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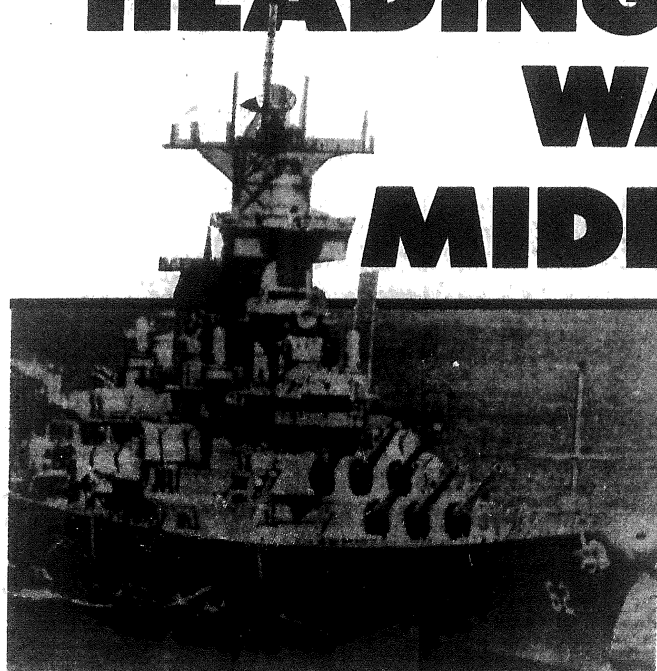
TORCH



NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

December 15, 1983-February 14, 1984/25¢

Reagan Escalates Shelling of Lebanon HEADING TOWARD WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?



The U.S. battleship New Jersey has constantly shelled Syrian and Druse Muslim positions in Lebanon.

By PAUL BENJAMIN

In the past few weeks, U.S. imperialism has escalated its political and military intervention in Lebanon and has brought the country and the entire Middle East region closer to a full-scale war. At the end of November, the Reagan

administration put aside its past differences with the Israeli government and proposed coordinated U.S.-Israeli efforts to maintain imperialist control over Lebanon. On November 29, after two days of talks with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, President Reagan announced the signing of a

"strategic accord" between the two countries.

The accord includes: 1) coordination of military plans and maneuvers by the two governments, including the stockpiling of U.S. arms in Israel for possible use by U.S. forces in the Middle East; 2) joint efforts to shore up the rightist, pro-Western regime of President Amin Gemayel in Lebanon; 3) a grant of \$1.4 billion in military aid for next year; and 4) massive U.S. economic aid to the beleaguered Israeli economy.

The purpose of this accord soon became clear. On December 3, Israeli planes bombed Syrian military positions in Lebanon. Less than 24 hours later, U.S. planes raided Syrian anti-aircraft installations in Lebanon. On December 4, Syrian troops shot down two U.S. aircraft, killing one U.S. airman and capturing another. Later that night, U.S. warships shelled Druse militia strongholds near Beirut after four Marines from the U.S. "peacekeeping" force in Beirut were killed during a clash between the Druse militia and Lebanese army forces. While both U.S. and Israeli spokespersons insisted that the timing of the air raids was a "coincidence," both expressed confidence that such military

pressure would force Syrian President Hafiz el-Assad and his Lebanese allies to the bargaining table.

Since those attacks, the level of fighting in Lebanon has increased. Clashes have broken out between U.S. Marines and Druse militia, and between the Lebanese army and various armed Muslim opponent groups around Beirut. U.S. warships shelled Syrian positions again on December 13, allegedly in response to attacks on U.S. reconnaissance planes. In northern Lebanon, Israeli ships and planes have attacked bases of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at Tripoli. Meanwhile, fighting has continued between PLO forces loyal to Yasir Arafat and PLO oppositionists supported by Syria.

In addition to solidifying U.S. relations with Israel, the Reagan administration also took steps to stiffen the resolve of Lebanese President Gemayel. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Gemayel, frustrated by the impasse in Lebanon, was moving toward acceptance of a "special relationship" with Syria and even a role for the Russian government in Lebanese peace negotiations as the only means to secure his

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Greyhound Workers Ratify New Contract

Greyhound bus drivers, ticket agents and bag handlers, on strike for nearly seven weeks, ratified a new pact on December 19 that includes a 7.8 percent wage cut and other concessions. The 12,700 striking Greyhound workers had earlier rejected a company proposal calling for an even larger cut by an overwhelming vote of 9,181 to 325. The new contract was approved by a 74 percent yes vote.

Many Greyhound workers expressed dissatisfaction with the company's latest offer, but faced increasing pressure from their own union, the Amalgamated Council of Greyhound Local Unions, to end the strike.

The workers shut down Greyhound on November 3, after union leaders rejected the company's takeover de-

mands. Management had demanded that workers accept a 9.5 percent wage cut and other givebacks adding up to a 25 percent cut in total wages and benefits. Greyhound Corporation spokespersons claimed wage cuts were necessary because the company's bus division has lost \$16 million in 1982, and was facing increased competition from other companies and discount airlines. But its "statistics" were actually calculated to mislead the public and isolate the workers. In fact, the Greyhound Corporation earned \$103.1 million in 1982. And the bus division was rebounding from its 1982 losses—caused by a decline in riders due to the recession, not "high labor costs"—and actually earned about \$5 million in profits through the first nine months of 1983.

On November 17, Greyhound tried to break the strike by using scab drivers to resume bus service on selected routes. In response to this union-busting tactic, workers around the country joined mass picket lines set up by the strikers to stop the buses. Thousands turned out to support the Greyhound workers in cities from Philadelphia to Seattle, in some cases forcing buses to go back for repairs and, in some cases, notably Phil-

adelphia, forcing the company to stop service entirely. Battles broke out between pickets and police protecting the scabs in Boston, San Francisco and other cities.

But the Greyhound workers' struggle against the company was undermined by the actions of their own union leaders and the top brass of the AFL-CIO.

(Continued on page 4)

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Group fights brutal Turkish regime

Dear Torch,

Solidarity Committee With the People of Turkey (SCPT) is a San Francisco-based, multi-national organization formulated to expose to the American masses the savagery of the present Turkish government in its exploitation of the Turkish populace, including the oppressed Kurdish people.

The Turkish junta's collaborators are many, including the Kohl government of West Germany, which has for many years been deporting Turkish/Kurdish immigrants back to Turkey. It so happens that these Turkish immigrants of the working class primarily are political activists protesting U.S. imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie of Turkey. These working class Turks face certain harassment, imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the anti-proletarian government of the Turkish generals.

SCPT has many functions, including establishing educational classes on the nature of the Turkish junta. One class was on the subject of whether Turkey was a military state or a fascist state; another class dealt with nationalism in Turkey, which included reports from the minorities from within Turkey (i.e., Kurdish and Armenian).

On November 21, 1983, at 11:30 a.m., a demonstration was held at the German Consulate (located at 601 California St., San Francisco) to protest the Kohl government's deportation of Turkish workers. There were approximately 20 people in attendance and comrades protested the German government's bloody hands in the murder of Kemal Altun, a Turkish immigrant in Germany, who jumped to his death from an administration building of the German government, rather than face the vengeance of the barbarous generals of the Turkish junta. We also protested the Turkish government's complicity in setting up an "independent" Turkish state, with allegiance to the Turkish generals in Ankara, in Northern Cyprus.

Messages of solidarity were given by comrades from the Proletarian Tasks Tendency, an Iranian independent, Revolutionary Socialist League, Revolutionary Workers League and a representative of the Solidarity Committee With the People of Turkey. About 15 groups endorsed the demonstration, including the Iranian Students Association and the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Chants included: "Kohl/Zimmerman (German interior minister—Ed.) Have Blood on Their Hands," "Hands Off Kurdish People," and "Stop Racist Immigration Laws."

If you would like to subscribe to our Newsletter or to

receive further information on the work of SCPT, please write to us at: **Khadija Ashraffi, Solidarity Committee With the People of Turkey, PO Box 5584, San Francisco, CA 94104.** Also, we are in dire need of contributions as we are a poor organization. Please make checks out to Solidarity Committee With the People of Turkey, and mail to the above address. We would greatly appreciate this.

**Khadija Ashraffi
SCPT**

Anti-war movement must be anti-imperialist

Dear Torch readers,

If you missed the Nov. 12th anti-war march on Washington, D.C., it was the beginning of a new coalition of peace groups and young activists. The march was the culmination of months of work of CISPES activists, religious peace groups, student and left organizations. In Chicago we sent nine buses to Washington, and sold \$3,200 of buttons at the rally to cover our costs.

But the politics of the whole day were very liberal and similar to the Vietnam War protests. "Stop U.S. Intervention"

sounds a lot like "Out Now." In the Vietnam War protests the leadership wanted to keep the revolutionary views out. "Stop U.S. Imperialism" was rejected and the movement remained single-issue.

Is the movement again going to be single-issue? On the speakers' program the national organizers of Nov. 12th had agreed that part of one speech would address the issue of Lebanon. At the last minute they reversed their support for a coalition speaker to call for the "U.S. Out of Lebanon."

It was a slap in the face to the large, militant U.S. Out of Lebanon contingent. But more importantly, it weakened the Central American solidarity movement by keeping it a separate issue. The issues of Central America and Lebanon are all part of the same capitalist crisis that is attacking U.S. workers' wages, busting unions, and cutting social programs.

The movement is doomed if we don't explain why the U.S. military invades to control and exploit the poor countries as in Central America today or Vietnam 15 years ago. Working class people must know why the U.S. backs dictators like Gemayel in Lebanon. Or why the U.S. government is trying to overthrow governments like Chile in 1973, or today in Nicaragua. And further, why does the U.S. Congress still give money to the death squad government in El Salvador?

It's not just the bad guys who keep getting elected, but it's the system. Both the Democrats and Republicans do what is in the best interest of the capitalist system, not in the interests of what working and poor people want. Clearly, Reagan's view of national interests is not the same as the workers and oppressed people see it.

To tell working people and oppressed people in the U.S. what's going on we need to explain how our class interests are with the defeat of the U.S. imperialists. Workers here and in El Salvador and in Palestine

are fighting for the same things in life. Poor people under U.S. imperialist domination are in fact our allies. They want decent pay, schools, housing and freedom.

On Nov. 12th at least one contingent was needed to march through the Black community speaking about working class solidarity with oppressed people. Also, at least one speech was needed to go beyond words of sympathy for these heroic struggles, and show how all liberation struggles are part of the same fight.

I hope the next anti-war march will speak about workers' solidarity and unite us with all the anti-imperialist struggles. Our movement will grow more powerful when workers and oppressed join the fight of the Third World to be free of exploitation and domination by the super powers and have a world free of imperialists and war.

**Dave Warrea
Chicago**

The myth of Haile Selassie

Dear Torch,

In your Sept.-Nov. 1983 issue of Torch, Ian Daniels in his article entitled "Famine in Ethiopia" made a statement I was extremely disturbed by: "The responsibility for loss of life [in Ethiopia] in 1973-74 lay in large part with the incompetence and corruption of the semi-feudal government of Emperor Haile Selassie..." Until then I had heard only the highest praise of Emperor Haile Selassie and was therefore quite taken aback by this tremendous, overwhelming difference of opinion.

Please send me any and all information you have concerning the Emperor Haile Selassie.
**David L. Ayala
Fox Lake, WI**

Ian Daniels replies:

Friend Ayala raises a commonly held belief about former Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. There are in fact two myths about Haile Selassie, both of which are entirely false. The first of these is that propagated by the Rastafarian religion, which reveres Selassie as a near-god. The Rastafarians view Selassie as a symbol of Black or African power against corrupt and decadent Western society, Babylon, and a symbol of pride in the ability of Black people to rule their own country independently. The second is the liberal myth, that Haile Selassie was a civilized, dignified, peace-loving and just ruler of his people; that he followed an independent policy in world affairs, and was

a spokesperson for the cause of African independence. The truth is something far different.

Haile Selassie came to power in Ethiopia in the 1920s. Ethiopia was then a semi-feudal country, and was the last country in Africa to hang on to its independence from European colonialism. It maintained this independence by subjugating neighboring peoples and attempting to show the European colonial powers that it was a contender for power in eastern Africa. When the League of Nations betrayed the Ethiopian people by allowing Italian fascism to conquer the country in 1936, Haile Selassie fled to Europe, where he began to look for new allies.

He found them in British imperialism. Selassie returned to Ethiopia behind British tanks. Many of the minority nationality peoples of Ethiopia—such as the Tigreans and Oromos—who were in fact oppressed by the ruling Amhara nationality, didn't want to stop at liberation from Italian colonialism, and rebelled against a return to Selassie's rule. Selassie had the rebellions crushed by the British. After the Second World War was over, and the spoils of Italian colonialism were to be divided up, Selassie received the territory of Eritrea, which had been subjugated by Italy some 50 years before. Eritrea, which had not previously been part of Ethiopia, was developing an independence movement of its own, which Selassie did his damnedest to crush.

During the last decades of his reign, Selassie became a valuable ally of the United States. His conservative rule was seen as a bulwark against the rising tide of more radical nationalism in the region. And the millions of dollars worth of aid he received did nothing to better the lives of his subjects, who still lived in harsh, primitive conditions. Illiteracy was incredibly high, disease rampant with almost no medical care available; near-slavery existed in rural areas. When the deadly famine of the early '70s hit Ethiopia, Selassie did his utmost to keep knowledge of the tremendous suffering from world relief agencies and from the population of Ethiopia's unaffected regions.

Despite the eventual tragic end of the revolution, the overthrow of Selassie's semi-feudal rule in 1974 was a step in the right direction toward the liberation of the peoples of Ethiopia and the region. (A more detailed position paper on the Ethiopian Revolution, entitled "State Capitalism in Ethiopia: The Triumph of Counterrevolution" is available for \$1 plus postage from RSL, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.) Selassie in fact served to strengthen the influence of imperialism over African people, and his own U.S.- and Israeli-supplied military machine kept the African peoples of the region from determining their own destinies. And as for his "civilized" nature, as hundreds of thousands of his people died of disease and starvation, goes one story, Selassie sat amidst his jewels and his gold, feeding steak to the royal dogs.

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Central America: U.S. Invasion Threat Lessens — For Now

Troops of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua defeated attempts of U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries ("contras") to seize and hold a town on the Atlantic Coast late this past November. The insurgent groups were apparently trying to set the stage for the establishment of a pro-U.S. provisional government inside Nicaragua. They chose the Atlantic Coast because the Sandinista government's policies toward the two national minorities who live there—English-speaking Blacks and Miskito Indians—has caused a lot of resentment in the region.

Soon after the defeat of the contras, the *Washington Post* reported that the CIA had concluded that the contras will not be able to establish a viable government in Nicaragua even if U.S. aid to them, which now totals \$50 million each year and includes CIA tactical advice, is increased.

At the same time, recent developments in Costa Rica, El Salvador and Guatemala make it less likely that those countries will provide troops for an invasion of Nicaragua at the present time. In Costa Rica, a section of the ruling class has pulled back from pro-U.S. policies, fearing that involvement in the U.S. attempts to subjugate the rest of Central America will end up by destabilizing Costa Rica itself. On November 17, Luis Alberto Monge, the president of Costa Rica, declared his country's "perpetual, active and un-



U.S. helicopters during recent military maneuvers in Honduras. The U.S. is using Honduras as the staging ground for a possible invasion of Nicaragua.

armed neutrality" and soon after forced the foreign minister, who is close to the U.S., to resign. Costa Rican politicians are now bitterly divided into "doves," grouped around the president, and "hawks," grouped around U.S. Amba-

sador Curtin Winsor. Winsor doesn't even pretend to stay aloof from domestic politics and regularly holds meetings of the hawk faction at the embassy.

In El Salvador, recent successes by the

liberation forces make it wildly unlikely that the Salvadorean Army could participate in an invasion of Nicaragua. Casualties now run about 100 a week and desertions and non-re-enlistments are several times that number. Many of the troops trained in the U.S. or in Honduras are now leaving the army by one route or another. Loss of weapons is also still running very high (they are sold or leave with deserters). The military setbacks have added fuel to a political crisis within the ruling class. By the beginning of December there was open talk in San Salvador of a coup by right-wingers against the right-center government the U.S. has put together there. General Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez and Roberto D'Aubuisson were both mentioned as possible coup leaders. Death squads began killing prominent pro-U.S. moderates and centrist political figures. Just to maintain the status quo, the Reagan administration began to denounce the right-wing death squads for the first time.

Meanwhile, in Guatemala, the head of the government, Brigadier General Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores, forced four former president-generals to quit the army so as to eliminate them as potential rivals. But the recent murders of four members of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Franciscan superior of Antigua Guatemala by government troops loyal to the far right now make it politically difficult for Reagan to resume large shipments of military equipment to Victores. One of the problems facing the U.S. in creating a unified multi-national force to invade Nicaragua is that Guatemala is armed with Israeli weapons and adopted Israeli advice in setting up its army, while the other countries use U.S. equipment and organization.

During the same period of time the direct military pressure has eased off, the Sandinista government has carried out a series of measures seemingly aimed at appeasing the U.S. The leaders of the FMLN (Frente Farabundo Martí para Liberación Nacional—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front), the Salvadorean liberation coalition, were told to move their headquarters out of Nicaragua. About 2,000 Cuban advisers also left Nicaragua in early December. At the same time, censorship of the main opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, has been relaxed and the government has gone out of its way to open a discussion with sections of the Roman Catholic hierarchy who have been critical of their rule. In addition, an amnesty plan was announced December 4 which would allow members of the contra bands and other exiles to return to Nicaragua. Dates for elections are expected to be announced in January.

The Reagan administration, however, has indicated that while it is pleased at the Sandinista moves, it is not prepared to discuss peace with the Nicaraguan government at this time. □

ONE-PARTY STATE IN JAMAICA

By WILLIAM FALK

A crisis of the Jamaican political system has radically changed the situation in that country. The next issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha* will have a report and analysis from our sister organization, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (RML). Until then, here, in brief, is what happened:

1) One effect of Jamaica's participation in the invasion of Grenada was to temporarily increase the popularity of the right-wing prime minister, Edward Seaga, and his Jamaica Labour Party. After one anti-invasion demonstration (at the University of the West Indies), for example, comrades of the RML reported that the right-wing atmosphere was so strong that a second demonstration was not planned by any group. (In a related development, Jamaica's pro-Cuba, pro-Russia group, the Workers Party of Jamaica, was shaken by the Grenada events because its leadership was politically and personally close to the Coard faction of the New Jewel Movement, the faction that shot Maurice Bishop.)

Seaga did his part to keep the atmosphere heated with wild accusations that the (ancient and pitiful) weapons found in Grenada were being stockpiled to "destroy Jamaica" and that there was a leftist plot afoot to murder members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and by expelling three of the Russian diplomatic corps on the grounds that they were KGB agents.

2) In late November, negotiations between the Jamaican government and the International Monetary Fund came to a conclusion. In a return to the pattern of the 1972-80 administration of

Michael Manley and his People's National Party (PNP), the IMF board judged that Jamaica had failed to meet its loan conditions over the past period, and made devaluation of the Jamaican dollar a condition for a new 15-month loan. The devaluation announced November 23 was from an official exchange rate of \$1 Jamaican = 56 cents U.S. to a rate of \$1 Jamaican = 32 cents U.S.

This will raise the price of nearly all goods, including food, and amounts to an across-the-board pay cut of over 40 percent for all workers. The total effects of the change are not immediate, however, both because of the normal delay in the market and because the government plans to subsidize the prices of basic foodstuffs.

3) As the new IMF conditions were revealed, the opposition PNP, which had eight seats in the 60-person parliament, called for Seaga to give up the job of finance minister, which he holds in addition to his jobs of prime minister, defense minister and minister of culture. Seaga used this call as an excuse to call a snap election for December 15. The election was announced November 25 and nominations to run as a candidate had to be completed and submitted by November 29. Seaga wanted the election to take place while the right-wing climate created by the Grenada invasion still lingered but before the chill of the devaluation was felt.

He called the election despite a promise to the PNP to wait until new voter registration rolls were created. The list of voters now is the same one used in 1980. People who have died or left the country since then are still on it. Most important, young people who have become old enough to vote since

then—and who are more likely to vote PNP than JLP—are not. In 1980, the election was postponed several times at the insistence of the JLP, until new voter registration lists were ready.

4) The PNP announced on November 29 that it would not run in the elections. The main reason for the boycott, according to PNP leader Manley, was the JLP's refusal to delay elections until a new voter list and a new voter identification system were drawn up.

Manley announced that party members will be chosen to represent each constituency and that the PNP will hold monthly meetings in a Kingston hotel to express its views and maintain a public presence.

5) On November 30, 54 JLP members were declared elected to parliament because no one was nominated to oppose them. On December 15, elections were held in six constituencies where minor party candidates had been nominated to run against the JLP. Voter turnout was about 45 percent of the registered voters, half of what is normal in Jamaica. As expected, the six JLP candidates won, and Jamaica now has a one-party government. □

To Our Readers

This issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha* is dated December 15, 1983-February 15, 1984. We are skipping our January 15 issue because the RSL national office will be moving to a new location during the month of January.

Readers will also note that we have reduced the size of our English section of the paper this month to allow for publication of an 8-page special supplement on the Central American Revolution and the U.S. Solidarity Movement in *La Antorcha*.

Taylor family fights Alabama racism

On November 27, a partial victory was won by a Black family charged with attempted murder for resisting a nighttime invasion of their home by Montgomery, Alabama, plain-clothes cops. After a 13-day trial, Worrie Taylor, 49, remained free when a hung jury caused a mistrial.

The charges against Worrie Taylor stem from events last February 27. Over 30 women, men and children had gathered in a Montgomery home for the funeral of one of their family, Mrs. Annie Bell Taylor. Christopher Taylor, 21 years old, and visiting from Michigan, was outside the house when two white men pulled up, called "Come here, n-----," and tried to shove him into their car.

Christopher ran toward the house. The two men followed and began shooting. Christopher reached safety inside—but the two whites, their guns drawn, kicked open the door and burst into the house. The Taylor family defended itself, knifing one of the invaders in the neck, hands and head, and subduing both of them enough to prevent any shooting. The Taylors immediately called the police.

The two invaders, however, proved to be Montgomery police officers Leslie Brown and Edward B. Spivey. When the uniformed police showed up, they attacked the Taylors, arrested 11 of them and beat them in the city jail until they had several confessions.

Besides Worrie Taylor, Christopher Taylor also faces attempted murder charges, as does Elbert Taylor (who, like Worrie Taylor, is from Warren, Ohio), William J. Taylor Sr., 47 (of Pontiac, Michigan), and Larry G. Hill, 28 (also from Pontiac).

The police now say that they originally stopped Christopher because the "shiny new cars with out-of-state plates in front of their rundown shack" led them to think the Taylor's were involved in drugs, gambling or prostitution. Several of the Michigan Taylors have jobs in the auto industry, and several Ohio Taylors have jobs in steel.

Worrie Taylor is accused not

only of knifing Spivey, but of shooting Brown. Brown was hit in the chest and left hip as he left the Taylor house by bullets fired from a standard police revolver. Apparently, one of the uniformed cops mistook him in the dark for a Taylor.

Hundreds of Black people in Montgomery have rallied to support the Taylors and a local defense committee has raised over \$40,000. On the other side, Montgomery police have also made the case a focus of attention. Dozens of off-duty cops and the deputy chief of police attended Worrie Taylor's trial each day. Montgomery Mayor Emory Folmar also showed up.

The government's case had many obvious markings of perjury and fraud. The gun that fired shots at Brown was "never found" by the police, two tape recording machines that should have recorded the Taylors' call to the police emergency number reportedly "malfunctioned" that night, and the first official statement on the incident by uniformed police "disappeared." The jailhouse confessions were thrown out of court when clear evidence of the beatings was presented.

It is probable that Worrie Taylor will soon be retried. Christopher Taylor is currently in Michigan where he is fighting extradition to Alabama.

—WF

Davis garment workers' strike continues

LOS ANGELES—On Sunday, December 4, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) on strike against Southern California Davis Pleating Company joined over 4,000 other union workers at a rally against concessions and givebacks as part of Davis workers' attempt to build support for their strike by supporting other striking workers. This rally, called primarily to support UAW workers on strike against the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, also drew striking Greyhound workers, striking Continental pilots and flight attendants, striking PATCO workers, postal workers and UAW workers from other aerospace compa-



Davis garment workers in Los Angeles joined with striking workers from other unions in December 4 rally calling for joint struggle against concessionary management demands.

nies. The many speakers called on workers to resist concessions through united actions.

ILGWU organizer Cristina Ramirez-Vázquez spoke for many when she said, "When the boss says, 'giveback, giveback, giveback,' we say 'strike! strike! strike!'"

This rally was just one of the activities Davis workers have participated in during their three and a half month strike.

On Sunday, November 20, over 150 Davis strikers, workers from other ILGWU shops, Greyhound strikers and others demonstrated against Davis owner Eugene Davis at his home in Brentwood, a wealthy area of Los Angeles. Workers chanted "No contract, no work," "The workers united will never be defeated," and "We're a lot and we will be more" (Somos un chingo y seremos más), among many militant chants. Some workers brought an effigy of boss Davis holding a whip and another effigy of a woman garment worker sewing at her machine to further dramatize how boss Davis exploits workers.

Davis workers have been on strike since August 10 when Eugene Davis and co-owner Lloyd Klein broke off contract negotiations, demanding that Davis workers take a 20 percent pay cut, lose two weeks vacation and four holidays, give up the seniority and cost of living clauses in their contract and submit to forced overtime. The bosses also demanded the right to subcontract work.

Since the strike began, Davis workers and their supporters have picketed daily at the Davis factory. They have also set up picket lines at many of the factories that send unfinished garments to Davis for pleating. Many of these picket lines have been successful in stopping unfinished garments from being

sent to Davis. Plans are also underway to send union members to picket out-of-state Davis suppliers.

Davis workers are not well paid—their average hourly wage is \$4.50-\$5. But that didn't stop bosses Klein and Davis from trying to weaken their union. Klein and Davis saw how the government busted the air traffic controllers' union. They saw Continental Airlines fire striking pilots and flight attendants and get away with it. They see how Greyhound is trying to break a strike by hiring scab drivers. So Klein and Davis are trying similar tactics in the Davis strike.

But Davis workers do not intend to try and win alone. The ILGWU has already asked for support from other labor and community organizations. Davis workers have taken part in strike support rallies along with UAW and Greyhound workers. This is the kind of unity that is needed to force bosses Klein and Davis to negotiate a decent contract. If you can help, call the union at (213) 629-1151.

—Judy Garson

Ohio Chrysler strikers win gains

TWINSBURG, Ohio—Members of UAW Local 122, Chrysler Twinsburg Stamping plant workers, ratified a local contract after a six-day strike that nearly shut down Chrysler Corporation.

Under the new contract, workers will get every third

weekend off, giving them relief from the killing mandatory overtime they have faced for the last six months. In addition, over 69 other issues were resolved, including more janitors, improved health and safety restrictions, some control over job placement and changes in the disciplinary procedures.

While the Twinsburg workers claim they didn't get all they wanted, their strike forced Chrysler to give concessions in a period when they are trying to take some—particularly on the mandatory overtime issue. Chrysler has instituted a policy of forced overtime throughout its plants. They don't have to pay extra money out for benefits over 40 hours a week and they are trying to force the workers now employed to work as many as 70 hours a week, instead of calling some of the thousands of laid-off UAW members back to work. Any kind of restriction on forced overtime is a step forward for autoworkers.

Despite what the news media tried to portray, the Twinsburg strikers were supported by other Chrysler workers. Even though many workers are volunteering for overtime—none want forced overtime. The "new" Chrysler Corporation instituted forced overtime along with thousands of job eliminations, stepped-up disciplinary procedures and an absentee policy that is barbaric according to most Chrysler workers. Workers at Twinsburg blew Chrysler "plans" to the wind and were an inspiration to all autoworkers. While we can be sure that the corporation will reorganize its production so that they will not be threatened like this again, Twinsburg strikers showed that UAW Chrysler workers can only be pushed so far before they fight to defend their rights.

—Ronnie Lucas

Executions

On December 14, the government of Louisiana murdered Robert Wayne Williams in an electric chair. On December 15, the government of Georgia killed John Smith. Earlier, on November 30, the state of Florida ended the life of Robert Sullivan. There are now 1,268 prisoners on death row. There were five executions in 1983; over 40 are expected in 1984; possibly over a hundred in 1985. The U.S. is joining South Africa and China as the world's leading executioners.

Greyhound...

(Continued from page 1)

While the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) continued to hold mass rallies in some locations, it opposed any mass mobilization to stop the buses. And while the AFL-CIO officially called for a Greyhound bus boycott, there is evidence that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and his top associates were

anxious to bring a quick end to the strike. As a result of the combined pressure of the Greyhound management and the labor bureaucracy—and their own reluctance to mobilize for an all-out fight against the company—on December 4, ATU negotiators accepted a contract proposal that eliminated some company demands but included the 7.8

percent wage cut and other concessions already rejected by the workers. Many Greyhound workers opposed this new proposal but, with lack of support from their own union and the AFL-CIO as a whole, concluded that they had no choice other than to vote it up.

Stories have appeared in the press suggesting that both ATU officials and AFL-CIO leaders feared a long strike would lead to "violence" that would provoke popular opposition to both the Greyhound strikers and the entire labor

movement. But the events of the strike show that labor leaders who use these arguments are turning reality upside down to avoid fighting the capitalists. It was precisely the militancy of the Greyhound strikers that inspired other workers to support their struggle and opened the possibility of a mass workers' campaign to defeat Greyhound. And it is precisely the weak-kneed conservatism of the labor bureaucracy that is driving workers away from the union movement and leading them into defeat after defeat. □

THE DEBATE OVER 'THE DAY AFTER'

By WAYNE GORDON

"The Day After," ABC's TV movie about the horrors of nuclear war, attracted around 100 million viewers. Some 50 million stayed to watch the following discussion by a panel of "experts."

Not surprisingly, the show was denounced beforehand by leaders of the far right, such as William F. Buckley, Jerry Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly. The Young Americans for Freedom picketed ABC and the Moral Majority threatened a boycott of the movie's advertisers.

The show was also denounced by prominent conservatives who are not of the far right. Henry Kissinger condemned it as "simplistic." The New York Times pontificated: "One could argue that humanism in the contemplation of war can breed pacifism, which may only render democracies vulnerable and thus invite war.... Portraying war as horrible...arouses widespread fear, [but] there is no basis for believing that frightened societies behave wisely, or even peaceably." (11/22/83)

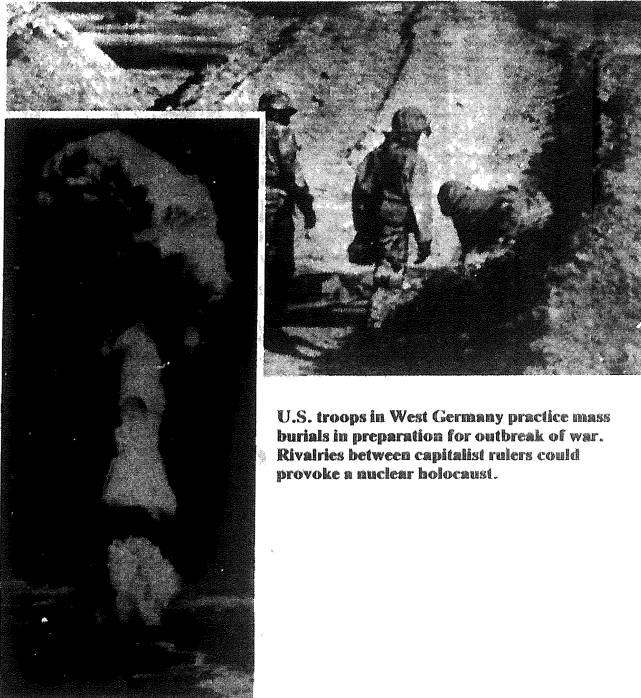
The attitude of the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy was reflected in a statement by Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers: "The Day After...says that deterrence, a tough stand by the West, doesn't prevent war—war comes anyway, with nightmarish results.... It comes as close as it can to saying that the efforts of the West to preserve democratic freedoms lead to nuclear war...." (New York Times, 11/20/83)

These conservatives object to telling U.S. citizens that deterrence—peace by mutual threats of nuclear war—can end up in the very war it is supposed to prevent. Indeed, if people remember that nothing is perfect and nothing lasts forever, they might realize that deterrence must fail sooner or later, that unless there is disarmament there will be a nuclear holocaust.

The conservative spokespersons do not want people to realize that an exchange of nuclear missiles would not be a "war" like World War II, with one side winning and even the losing side rebuilding itself over time. In a nuclear war, there would be no winners and no rebuilding; civilization would be destroyed and all human life may be ended. If enough people realized this, they might stop supporting the military efforts of U.S. capitalism. That is what the conservatives are afraid of and why they opposed showing "The Day After."

Liberals want 'arms control' not disarmament

Most of capitalism's supporters did not take this conservative line. "The Day After" was widely reported on and praised. After all, ABC is a big corporation and its executives would not have produced the film if they thought it was against the interests of the capitalist system. ABC reflected the views of the more or less liberal wing of the capitalist class and its politicians. They are worried about a slide toward nuclear war under President Reagan. They do not trust Reagan, who has opposed every arms control treaty negotiated by previous administrations, and whose officials have talked loosely about "winning" nuclear wars. They are also upset about the huge federal budget deficit created in large part by Reagan's



U.S. troops in West Germany practice mass burials in preparation for outbreak of war. Rivalries between capitalist rulers could provoke a nuclear holocaust.

massive military buildup. The deficit threatens to destroy the recent economic upturn. For such reasons, the liberals want to arouse the U.S. population about the dangers of nuclear extermination, in order to put pressure on the government.

While they do not want nuclear war, the liberals do not call for disarmament. The establishment liberals do not call for all nations to find a way to get rid of nuclear and conventional weapons. On the contrary, their program is "arms control." The arms race is not supposed to stop, but to be channeled into "safer" directions, agreed upon by both sides. Deterrence by mutual terror is not supposed to end, but to be made more "stable." Since the early 1960s, the Soviet Union and the United States have made several "arms control" agreements, such as the Test Ban Treaty and SALT I. In the same 20 years, the number of nuclear warheads held by the two superpowers has gone from about 2,000 to 40,000. Clearly, arms control is not disarmament.

The program of arms control but not disarmament was recently stated by Robert McNamara, Secretary of "Defense" under Kennedy and Johnson: "We live in a world of 40,000 nuclear warheads.... Even the most optimistic arms negotiators would not believe that this total could be reduced by more than 50 percent in the next 10 to 15 years. Therefore, we and our children and our children's children will be living in a world with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons—a few hundred of which could destroy Western civilization for decades to come."

"Neither side wants war with the other. But deterrence may fail.... We must act to reduce that risk." (Newsweek, 12/5/83)

McNamara repeated this statement on the panel following "The Day After." Other arms control "experts," such as Henry Kissinger and Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, agreed with it. The very composition of the panel reflected an anti-disarmament program. Of six pan-

elists, three were the just mentioned "experts" (Kissinger and McNamara are also war criminals whose bombings of the Vietnamese at least make them experts in mass murder). Of these, McNamara was the liberal (he advocates a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, a U.S. promise not to strike first with nuclear weapons, etc.).

The panel also included a far right ideologue, William F. Buckley, and Elie Wiesel, an authority on Nazi genocide. Carl Sagan, the astronomer and TV lecturer on science, was the only panelist who argued for disarmament. The others ignored him as much as possible.

There were no panelists from the anti-war movement. Representatives of the Freeze organizations had sent a telegram to ABC declaring that "...in this historically important discussion, we must not limit debate and exclude points of view like that of the Freeze Campaign." They were ignored.

That ABC excluded representatives of the disarmament movement, even of its most moderate and popular wing (the Freeze), had to be a deliberate decision. They did not want to discuss disarmament. Several times McNamara, Kissinger, Scowcroft, and the moderator Ted Koppel stated that disarmament was impossible and only arms control was a "realistic" goal. Koppel and others pointed out that even if the nations disarmed, there would still remain the knowledge of how to make nuclear weapons. Whenever international tensions became too high, the governments were sure to rebuild the bombs.

After the TV movie, this point of view was emphasized by the capitalist media. Time magazine, for example, declared: "There is one given in the debate: nuclear weapons cannot be disinventured, so ways must be found to ensure that they are never used." (12/5/83) Newsweek commented: "Even with a will to disarm, there may never be a way to do it completely.... Nuclear arsenals cannot be eliminated in the foreseeable future...." (12/5/83)

What a damning indictment of the

capitalist system! These leading spokespersons for the U.S. establishment, liberal and conservative, state that the system cannot provide disarmament and world peace. As McNamara said: "We and our children and our children's children will be living in a world with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons..." with no way out. What more could revolutionary socialists say to condemn world capitalism?

Capitalist system breeds war

Revolutionary socialists agree that it is the conflicts between the governments which are the cause of the threat of war, not the nuclear bombs. It is because of the international conflicts that the bombs were built, and it will only be possible to have worldwide disarmament when we have a society without rivalry, competition, domination and aggression among nations. The apologists for capitalism say that this is impossible. Cynically they tell us to accept a world system that threatens our extermination. But we do not have to accept it. The working people of the U.S. have no interest in dominating the world or threatening to destroy other nations. The working people of the Russian empire have no interest in exploiting other peoples or invading their lands. If working people got rid of the capitalist minority which rules the U.S. and the state-capitalist bureaucracy which runs the Soviet Union, together they could create a free, cooperative, and democratic world system which had no need for nuclear terror.

Because they are committed to the capitalist system, the establishment liberals oppose disarmament as much as the conservatives. The liberals and Democrats condemn Reagan's militarism, but they too intend to keep up the arms race. That would be consistent with recent history. The last Democratic administration, under Jimmy Carter, began the program of placing Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, began the MX missile program, tried to begin building the neutron bomb, set up the present military junta in El Salvador, tried to get other Latin American countries to invade Nicaragua, did invade Iran, revived registration for the draft, and boosted the entire military budget. Reagan's policies are merely an extension of Carter's.

Right now Carter's vice president, Walter Mondale, is running for president as a "peace candidate." He claims to be both for the Freeze and for a "strong military." Whatever he promises, if elected, he would continue the military policies of Carter and Reagan. Perhaps he will call McNamara back to office in order to explain to the public why disarmament is impossible.

The liberals, such as those responsible for "The Day After," want to arouse people about the dangers of nuclear annihilation—to arouse them enough so that they will put pressure on the government for arms control, but not so much that they will go beyond the limits of the conservative-liberal debate. The conservatives are afraid that an aroused people may realize that the capitalist world system cannot provide peace and disarmament. Revolutionary socialists try to persuade working people that the only way to disarmament is for the workers to disarm and overthrow the governments. □

Heading Toward War in the Middle East?

(Continued from page 1)

power. To forestall this, Gemayel was promised additional military and economic aid when he visited the U.S. on December 1. A "senior U.S. official" told reporters that the Lebanese leader was advised to demonstrate "self-confidence" by "moving troops into the unoccupied and the occupied areas of the country." But Gemayel was warned that the U.S. had "no magic wand" to achieve the withdrawal of Syrian troops who have occupied parts of Lebanon for years, and was advised to broaden his regime by inviting some Lebanese opposition leaders presently allied with Syria into his government.

These diplomatic and military actions reveal both the strengths and weaknesses of U.S. policy in Lebanon. The U.S.—and Israel—enjoy an enormous military superiority over the Syrian government and its allies in Lebanon. But they have been unable to translate their military advantage into political gains because of the weakness of the Gemayel government and the political inability (which may be temporary) of the U.S. to step up its direct military involvement in the country. The Reagan administration cannot suppress the Druse and other Muslim militias without risking a long, drawn out Vietnam-type guerrilla war that would provoke a political uproar at home. And it cannot attack Syria directly without risking a war throughout the region and possible Russian intervention. Nor can Reagan, who boasts that "Our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall," withdraw from Lebanon without weakening both the credibility of U.S. imperialism and his own chances for reelection.

As a result, the Syrian government and its Lebanese allies have been able to hold out for a settlement on their own terms and the war in Lebanon smolders on.

Roots of the Lebanese conflict

To understand the present crisis in Lebanon, it is necessary to know something of the country's tangled history.

The conflict in Lebanon has its roots in Western colonialist intervention in the Middle East during World War I. Before the war began, the present-day states of Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Jordan were grouped together in the Ottoman Empire as the province of "Greater Syria." When the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany during the war, the French and British governments gained Arab allies in the Middle East by promising independence for Syria.

But once the war was over, the British and French imperialists divided "Greater Syria" between themselves. Britain took over southern Syria, the territories that later became the states of Israel and Jordan. France took over northern Syria, present-day Syria and Lebanon.

After crushing a nationalist revolt in 1920, the French government sought to safeguard their hold in the area by destroying the unity of the Arab nationalists and carving their colony up into separate states. In August 1920, the French created "the State of the Greater Lebanon." The center of this state was the old Ottoman subprovince of Mt. Lebanon, inhabited mainly by pro-Western Maronite Christians. The new state also included the largely Muslim



PLO forces defend themselves against Lebanese rightists during 1975 civil war.

coastal cities of Beirut, Tyre, Sidon and Tripoli, as well as the Bekaa Valley and present-day southern Lebanon. The French goal was to include as much territory as they could in the new state while ensuring that the Christians, and particularly the Maronites, would constitute the majority of the population.

By the 1940s, the French were compelled to make concessions to an alliance of Lebanese nationalists that included both Christians and Muslims. In 1943, these leaders agreed to divide up political positions in the country according to a 1932 census, which counted six Christians for every five Muslims in Lebanon. In particular, the offices of president and army chief of staff were reserved for the Maronites, who were then the largest single religious group in the country. The office of prime minister was granted to the Sunni Muslims, the second largest group, while other sects got lesser posts. The Lebanese parliament was also set up on religious lines, with the Christians guaranteed a majority of the seats. This unwritten "national pact" endured after Lebanon became independent following World War II. With some modifications—notably, the division of parliamentary seats equally between Christians and Muslims after 1958—it has remained the basis of the Lebanese government ever since.

But this pact failed to provide national unity, stability or security for Lebanon, which has been in a state of turmoil ever since. To a degree, the conflict in Lebanon represents a struggle between Muslims and Christians. Such clashes arose mostly because the 1943 national pact no longer reflects the actual balance between the various religious groupings in the country (see box). For example, the Muslims, who are now the majority of the Lebanese population, are still denied access to top government posts. In particular, the Shi'a Muslims, who have become the largest single religious group in the country, can hold only relatively minor offices and are denied virtually any political power at all. Meanwhile, the Maronite Christian leaders refuse to give up their monopoly of the top governmental offices or even to hold a census that could become the basis for reassigning those posts.

In recognizing the religious element in the Lebanese conflict, one should also note that Lebanese political leaders, both Christian and Muslim, have used these divisions to further their own

political ambitions. The result is a form of tribalism.

The leaders of the various clan-like groupings stem from the various localities and religious communities that were thrown together by the French imperialists to assemble the state of Lebanon. They were not united as a national ruling class before 1930, and have not, with a few temporary exceptions, united as such ever since. Instead, each has sought to extend his own power as much as possible while guarding his local authority from rivals and the central government.

These warlords have never hesitated to cross religious lines—or make war on their co-religionists—whenever it suited their interests to do so. Today, for example, Sunni Muslim leaders serve in Gemayel's cabinet and support his government against an opposition coalition that includes both Muslim and Christian groups. Moreover, Gemayel's Phalangist Party gained control of the Maronite Christian faction only by carrying out a series of murderous attacks against rival Maronite leaders.

On a broader level, the turmoil in Lebanon also involves a struggle between the anti-imperialist Lebanese masses and the pro-Western sections of the Lebanese ruling class. A popular struggle against Maronite rule developed in the 1950s. Like the coming to power of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in 1952 and the radical nationalist coup in Iraq in 1958, this was part of the anti-imperialist movement that swept over the Arab world following the conquest of Palestine by Zionist settlers in 1948.

It is this anti-imperialist struggle that explains the relations between the Lebanese people and the Palestinians in Lebanon. Thousands of Palestinians fled into Lebanon in 1948. They were joined by another wave of refugees—the leaders and military forces of the PLO—after the PLO was expelled from Jordan in 1970.

The majority of Lebanese Muslims, like the majority of people throughout the Arab world, supported the Palestinians and regarded the PLO as the leader of the Arab struggle against Zionism. Common opposition to imperialism eventually formed the basis for an alliance between the Palestinians, the Lebanese Muslims and leftist groups that included both Muslims and Christians.

Finally, buried in the confusing conflicts in Lebanon is the class struggle—between the Lebanese capitalists and

landholders on one side and the Lebanese workers and peasants on the other. Shi'a Muslim peasants from southern Lebanon who were driven off their land and into the cities were among the earliest allies of the PLO. At times, Lebanese workers have also played a critical role, organizing a general strike in 1943 and major strike waves in 1958 and 1975. Some Muslim leaders have exploited the popularity of revolutionary ideas to try to place themselves at the head of the workers. For example, the Jumblat clan, leaders of the Druse people in Lebanon, are also leaders of an organization called the Progressive Socialist Party.

Syria intervenes in civil war

In 1975, all the tensions within Lebanese society exploded in a civil war, pitting the Maronite rightists against the PLO/Muslim/leftist alliance. In 1976, when the leftist forces were on the verge of winning, victory was snatched out of their hands by Syrian troops who invaded the country. The Syrian invasion not only blocked the leftist victory and prevented any fundamental reform of Lebanese society, but also internationalized the Lebanese conflict, opening the way for Western military intervention into Lebanon.

The Syrian invasion was prompted by a realistic fear that a leftist victory in Lebanon would spark similar anti-imperialist revolts in Syria itself and throughout the Arab world. The U.S. and Israeli governments, as well as the conservative Arab regimes, shared these fears and supported the Syrian invasion.

The Syrian intervention destroyed any hope of creating a unified Lebanon. Syrian troops have remained in the country since 1976, and occupy major portions of eastern and northern Lebanon. The rest of the country is split into patches of territory ruled by one or another of the warring Lebanese factions.

All these factions have increasingly relied on foreign support to defend themselves and increase their power. The Phalangists, the most important of the Maronite factions, formed a close alliance with Israel. The Lebanese Muslims, in turn, formed an alliance with their former enemies, the Syrian rulers. The Maronite-Israeli bloc is supported by the U.S., while the Muslim-Syrian

alliance is supported by the Russian government.

The Syrian invasion and the constant warfare between rival Lebanese factions since 1976 has also gravely weakened the anti-imperialist forces in Lebanon. One of the main victims of this war was the Lebanese-Palestinian alliance. By 1981, heavy fighting had broken out between the PLO and Lebanese Muslim militias in Beirut and southern Lebanon.

Moreover, the chaos in Lebanon all but destroyed the ability of the working class to act as an independent political force in the country. Many Lebanese sought to survive either by avoiding any political entanglements, or were forced to rely on whatever faction was strongest in their own neighborhoods to provide a minimum of protection and stability.

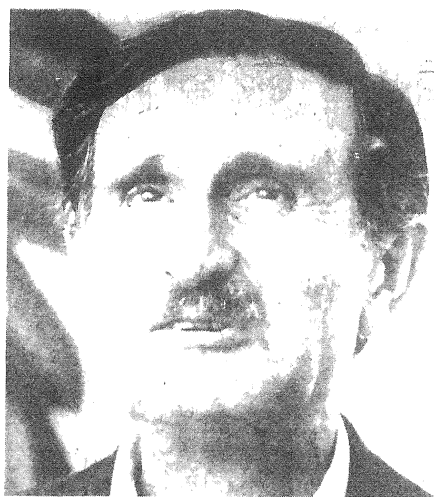
Israeli invasion falls short of goals

As Lebanon disintegrated and the Syrians built their influence in Lebanon, the Israelis launched their own intervention in the unfortunate country. The Israeli army first invaded Lebanon in 1978, but eventually bowed to international pressure and withdrew. Then in June 1982, Israeli troops again marched into Lebanon and advanced all the way to Beirut.

The Israelis' goal was first of all to destroy the Palestinian liberation movement based in southern Lebanon, which they feared as the main threat to their occupation of Palestine. Specifically, the Israeli rulers wanted to drive the PLO out of Lebanon, cripple its military strength and murder its leadership. This would, they hoped, destroy the PLO's credibility as a military and diplomatic force in the Middle East.

The Israelis also wanted to take control of Lebanon itself by setting up a client government led by their allies in the Phalangist Party. They believed that once a Lebanese government signed a peace treaty with Israel, other Arab states would also abandon the Palestinian cause and make their own deals with the Zionist regime.

While the invasion resulted in a resounding victory for the Israeli military, it failed to accomplish its political goals. The PLO was defeated and forced out of southern Lebanon. Moreover, this defeat provoked a civil war within the PLO that is still going on and which has gravely weakened the organization. But despite these achievements, the Israelis failed to crush the Palestinian liberation



Kemal Jumblat, former leader of Druse people. Jumblat family's history illustrates tangled nature of Lebanese politics. Kemal was allied with the Palestinians, opposed the 1976 Syrian invasion of Lebanon, and was assassinated in 1978, probably by Syrian agents. His son Walid, the current leader of the Druse, opposes the PLO presence in Lebanon and is allied with his father's murderers.

forces or drive them out of Lebanon.

The Israeli government was also unable to establish an Israeli client state in Lebanon. Under Israeli guns, the Lebanese parliament did elect Bashir Gemayel, head of the Phalangist militia, as president of Lebanon. But once in office, Gemayel was more interested in securing his own power than in aiding the Israelis. In particular, he refused to sign a formal peace treaty with Israel because it would interfere with his campaign to gain recognition for his regime from the Arab rulers. Then after Bashir was assassinated, his brother Amin looked to U.S. imperialism, rather than the Israeli government, to help him gain effective control of his country.

U.S. fails to gain imperialist settlement

Recent U.S. military intervention in Lebanon began in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion. The Reagan administration first sent in troops as part of a "multinational force" organized to supervise the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut. These troops temporarily returned to ships offshore after the evacuation, then re-entered the country as a "peacekeeping force" after the massacre of Palestinians by Israeli-backed Phalangists at the Shatifa and Sabra refugee camps. In September 1983, Congress authorized Reagan to keep U.S. forces in Lebanon for another

18 months.

The administration's goals in Lebanon are defined by its overall Middle East policy. In broad terms, the U.S. imperialists want to engineer an alliance between themselves, the Israeli government and conservative Arab rulers that could secure U.S. control over the whole area. This would involve suppressing anti-imperialist revolts, containing Syrian influence and heading off Russian penetration into the region. But when Reagan put forward a comprehensive proposal for an imperialist Middle East peace last fall, it was rejected by all sides.

In the wake of this rejection, the Reagan administration came to believe that if they could at least win a clear diplomatic victory in Lebanon itself, they would be able to convince both the Arab and Israeli rulers to negotiate a settlement on U.S. terms. Like their Zionist counterparts, the U.S. imperialists wanted to install a strong, pro-Western government led by the Phalangists. But they believed that the way to achieve this goal was to first get the Israeli troops out of Lebanon, as this would supposedly lead the Lebanese Muslim leaders to back the Gemayel government. This, in turn, would leave the Syrian government without allies in Lebanon and without any excuse for keeping its own troops inside the country. Finally, by proving that U.S. diplomacy could win concessions from Israel, the Reagan administration would encourage Arab rulers throughout the

Middle East to come to the bargaining table.

But this elaborate scheme took little account of the realities of Lebanese politics. Instead of winning a settlement in Lebanon, U.S. imperialism has found itself reduced to acting as only one—although a very powerful one—of many competing factions in the Lebanese stalemate. Its policies failed because:

1) The Phalangist leaders refused to share power with the various Muslim groups, and instead tried to disarm their militias and seize their territory.

2) In a May 17 "security accord" with the Gemayel regime, the Israeli government agreed to pull its troops out of Lebanon—but only if Syrian troops and PLO forces in Lebanon left at the same time. This pact, which also provided for a "security zone" along the Israeli-Lebanese border, limited Lebanese army operations in southern Lebanon, and contained secret clauses on U.S. and Israeli "intelligence operations," was rejected by the Syrian government and Lebanese Muslim leaders.

3) Following this rejection, in July the Israeli army withdrew from central Lebanon, where its troops were under constant fire, and concentrated them in southern Lebanon, where they are digging in for a possible permanent partition of the country. Once the Israelis withdrew from the central part of the country, the Druse militia in the Shuf mountains dealt a crushing defeat to the Phalangist militia and Lebanese army, shifting the balance of power within Lebanon in favor of the Muslim-Syrian alliance.

These developments have forced the Reagan administration to reverse the tactics it has been following in Lebanon for the past year. Instead of insisting on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, the U.S. government now wants them to remain and to cooperate with U.S. forces, as stipulated in the recently announced "strategic accord." Reagan, who claimed in September 1982 that the Marines would take no sides in the Lebanese civil war and would be "out by Christmas," today insists they will remain in Lebanon until Lebanese military forces "can assume control over their own territory." But in stating that U.S. troops would leave if there was a "collapse of order" in Lebanon, Reagan is both pressuring the Gemayel regime to compromise with the Muslim leaders, and leaving himself a face-saving escape hatch if U.S. efforts to achieve an imperialist settlement in Lebanon fall apart completely. □

Who's Who in Lebanon

Lebanese political events are dominated by the relations between dozens of different political and religious groups, each with its own leaders, territory and militia. While the following list of religious and political factions is far from complete, it will provide readers with useful background information on the major Lebanese organizations and leaders.

• **The Maronite Christians.** The Maronites are a Christian sect that fled to Lebanon from what is now northern Syria in the 5th and 6th centuries to escape persecution by other Christian denominations. They are based in the Shuf mountains, east of Beirut, and in northeast Lebanon, and are by far the most important of the Christian sects in Lebanon.

When Lebanon became independent after World War II, the Christians were the majority of the population, and the Maronites were the largest single religious group in the country. Under a 1943 "national pact," only a Maronite can serve as president of Lebanon or commander of the Lebanese army. Although the majority of the Lebanese population is now Muslim, the Maronites refuse to give up their domination of the government.

The main Maronite political organization is the Phalangist Party, founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel. The Phalange was

modeled after Hitler's Nazi Party, and remains an ultra-rightist, pro-Western group. Phalangist militia carried out the massacre of Palestinian refugees at the Sabra and Shatifa camps in September 1982. Amin Gemayel, son of the party's founder, is now president of Lebanon.

In addition to the Phalangists, important Maronite factions include the Chamoun clan, based in the Shuf mountains, and the Franjeh family, based in northern Lebanon. The Phalangists won leadership against these rival groups by assassinating Tony Franjeh in 1978 and wiping out Chamoun's militia in 1980. Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party is allied with the Phalange in the Lebanese Front, which supports the Gemayel government. Suleiman Franjeh is a leader of the National Salvation Front that opposes the Gemayel regime.

• **The Shi'a Muslims.** The Shi'a, numbering approximately one million, live mainly in southern Lebanon. Although they are now the largest single religious group in Lebanon, the 1943 pact grants them no major posts.

In the 1970s, the Shi'a were close allies of the Palestinians living in southern Lebanon. Although relations between the two groups later grew hostile, the Shi'a fought against the Israeli army that invaded Lebanon in 1982 and continue to

oppose the Israeli occupation of the southern part of the country. Many Shi'a support the Islamic fundamentalist government of Iran and look to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini for leadership.

The major Shi'a organization, Amal, is led by Nabih Berri. Despite Berri's and other Amal leaders' ties with the Druse in Lebanon, U.S. analysts regard them as relative moderates who could be persuaded or pressured into an alliance with the Gemayel regime.

A second Shi'a group, called Islamic Amal and led by Hussein Musavi, is much more radical. It maintains close ties with the Iranian government—a contingent of Iranian revolutionary guards shares a camp with Islamic Amal militia—and has carried out armed attacks on Israeli occupation troops in southern Lebanon. The U.S. government claims that radical Shi'a groups, aided by the Iranian and Syrian governments, were responsible for the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in October that took 240 lives and for the more recent bombings in Kuwait.

• **The Druse.** The Druse are an Islamic sect that developed in the 11th century. They live mainly in the Shuf mountains, represent about 10 percent of the Lebanese population, and were assigned no major posts in the 1943 accord. Although they include a relatively small propor-

tion of the total Lebanese population, the Druse are a key political force because of their mountain strongholds, their efficient militia, and their social unity.

The Jumblat family is the hereditary leader of the Druse people. In the 1970s, Kemal Jumblat allied with the PLO against the Phalangists in the Lebanese civil war. After Syrian troops invaded Lebanon in 1976 to prevent the PLO/Lebanese Muslim alliance from taking over the country, Kemal Jumblat was assassinated by Syrian agents in 1978. The current Druse leader, Kemal's son Walid, ordered his militia not to oppose the 1982 Israeli invasion, and called for the expulsion of the PLO. Jumblat is a leader of the National Salvation Front and receives military and political support from Syria.

• **The Sunni Muslims.** About 20 percent of the Lebanese people are Sunni Muslims. They live mainly in urban areas, particularly around Beirut and Tripoli. In earlier years they were the largest Muslim group in Lebanon, and were accorded the second highest political office in Lebanon, that of prime minister, and other major posts in the 1943 pact. Major Sunni leaders include Saeb Salam, a conservative who supports the Gemayel government, and Rashid Karami, the third major leader of the National Salvation Front.



WHAT WE STAND FOR

Program in Brief of the Revolutionary Socialist League

1 The **REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE** is an organization dedicated to the fight for freedom for all the world's people—freedom from poverty and hunger; from racism and all forms of national, sexual, age and class-related oppression; from privileged rulers and wars—freedom from capitalism.

We believe that this fight is more necessary than ever. Today, the world capitalist system is sliding deeper and deeper into a massive economic, political and social crisis. This crisis is bringing conditions as bad as or worse than the Great Depression of the 1930s. In all countries, the ruling classes are responding to the crisis by bludgeoning down the living standards of the masses of people and curtailing our rights. Unemployment and wage-cutting, cutbacks in social services and a beefing up of the repressive apparatus—the police, military, prisons, etc.—are all part of the capitalist attack. As in the 1930s, the crisis is paving the way for the rise of fascist groups eager to impose their genocidal solution on humanity.

Internationally, the crisis will cause the battles among the different blocs of national capitalists to flare into full-scale wars, as each seeks to defend and increase its power, markets, investment outlets and control of natural resources against the others. Twice already this century the capitalists have fought devastating world wars, in which millions of people died. Now, with the development of huge nuclear arsenals capable of blowing up the planet hundreds of times over, human civilization itself hangs in the balance.

Thus the continued existence of the capitalist system is pushing us closer every day to depression, fascism, world war and possibly total destruction.

2 We in the RSL believe there is an alternative to all this. That alternative lies in the workers, small farmers, peasants, unemployed, national and other oppressed minorities, youth, women, lesbians and gay men—in sum, the downtrodden and persecuted people of every society—uniting together to overthrow our common enemy, the capitalist system, and establish **SOCIALISM**.

This will require a **REVOLUTION** in which the masses of people fight to seize control of the governments, banks, means of transportation and communication, factories, fields, mills and mines. A revolution would also have to smash the capitalists' state apparatus: their police and armed forces, their courts and prisons, their political bodies (legislatures, congresses, parliaments, etc.) and mammoth bureaucracies, and other institutions of capitalist class rule.

While such revolutions are most likely to develop on a national basis, we believe that to be successful they must become worldwide in scope. Capitalism is an international system, with a world economy and a world market. Only through an international socialist revolution can the workers and their allies eliminate all capitalist oppression and have access to the human, natural and technical resources

necessary to solve the problems confronting human society.

3 In place of the dictatorship of the capitalists, the RSL believes working and oppressed people can build a cooperative, humane world society. Run by workers' councils and other mass organizations of farmers, women, soldiers and specially oppressed groups, the new society would provide the fullest democracy for the vast majority of people, while ruthlessly suppressing the capitalists and those who seek to get ahead by stepping on the backs of others.

Although the destructive legacy of capitalism would be severe, a truly democratic, mass-controlled government could begin to reorganize society to fulfill human needs, not provide a privileged existence for tiny elites. Resources currently thrown into the military, for example, could be used to end hunger, build housing, schools, roads, etc. The workweek could be shortened, creating jobs for millions of unemployed people.

In ways such as these, the inequality and scarcity that lie at the heart of capitalism's dog-eat-dog competitiveness could be eliminated. People would increasingly have no reason to get over on others, and the material basis of classes, the state, racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry would disappear. Increasingly, everyone would have the time and opportunity to develop their full human potential; everyone would become truly **FREE**, able to control their own destinies.

This is our vision of **SOCIALISM**. It will not be easy to achieve. And it is not inevitable—people have to want it and fight for it. But we believe it is the only alternative worth fighting for.

4 Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. What is called socialism in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Albania, Poland, etc., is state capitalism, a 20th century variation of traditional, private shareholding capitalism. In the state-capitalist (often called Stalinist) countries, as in the "regular" capitalist nations, a small elite dominates society, making all the decisions and reaping all the benefits. Working and oppressed people have no more control of the factories and other workplaces, the economy, the government or anything else than do workers in traditional capitalist countries. The state-capitalist ruling class controls the state apparatus and nationalized industry, while the workers are in the position of being wage slaves, chained to a giant capitalist machine.

In these countries—as in all the countries of the world—**REVOLUTION** is the only way to establish real socialism and win freedom for all working and oppressed people.

At a time when the struggle between the world's two main imperialist powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., is being portrayed wrongly as one between capitalism and socialism, democracy and totalitarianism, the RSL believes it is more important than ever to take a clear stand in opposition to capitalism in all its forms and

to fight for a revolutionary, libertarian vision of socialism.

5 In the coming period, as the capitalist crisis intensifies, we expect mass movements and mass struggles—both of the right and the left—to break out with increasing frequency around the world. The question is: Will these upheavals lead to fascist dictatorships, state-capitalist transformations, a new world war—or an international socialist revolution that puts all the capitalist garbage behind us?

The RSL believes that the last outcome can be brought to pass only with the active intervention and political leadership of a disciplined international revolutionary working class party. This party, and its sections in countries around the world, is needed to educate and organize workers and other oppressed people about the cause of their misery and the solution to it; to work in different movements and struggles to increase the class consciousness and militancy of their participants; to combat reformist, social-democratic, state-capitalist, fascist and other leaderships that would derail mass, popular struggles and lead them to certain defeat; and to help unite the different forces oppressed by capitalism into a massive assault on the system.

The existence of revolutionary working class parties does not guarantee victory. But without them, the more-organized and powerful enemies of socialist revolution will surely triumph.

The RSL considers the construction of a revolutionary party in the U.S. and around the world to be our main strategic task. In so doing, we reject any and all elitist notions that have come to be associated with such parties: that the party stands separate from and above the working class; that the party may use any method, no matter how base or dishonest, to gain leadership of the masses in struggle; that its goal is to form a one-party state within a supposedly socialist society. Our goal is a society where human beings can consciously shape their own existence; we see a revolutionary party simply as the vehicle through which this can be made possible.

6 As an organization based in the U.S., it is our special task to fight U.S. imperialism's domination and exploitation of the peoples of the world, and to support working and oppressed people of all countries in their struggles for self-determination and freedom. We stand for the immediate and unconditional independence of all U.S. colonial holdings: Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the islands of the Pacific. We also demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and military installations in the Caribbean, Central and South America, Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle East—everywhere. Within the U.S. we support the right to self-determination for Native Americans, Blacks, Latinos of the Southwest, and other oppressed groups.

7 The RSL identifies itself in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, particularly the pioneering theoretical work of Marx and Engels; the conception of the party, the stress on the importance of national liberation struggles and the anti-statism shown in *The State and Revolution* of Lenin; and the fight against Stalinism of Trotsky. But we also identify with the best of anarchism, particularly its libertarian spirit. And we hold in no less regard those leaders throughout the ages who have fought against various forms of exploitation and oppression: from Spartacus to Harriet Tubman, from Emiliano Zapata to Malcolm X.

We believe it is crucial for the left to rid itself of the state-capitalist baggage which it has carried for far too long. To do so requires a careful evaluation of the theoretical underpinnings of the modern left, from Marx to the Russian Revolution to the current day. Only in this way can the best of our heritage—the fight against oppression and for revolutionary socialism—be preserved and the worst of it—an infatuation with technocratic planning and strong states—be discarded. Revolutionaries must be the vanguard in the fight for common decency and true freedom. It is to that fight the RSL is committed, body and soul. Join us!

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