to defend themselves against the company offensive. He has praised the "cooperative spirit" between the BCOA and the union. He has stressed that "a strike-free settlement will be in the best interests not only of miners and operators, but the nation as a whole." (New York Times, January 23, 1981.) He even offered to extend the contract if no settlement had been reached by March 27, despite the long UMW "No contract, no work" tradition.

Such actions have won applause from coal industry executives. W.G. Kogel, president of the Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal Company, declared Church had created "labor relations better than I've seen them in 25 years." Other industry leaders welcomed Church's efforts to unite the union behind him as their best guarantee against a renewal of the explosive wildcat strikes of the 1970s.

Church faces pressure for decent contract

Despite his early success, Church has not yet fully consolidated his hold over the UMW. According to the Wall Street Journal (January 27, 1981), he is "discreetly" trying to prevent militants from winning control of UMW districts and thus gaining seats on the bargaining council which must approve any contract settlement. However, dissidents have won district presidencies in

(Continued on next page)

MORE THREE MILE ISLANDS!

up the extent of the danger to human life.

One of the key arguments that all the advocates of nuclear power use to answer those who warn of its dangers is that "No one died at Three Mile Island." In effect, they say, the emergency systems worked, there was no meltdown and no one died. They admit that there were massive releases of radiation, but deny that there is any proof that this radiation harmed human or animal life near TMI.

Unfortunately for the people and animals that live near Three Mile Island, this is simply not true. An article in the February 28 Nation magazine by Ernest Sternglass, a professor of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, documents a significant increase in infant mortality rates for the Three Mile Island area and neighboring areas where the radioactive gas released by TMI Unit #2 was carried. From March 1979, the month of the nuclear accident, to May 1979, the rate of infant deaths in Pennsylvania per 1,000 live births increased from 10.4 to 15.0. Similar increases were found in parts of upstate New York where wind carried the radioactive gas. During the same period, the U.S. rate as a whole

declined seasonally from 14.1 to 12.6 per 1,000 births.

The threat of new releases of radioactivity and of catastrophic accidents like a meltdown exists every day that nuclear power plants are allowed to operate. The danger is real and constant. The threat that radiation poses is even clearer when the danger of nuclear weapons and nuclear war is added to that of civilian nuclear accidents. The additional billions that Reagan proposes to spend on Trident submarines, on MX missiles and on neutron bombs will only increase the threat of nuclear holocaust. Nuclear warheads and nuclear plants are simply not safe and all nuclear reactors for civilian and military purposes must be shut down now.

On March 28, 1981, the second anniversary of TMI, there will be a mass demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, not far from Three Mile Island. The demonstration, which is sponsored by the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, is being organized around three main slogans: No More Three Mile Islands!; Support the United Mine Workers (the miners' contract expires the day before the demonstration—see accompanying article) and Jobs for All—A Shorter Workweek

and Massive Public Works Programs. The demonstration has the support of a large number of international unions, anti-nuclear groups and local Harrisburg activists. Among the international unions that have endorsed the march are the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In addition, the demonstration is endorsed by several other regional and national unions, and anti-nuclear activist groups, like the Mobilization for Survival.

This demonstration can be an important step because it serves to unite a wide range of forces around an important social issue. Moreover, the demonstration marks the first major involvement of the labor movement in anti-nuclear issues. The slogans of the march offer a basis for united struggle by linking the struggle against the danger of nuclear power to the fight for jobs for all. This demonstration can serve as an example of the kind of unity the working class, oppressed people and activists in different struggles like anti-nuclear, anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles need to build.

All Out for Harrisburg!

(Continued from previous page)
at least two UMW districts. In December Ed Bell, who campaigned on the basis that "We went on strike for 111 days in 1978 and didn't get anything," was elected president of District 6, which covers Ohio and neighboring parts of West Virginia. Earlier in November John Banovic, who also opposed the last contract, was elected president of District 12 (Illinois). Ten of the remaining 17 UMW districts are holding elections before May, during and just after the contract negotiations. Candidates in these elections are likely to face heavy pressure from rank and file miners to resist company demands at the bargaining table.

Church himself is negotiating his first national contract, and will have to prove he can win real gains for miners in order to ensure his control over the UMW. Just a week after contract negotiations began in January, a series of wildcat strikes broke out involving over 5,000 West Virginia miners employed at the Powellton mine, Youngstown mine at Delue, Consol's Blackville mine # 2, and other mines in Logan County. Although these strikes were quickly settled, such actions show that a considerable degree of militancy exists among the rank and file.

Consequently Church cannot afford to surrender to the companies too easily or too openly. He has already abandoned any talk of extending the contract. He also told reporters that the March 9-10 strike called to protest proposed cuts in federal Black Lung benefits (see box) was meant in part to "give us some credibility" at the bargaining table. In other words, Church is using the protest to show the BCOA—and rank and file miners—that he is not afraid of calling a strike.

Close to an agreement?

When the contract talks opened UMW and BCOA negotiators were far apart on major bargaining issues. However on March 9, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that they are close to agreement on key provisions of a new settlement.

The BCOA originally demanded that the union accept the introduction of compulsory Sunday work and rotating shifts so that the companies could implement round-the-clock mining seven days a week. Industry sources now claim they are willing to settle for voluntary Sunday mining if the union agrees to give up the ban on Sunday work in the current contract. BCOA representatives are also backing off demands that the union surrender its control over work rules and job bidding procedures.

The UMW in turn is retreating significantly from its original economic demands. Although union negotiators are formally demanding a 51 percent increase in the total wage/benefit package over three years, one official admitted: "We won't get more than 35 percent or 40 percent." Church has said that instead of concentrating on wages the UMW will stress winning benefits that would give miners a cushion against inflation, such as a company-paid dental plan and a reduction of the \$200 deductible on medical insurance imposed on miners through the last contract. However, union negotiators may abandon efforts to regain the cost-of-living-adjustment (COLA) clause that the UMW lost in the 1978 settlement.

The major remaining contract differ-

ence concerns the BCOA's effort to dismantle the industrywide pension plan that the union won in 1947 and replace it with one based on company-by-company coverage. This demand reflects the interest of the larger producers, who want to escape their obligation under the current plan to fund pensions for workers in the smaller mines that are closing down. The union is opposing such a change because it would threaten the accumulated pension rights of workers in the smaller mines, as well as of those miners who change jobs. Moreover, they correctly argue that the BCOA proposal is aimed at weakening the UMW by forcing it to negotiate separate pension programs with all the companies in the BCOA, a step that would undermine the need for an industrywide union. For its part, the UMW is demanding a large increase in pensions, as well as easier pension eligibility requirements.

Differences over the UMW's demand to eliminate the Arbitration Review Board, and industry efforts to modify

the "successor clause," which requires the new owner of a unionized mine to honor the existing contract, are also still unresolved.

Ruling class fears effects of strike

Both the BCOA and the UMW leadership would like to avoid a strike if they can. One industry leader told the *Wall Street Journal*: "We can't make it through another bloodbath." (August 8, 1980.) While such sentiments mainly reflect the interests of the smaller mine owners who could be driven out of business by a prolonged strike, even the larger companies are anxious to show overseas customers that they can win labor peace in the coalfields. Meanwhile, Church is equally anxious to avoid a strike that would give dissidents in the UMW an opportunity to rally rank and file miners behind them and eventually challenge his leadership of the

union.

At the same time, both the UMW and the BCOA are likely to come under pressure from the Reagan administration to avoid a major strike over the coal contract. A strike of any significant length would shut down plants and utilities in the nation's industrial heartland. This would wreck the Reagan administration's hopes for an early improvement of the U.S. economy. Such a strike would force Reagan to decide whether to invoke Section 8(d) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes him to order striking workers back to work for an 80-day "cooling off period." If he holds back from invoking Taft-Hartley, the business community could attack him as a weak president who fears a confrontation with the unions. On the other hand, if Reagan orders the miners back to work, they might defy him just as they defied President Carter's attempt to invoke Taft-Hartley during the 1977-78 strike. This would be an even greater defeat for the Reagan administration.

A coal strike would also end Reagan's "honeymoon" with those workers who are presently willing to give him a chance to implement his program. It would draw a clear class line between the trade unions on the one hand, and the energy industry, the government and the capitalists in general on the other. It might also encourage other workers in unions and oppressed communities to launch their own struggles against the capitalist offensive, thus undermining the political stability Reagan needs to carry out his domestic program.

Recent deals pave way for settlement

Recent agreements involving coalfields not covered by the BCOA-UMW contract indicate what kind of compromise might come out of the contract negotiations. On February 9, the Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Mining Company (P&M) signed a three-year contract with the UMW which includes a 37 percent increase in wages and benefits. Among its provisions are a large increase in pension payments, wage raises and a dental plan. It also includes eight periodic wage "adjustments," which union officials call "the next thing to a COLA," although they are not tied to rises in the government's Consumer Price Index, as are most COLA plans. A week later 930 miners employed at five Western mines owned by the Peabody Mining Company signed a similar agreement after a 30-day strike. These settlements allow the UMW to declare victory on issues like pensions and COLA, while also enabling the coal industry to claim it achieved its goal of holding the overall money package below 40 percent. Moreover, Church announced immediately after the settlements that he would lower pension demands in negotiating with the BCOA.

Despite the various pressures for an early compromise agreement, it is impossible to rule out the chance of a strike. First, the P & M and Peabody settlements did not deal with the productivity issues, which are most likely to set off a strike in the Eastern coalfields. Second, negotiators must come up with a settlement by March 17 in order for members to ratify it before the old contract runs out on March 27. If a contract is not ratified by the 27th, it's likely that some if not all miners will continue the UMW's "No contract, no work" tradition and walk out. □

10,000 Miners March on Washington



Nearly 10,000 miners, carrying signs reading "Coal Dust Kills Miners" and "Stop Black Lung Murder, Not Black Lung Benefits," demonstrated in Washington, D.C., on March 9. The rally was called by leaders of the United Mine Workers union to protest President Ronald Reagan's plan to cut the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund by \$2 billion over the next five years. The union also organized a two-day nationwide walkout by 177,000 miners on March 9-10 against the proposed cuts.

Black Lung (coal miner's pneumoconiosis) is a respiratory disease caused by the gradual buildup of coal dust particles in the lungs of underground miners. Victims of the disease, which is eventually fatal, suffer from coughs, shortness of breath, and, in its advanced stages, are unable to even walk across a room without experiencing breathing difficulties. A 1977 study by the National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety concluded that nearly 80 percent of underground miners would eventually contract Black Lung or related respiratory ailments.

Working and retired miners organized a mass campaign of strikes and demonstrations in the late 1960s and early 1970s that forced the federal government to subsidize pension funds for victims of Black Lung. The Reagan administration is launching a two-pronged attack against this program. First of all, it is proposing to cut former President Carter's 1982 budget appropriation for the disability fund from \$483 million to \$112 million. Second, it wants to sharply restrict eligibility requirements for Black Lung pensions, claiming that up to 88 percent of the applicants "were either not disabled or else could not be proved to have Black Lung disease."

The miners' strike has already forced some concessions from the Reagan government. A Department of Labor spokesperson told reporters the strike was the result of a "misunderstanding" and that miners will continue to receive their pensions. Meanwhile, the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources voted a token raise of Reagan's appropriation for the fund from \$112 million to \$149 million. Despite these concessions, the eligibility rights of Black Lung victims are still in danger, while sufficient funds to keep the pension program functioning for long are lacking. The miners' struggle to defend their pension rights is thus only beginning. Nevertheless, the miners' strike demonstrates that working people can in fact compel the Reagan administration to retreat by organizing militant actions in defense of their needs.

CWP, WWP Reag

On February 20, a formal debate on "Reagan, the Right and the Threat of Fascism" was held in Chicago sponsored by the Communist Workers Party (CWP), Workers World Party (WWP), the Revolutionary Socialist League. About 85 people attended.

THE DEBATE was a reflection of the fact that the three organizations had worked together in various anti-fascist activities. For example, last fall three groups were active in building a demonstration against the Nazis from march into West Englewood, a predominantly Black community in Chicago. The debate was seen as a way to clarify political differences among the groups, and to educate people in the anti-fascist movement about the nature of the fascist threat.

During their presentation the spokespeople of WWP, CWP put forward their views of what is going on in the world, along with pitches to join their respective organizations. In contrast, RSL spokesman Frank Hopkins focused on explaining a strategy for fighting the fascists. The essence of this strategy is to build a mass working class movement to fight the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist organizations. Aspects of this strategy are: 1) carrying out mass educational work among working class people about the nature of the Klan, including the need to build workers' defense guards; 2) confronting the fascists when they try to demonstrate; 3) winning workers' organizations (the trade unions) to the fascist fight; 4) striving to unite all working class oppressed people in the struggle, and 5) no reliance on the government and liberal capitalist politicians. In carrying out this work, Hopkins said, it is essential for revolutionary socialists to expose the need to fight for social revolution. Hopkins pointed out that the fascists are growing in the context of a general crisis of the capitalist system and that the fascist attacks hand in hand with the capitalists' attacks on working people. This is why the capitalist government protects the Klan.

A LARGE part of the formal debate centered on a discussion of the question of reliance on the government. Hopkins pointed out that three organizations sponsoring the debate understand that capitalism and the capitalist state are the main enemies of working class and oppressed people. Unfort-

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nately, Hopkins stated, both the CWP and WWP are inconsistent about actually explaining this to people in the anti-fascist struggle. As an example, Hopkins discussed the recent National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN) conference in Washington, D.C. All three organizations attended this conference. But when the NAKN leadership put forward a strategy of trying to get the government to declare a "state of emergency" against the Klan and to outlaw it, only the RSL fought this strategy and put forward a different one—to mobilize working class and oppressed people against the Klan.

HOPKINS explained that a "ban the Klan" strategy would mean suicide for the anti-fascist movement. Instead of a movement arming itself politically and otherwise to fight racist and anti-working class terror, the movement would be relying on the cops to "do their job." But the "job" the cops are generally doing these days is protecting the Klan and attacking Black and Latin people. Instead of building a movement that would organ-

ize workers to take direct action against the fascist threat, we'd end up with a movement that was begging Congress, the FBI and the police to "do something" while they and their Klan buddies are gunning down more and more Blacks and other people in the streets.

THE CWP HAD nothing to say to this, although their national newspaper, **Workers Viewpoint**, stated that they were mistaken in not putting forward a strategy that was different from the "ban the Klan" strategy of the NAKN leadership. It is unclear whether the CWP will be combatting illusions in the government in the future.

Workers World Party, on the other hand, tried to defend their role of doing nothing about the NAKN leadership's strategy of "going to the sharks to complain about the barracudas." WWP's speaker, Nancy Cohen, claimed that it was divisive to raise any differences or disagreements in the anti-fascist movement. This did not go over very well with the audience. The RSL pointed out that it's downright

destructive to refuse to tell the truth to a movement that is trying to decide the best way to fight the fascist threat.

A LESS lengthy debate occurred around how much of a threat the groups considered the fascists to be. WWP stated that the other organizations saw the Klan as more of a threat than they are. Cohen went on to claim that 99 percent of the people in the U.S. are against the fascists. The RSL replied that unfortunately, this just isn't the case; when Black children cannot walk the streets in Atlanta, there is a big problem and we have to do something about it. At that point, WWP stopped trying to claim that this isn't so.

There was also some debate on what we should be fighting for. The RSL believes that in order to convince people to fight the fascists and the capitalist system that creates them we have to put forward a positive vision of what socialism means for all of us. For the RSL this means that workers and all oppressed people should kick out the capitalists, break up their

state and build our own organizations to run the economy and the whole society. This means workers making a revolution themselves to win control over our own lives. This is what will end racism and exploitation for all time.

THE OTHER groups have no such notion. The CWP thinks their party should control the state and that's that. They even say that working class people don't even need to understand what they're fighting for, they should just trust the CWP.

WWP thinks that countries where property is nationalized are basically socialist—whether the workers control anything or not. As a result, when the Polish workers rise up against exploitation, as they are doing today, WWP ends up being more or less in favor of a Russian invasion to crush the workers' movement.

RSL speakers pointed out that most working people would very correctly have no interest in fighting for what WWP and the CWP want. People have had enough of this already. □

Poland

(Continued from page 10)

going on or is likely to happen in the immediate future in Poland. Nevertheless, it seems that the "honeymoon" between Jaruzelski and the labor movement is over. As we go to press, there are reports of a "strike alert" in Radom over 17 demands drawn up by the workers and local union chapter. According to today's **Washington Post**, these include: "the dismissals of the provincial police commander and his deputy, the local governor and provincial Communist Party leader... a halt to prosecution of detained political dissidents and... the turn over to hospitals and schools several buildings currently used by police." There are also reports of "local disputes" in Wroclaw, Suwalki, Mowj Sacz and Bielsko-Biala.

At the same time, Lech Walesa has had at least three meetings in recent days with Prime Minister Jaruzelski to figure out ways to end the strikes and strike threats in exchange for some concessions from the government. Indeed Walesa and the national leadership of Solidarnosc went so far as to denounce and disavow the threat of further strikes in Lodz before the government

promised to stop harassment of union organizers, ending that threat.

Workers won't play dead

To summarize the current situation: There is a widening breach between the union's national leadership and chunks of the union's chapters and membership, with Walesa and Co. increasingly

attempting to police the workers' movement in the hopes of making a deal with the government. The government, under clear pressure from the Russians to shift from a conciliatory policy to one emphasizing force, has meanwhile initiated a campaign of harassment of militants and dissidents, as well as taking other measures aimed at sapping the unity of the workers, farmers and student movement. For their part, the Russian state-capitalists are applying maximum pressure—including the recent "war games" but up to this writing short of invasion—to end what they view as the eco-

nomically and politically disastrous popular movement in Poland.

It is possible that the government with some help from Walesa will successfully defuse the current situation once again. But what they cannot do, despite all efforts, is convince the workers to roll over and play dead in the supposed interests of the country, since many workers understand that until they actually run Poland this means in the interests of the bureaucrats—the state-capitalist ruling class.

It appears, therefore, that a showdown is still looming in Poland. □

RSL DIRECTORY

NATIONAL OFFICE: PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116
(212) 695-6802

BOSTON

PO Box 114
Boston, MA 02166

CHICAGO

PO Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 226-5915

DETROIT

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

LOS ANGELES

Box 17241, Foy Station
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 385-6029

NEW ORLEANS

PO Box 15753
New Orleans, LA 70175

NEW YORK

PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116
(212) 695-6802

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Paul Benjamin, Susan Edmunds
William Falk, Ron Taber
Circulation Manager: Wayne Pierce
Production Manager: Lee Ramie
Production Staff: M. Evers,
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Plant Closings

(Continued from page 9)
rank and file.

We also need a Detroit-area conference to organize ourselves to fight further layoffs and concessions. If existing caucuses, militants and oppositionists, supporters of left organizations got together such a meeting could be organized. Publicity, leafletting, and so on could be done effectively to build for rank and file participation.

There are many different ideas on how to fight back and what measures we should fight for. A joint meeting would work out the ones we can agree to do together. We have several ideas for what this meeting could take up:

1) How to force the UAW to call an emergency conference

and to mobilize the rank and file. 2) A union educational campaign to counter the government/company anti-union propaganda campaign. 3) A citywide demonstration of autoworkers against the concessions. 4) A discussion of different solutions and programs on the fate of Chrysler and the auto industry.

Stop the anti-import campaign

There is one more thing that we would like to take up. The anti-Japanese import campaign is a cover-up. During the last two years the increase in imports has been small

compared to the number of layoffs. The companies are automating. They want to cut jobs by 50 percent between 1980 and 1995. In the next 10 years, 500,000 auto and auto-related jobs will be eliminated.

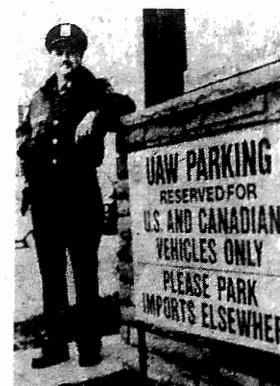
The anti-import campaign covers up the real attack on the workforce. It accepts the plant closings, the wage concessions, the speedup, the harassment. It leads us to fight the Japanese autoworkers instead of the U.S. companies. This is the same type of thinking as demanding old workers leave the plant, or wanting women, Black or Arab workers out to make demanding old workers leave the plant, or wanting women,

Black or Arab workers out to make room for white workers.

Auto production is more and more international. To have a chance against the auto companies, we need the greatest international solidarity and unity. Japanese autoworkers are not our enemy. But the anti-import campaign can only pit U.S. and Japanese autoworkers against each other. It tells each to ally with "his/her" auto company, not with other autoworkers. It sets autoworkers up for the real attack on our jobs.

We need to fight for international wage parity for all autoworkers and we need to protect all our jobs at the expense of profits. The more we fight the companies and the government for a real job saving program, the more we can prevent workers from turning on and blaming each

other. And the more we can protect all autoworkers' jobs and wages. □



As part of its "anti-import" campaign the UAW bans imported cars in some lots. This simply penalizes autoworkers who prefer gas-efficient imported cars.

'Black America'

(Continued from page 3)

the capitalists more of what they want. Reagan will be going after the weakest and least organized sections of the working class the hardest and first—and that means Blacks and other more oppressed sections of the working class. In this climate, right-wing hate and terror groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are growing stronger and more influential. The result is an atmosphere of racist terror. Today, Black children in Atlanta cannot safely walk the streets. Twenty-two children have been kidnapped. Twenty have been found dead.

One of the biggest failings of the NUL report is that it can't explain why these things are happening at this time. Quite a few times the report refers to conditions for Black people being somewhat better at the beginning of the '70s, and having gotten worse. Quite a few references are made to how helpful affirmative action programs had

turned out to be. But the NUL has no real explanation for why this is changing today. Why are the rights and needs of Black people being stripped away now?

The Urban League doesn't see that affirmative action and other gains for Black people were the result of a massive Black movement of the 1960s. This movement meant civil rights marches and sit-ins, it meant massive rebellions like the one in Detroit in 1967, and it meant the growth of many organizations—in the communities and in the workplaces.

The gains that Black people were able to make didn't come as a result of the Congress, the courts or the ruling class as a whole becoming nicer. Rather, it was all really a result of the fact that there were a whole lot of Black people who were willing to put up a fight for what they needed. These people were willing to go beyond what the capitalists, their government and their politicians say you

can and can't do in your struggle for justice. So when the capitalists couldn't stop the whole movement, they were forced to grant Black people some concessions.

The second thing that the NUL doesn't see is that the capitalist system used to be able to afford more concessions. The U.S. was very successful at exploiting large sections of the world. During President Johnson's administration in the mid-'60s, the government was saying that the U.S. economy was in its best shape ever. This meant that the capitalists had a little maneuvering room. They could afford Black people making some gains.

This is different today. The wealth that the system appeared to have yesterday was "borrowed" many times over from future profits. Now it's time to pay-up. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has lost some of its ability to exploit the world at will. Further, the whole world has gone into an economic crisis. There is no way today for the capitalists to keep their system above water without really coming down on working class and oppressed people.

In fact, our lives will more and more be up for grabs. The capitalists have to do this—they have no way out.

We, however, do have a way out. It will take some doing, but it can be done. The way out for working class and oppressed people is to build a revolutionary mass movement, to take power out of the hands of the capitalists and

their state through a socialist revolution and run society for ourselves. The way to end racism and economic crises is to end capitalism itself. The way to fight for total and lasting Black liberation and freedom for everybody is for the working class—Black, Latin, Asian, Native American and white—to take control of the whole society. □

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