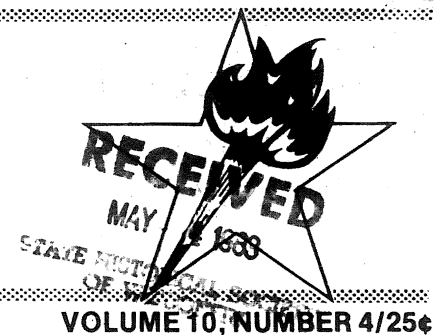


TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

APRIL 15-MAY 14, 1983



Hands Off Central America!



**CIA-Backed
Rightists
Invade
Nicaragua**

Sandinista forces defend their country against Somocista invaders.



**Harold
Washington
Wins in
Chicago**

See page 3

**The Threat of
Global Trade War**

See page 10

**SECCION EN
ESPAÑOL**

By PAUL BENJAMIN

APRIL 13—Over 2,000 counter-revolutionaries—armed and trained by the U.S. government—have invaded Nicaragua from bases in neighboring Honduras.

In mid-March, 400 to 500 guerrillas parachuted into Matagalpa Province, just 70 miles from the Nicaraguan capital of Managua. Another 1,500 crossed into the northern Nicaraguan provinces of Nueva Segovia and Chinandega. In addition, several hundred Miskito Indian guerrillas, who have been launching raids into Nicaragua from the Honduran border for the past year, reportedly infiltrated into Zelaya Province in northeastern Nicaragua on March 31.

Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco, speaking to reporters in New York, charged that the U.S. was masterminding the invasion and that the Reagan administration was "determined to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution." Other leaders of Nicaragua's ruling Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front) have warned that the guerrilla attacks may be only a prelude to an invasion of Nicaragua by the Honduran army.

"The Reagan administration wants to provoke open war be-

tween Honduras and Nicaragua, which would serve as a pretext for United States military intervention in Central America," the FSLN government said in an official statement.

U.S. launches region-wide offensive

The invasion of Nicaragua by U.S.-sponsored guerrillas represents a dramatic escalation of U.S. imperialism's effort to destabilize and ultimately overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution. The administration has spent millions of dollars to arm the counter-revolutionaries. It has brought its top CIA operatives from all over the world to Honduras to train the rightist forces in guerrilla warfare. And its puppet government in Honduras has not only provided bases for the guerrillas on Honduran territory, but has also used Honduran troops to protect the counter-revolutionaries and provoke shooting "incidents" with Nicaraguan defense forces in the border areas.

The campaign against the Nicaraguan revolution is a key part of the administration's effort to restore U.S. domination throughout Central America. The overthrow of U.S.-backed Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle in

1979 showed the peoples of the region that even a relatively small nation living in the backyard of U.S. imperialism could wage a successful struggle for national liberation. The Nicaraguan revolution provided both an inspiration and, to some extent, a supply base for armed rebellions against U.S.-backed rightist regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala. The administration wants to crush these rebellions before they spread further—particularly into Mexico on the very border of the U.S. It wants to show the peoples of Central America, and the entire world, that the U.S. ruling class will not tolerate the existence of left-wing, anti-U.S. regimes in "its own backyard." Consequently, Reagan is demanding a sharp increase in military aid to the Salvadorean and Guatemalan governments, and is funding, training and arming Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries to harass and, if possible, overthrow the Sandinista regime.

Somocistas head rightist forces

The anti-Sandinista forces are divided into three groups. The main group behind the invasion
(Continued on page 8)

Discussion on the 1982 Mexican elections . . . "The RSL should have supported the PRT"

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

Last July, Mexico held elections. For the first time in Mexican history, a Trotskyist party, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), was able to mount a serious campaign, officially winning two and a half percent of the total vote—about 500,000 votes.

Prior to the elections, the RSL took the position that "voting is a meaningless act" and urged people to abstain. Furthermore, the RSL claimed that the PRT avoided the mention of revolution and was indistinguishable from the PSUM, Mexico's Communist Party. This position was a mistake. The RSL should have supported the PRT in the elections.

Although this issue might seem dated, I believe it is still important to correct our position. The militants of the PRT are sincere revolutionaries. They share much of our worldview. By taking the sectarian position of no support, we put up barriers between ourselves and those militants. Our position created an obstacle to the dialogue we should be having. Even at this late date, changing our position would help remove that obstacle.

Before reconsidering our position on the PRT, let me first discuss the context in which the PRT ran. Prior to this election, leftist parties could not legally run in elections. No opposition to the PRI (the ruling party) from the left was permitted. The presidential election of 1982 was the first election which really meant anything.

The elections were an opening for the left. Leftist parties running in the elections received a certain amount of money from the government as well as free radio and television time. The left was able to

organize with less fear of repression. Two leftist coalitions formed. One centered around the Mexican Communist Party—the PSUM. The other was a coalition of the far left, the PRT coalition. For several months prior to the elections, virtually all the movements of the workers, peasants, and oppressed were caught up in the elections. To abstain from these elections would have meant to abstain from the primary expression of political activity of the workers, peasants, and oppressed.

There were (and are) significant differences between the PSUM and the PRT. On a general level, the PSUM was (and is) interested in becoming the loyal electoral opposition, similar to the Eurocommunist parties. The PRT tried to put forward a revolutionary program.

The PRT put forward a program in defense of all oppressed people. For instance, the PRT electoral platform discussed the defense of the rights of the indigenous (i.e., Native American Indian) population, of undocumented workers in the U.S. (including the right of education in Spanish), as well as Guatemalans in Mexico, of women, of lesbians and gays, and of youth (including "employment, enjoyment, and political and sexual liberty"). In a country where a women's movement barely exists, the PRT had far more women candidates than any other party. It was the only party to run openly lesbian and gay candidates.

Unlike the PSUM, the PRT talked about revolution. In their campaign literature, in speeches, and in private conversations with militants, the PRT made it very clear that they had no faith in the electoral process. For instance, the August 12, 1982, issue of *Bandera*

Socialista (the PRT's newspaper) states:

"The difference between the votes for the PAN and the votes for the PRT—which realized a campaign completely alien to electoralism, putting forth with total clarity the necessity of overthrowing through revolution the PRI-ist government and tying it [i.e., the campaign] to actual struggles—was what the votes meant for the candidacy of Rosario Ibarra and the PRT: a revolutionary socialist alternative. This is the great importance of the votes for the PRT. A considerable layer of the population were expressly inclined not to patch up the system, but to destroy it. As we have said before, the revolutionary socialist alternative is a social force."

Finally, the PRT put forward a far more critical stance of the Stalinist countries than the orthodox Trotskyist groups in the U.S. The PRT implemented their position toward the Stalinist countries by such actions as taking over the Polish embassy.

Supporting the PRT in the elections does not mean we think that the PRT is without serious political problems. The primary problem of the PRT is its view of the Soviet Union and other Stalinist countries. Although the PRT is critical of the Stalinist countries and supports the workers' struggles against the bureaucracy, it still holds them to be workers' states, even if deformed ones.

Why is our difference with the PRT over the nature of the Stalinist countries so important, especially if we agree that revolutions are needed in those countries to overthrow the bureaucracy?

First of all, the PRT position leads toward a softness towards the Stalinist bureaucracy. For instance, the PRT initially supported the



Russian invasion of Afghanistan. (This position was to the right even of the PSUM which opposed the invasion.) The PRT later corrected this position. However, the initial position is totally consistent with viewing Russia as a workers' state. The right of a people to self-determination ends up subordinated to the interests of the Russian bureaucracy.

Second, it can result in downplaying the need for an international democratic centralist revolutionary party. If Stalinist parties have created workers' states, then Trotskyist parties are nice to have, but hardly necessary to make a revolution. This results in an uncritical attitude toward the reformist or Stalinist leaderships of groups like the PLO or the FMLN. Naturally, revolutionaries should support national liberation struggles in whatever way possible. However, this does not mean that we should not try to build a Trotskyist alternative toward reformist/nationalist leaderships. The PRT does not do this. They

help breed illusions in those leaderships by taking a totally uncritical attitude toward them.

This soft attitude toward the need for a revolutionary party also results in the formation of rotten political blocs. For years the PRT has been in the same international organization as the Socialist Workers Party (of the United States). This means that the PRT must do one of two things to be consistent. It must either take responsibility for the SWP's right-wing practice here in the United States. Or it must admit that a principled, revolutionary international is not essential to the world socialist revolution.

These legitimate criticisms are no excuse, however, for our past sectarian approach toward the PRT. I believe the *Torch/La Antorcha* should change its approach toward the PRT. A good beginning might be admitting our error about the elections.

Joe Galanti
Chicago

IN THIS ISSUE

APRIL 15-MAY 14, 1983

- 1 CIA-backed rightists invade Nicaragua
- 3 Harold Washington wins in Chicago
- 6 Bail-out at Weirton Steel
- 7 Black militancy, internal splits worry South African rulers
- 9 Missis Queen has come and gone
Anti-government riots in Brazil
- 10 The threat of global trade war
- 12 Letter from a steelworker

FEATURES

- 2 Letters
- 4 Briefs
Reagan booed... Anti-nuke rallies... Nazis and Klan...
Death flights... Ford con job... Polish Solidarity...
Infant mortality... SWP trial... Questions that answer
- 13 RSL Program in Brief

©1983 Revolutionary Socialist League

Editorial Board: Paul Benjamin, Susan Edmunds, William Falk, Rod Miller, Ron Taber; Circulation Manager: Wayne Pierce; Production Manager: Ian Daniels; Production Staff: M. Evers, Pat Nelson.

Address all correspondence to:

Torch/La Antorcha
PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

For subscription rates and information, see subscription blank in this issue.

Reply: "Elections were a maneuver to co-opt the left"

We have no doubt that the Mexican PRT includes many sincere revolutionaries with whom we would agree on many questions. We should look for opportunities to work with them in the future as we have already done, to a small degree, in the past. But just be-

cause the PRT chose to make a national election campaign its top priority work in 1982, doesn't mean we were sectarian for failing to endorse their electoral slate.

Our article ("Mexico to Hold Presidential Elections . . ." Vol. 9,

No. 5 of the *Torch*, May-June 1982) urged Mexican voters to boycott the presidential elections not because voting, in itself, is always meaningless but because voting in that specific election, under the specific conditions of Mexican politics, would do little toward building an independent, revolutionary workers' movement. On the contrary, a large voter turnout, in an election which the governing capitalist party, the PRI, is guaranteed to win, serves to bolster the "democratic" credentials of the PRI precisely at a time when its ability to maintain social peace in Mexico is very shaky. That is the meaning of the electoral reform which now allows left parties to run in elections. It was not a concession to the forces of the left, but a maneuver to co-opt them.

Large numbers of Mexicans, especially among the most oppressed sectors, are already deeply alienated

Mexicans and Chicanos in the Southwest and the Struggle for Socialism

New Pamphlet!

\$1.00 Please add \$.50 for postage.

1981 Convention Resolution of the Revolutionary Socialist League \$1.00

Order from: RSL, PO Box 1288, NY, NY 10116.

By WILLIAM

APRIL 13—seven-week election overwhelmingly of single issue—Washington, a crat, narrowly white Republican Bernard Epton, Chicago's first-ever

Washington percent of the v 48.2 percent. In Democrats have Republican opp to-1 and even 3-to over 50 years, narrow margin 40,000 votes out total—reflected the racist respon didacy.

Washington tr because an aston cent of Chicago' cast their ballots eight wards, he w 99 percent of the Southside Third ample, Washing 24,470 votes, wh only 178. In the 1 the 20th Ward, voted for Wash only 15 people vo These lopsided w an election deci three percentage indication of Ch total racial segre

Response to racism

Many Black peo Washington in re open racism of th paign. The appea main campaign slo —Before It's Toc unmistakable. "M just for him, you h ing from 200 years mented a Black n before the election ton's headquarter night, a Black wor joy at his victory, important spiritual history." "We hav yoke of oppression ed another Wash porter.

Washington al large numbers of v with a high percen panic voters. Over of all Latinos votec ington, giving him l victory.

Overall, Washi 22 of the 50 wards the 20 majority-E and two heavily-L Washington also g 45 percent of the Northside lakefro These wards incl

(Continued on page 12)

But will it make a difference?

Harold Washington Wins in Chicago

By WILLIAM FALK

APRIL 13—Following a seven-week election campaign overwhelmingly dominated by a single issue—race—Harold Washington, a Black Democrat, narrowly defeated his white Republican opponent, Bernard Epton, to become Chicago's first-ever Black mayor.

Washington received 51.5 percent of the vote to Epton's 48.2 percent. In a city where Democrats have beaten their Republican opponents by 2-to-1 and even 3-to-1 margins for over 50 years, Washington's narrow margin of victory—40,000 votes out of a 1.6 million total—reflected the enormity of the racist response to his candidacy.

Washington triumphed only because an astonishing 99 percent of Chicago's Black voters cast their ballots for him. In eight wards, he won more than 99 percent of the vote. In the Southside Third Ward, for example, Washington received 24,470 votes, while Epton got only 178. In the 15th Precinct of the 20th Ward, 5,702 people voted for Washington, while only 15 people voted for Epton! These lopsided vote totals—in an election decided by only three percentage points—are an indication of Chicago's near-total racial segregation.

Response to racism

Many Black people rallied to Washington in response to the open racism of the Epton campaign. The appeal of Epton's main campaign slogan—"Epton—Before It's Too Late"—was unmistakable. "My vote is not just for him, you hear? It's coming from 200 years back," commented a Black nurse the day before the election. At Washington's headquarters on election night, a Black woman wept for joy at his victory, calling it "an important spiritual moment in history." "We have broken the yoke of oppression," commented another Washington supporter.

Washington also received large numbers of votes in wards with a high percentage of Hispanic voters. Over 80 percent of all Latinos voted for Washington, giving him his margin of victory.

Overall, Washington carried 22 of the 50 wards in the city: the 20 majority-Black wards and two heavily-Latin wards. Washington also garnered 40-45 percent of the vote in the Northside lakefront wards. These wards include Latin

neighborhoods, high-rise districts where affluent whites live, and those few areas of the city that are racially integrated.

Washington was heavily backed by the national Democratic Party after his upset primary victory over incumbent Mayor Jane M. Byrne and Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, the son of former Chicago mayor "Boss" Richard J. Daley. Virtually every Democratic Party politician of note traveled to Chicago to stump for Washington, while the national party contributed tens of thousands of dollars to his campaign coffers. With many local ward leaders—the backbone of Chicago's Democratic machine—deserting Washington to back his white opponent, the national Democratic Party was particularly anxious to demonstrate to Black people across the country that the party "works for Blacks."

While Washington did manage to pull off a narrow victory, the blatant racism that came to the surface in Chicago—from both parties—was a sharp reminder of just how tenuous the gains made by Black people in racist America truly are.

Epton, a liberal Republican, quickly moved to the right the moment it became clear that an appeal to racism might give him a chance to become mayor. "If you are white, and Harold Washington is elected mayor, get ready to move out of town," read literature passed out by one of the dozen or so prominent white Chicago Democrats who supported Epton.

Some Epton boosters wore all-white buttons with nothing printed on them to show who they were for. Chicago's Fraternal Order of Police endorsed Epton, while off-duty cops working as security guards in the lakefront high rises chased Washington campaign workers out of the buildings. There were also rumors circulated that the police planned to arrest Black people on bogus charges the day before the election and hold them just long enough to prevent them from voting. Reports indicate that some cases of this actually did happen.

The "official" Epton campaign effort was less blatant—but not much. "You shouldn't be ashamed of being white," said Epton time and again in speeches given in all-white neighborhoods. Invariably, the Republican candidate and his aides referred to their opponent as "Harold," never quite seeming to remember Washington's last name. Epton's campaign song was written to the tune of "Bye, Bye, Blackbird." And

A day after his victory in the Chicago mayoral election, Harold Washington joined his opponents from the February Democratic primary in a "unity" luncheon. Losing Republican candidate Bernard Epton, who had promised to attend the luncheon, sent his brother Saul (far left) instead.



there was always the constant reminder: "Epton—Before It's Too Late."

The most effective tack taken by the Epton camp was a series of attacks on Washington's honesty and integrity. This played on racist stereotypes about Black politicians—and gave whites a "socially acceptable" reason to reject Washington.

Washington certainly has a record of petty law breaking and graft. But these crimes are small potatoes for a Chicago politician. Never in recent Chicago history has the fact that a candidate is something less than a boy scout or girl scout been a significant issue—though certainly not for lack of dirt. Former Mayor Daley's popularity, for example, climbed substantially after he told critics they could "kiss my ass" if they didn't like him giving the city's insurance business to his son.

Moreover, Epton was not without his own transgressions. He is a multi-millionaire insurance lawyer who, as an Illinois state legislator, played a leading role in drawing up the state's insurance regulations. He has, in other words, been involved in the sort of big-time, big-money corruption that buys respectability. Epton was really attacking Washington for being too "small-time," for lacking the proper and cultured way of being dishonest—in short, for being Black.

Epton's racist strategy almost worked. The vast majority of white working class and middle class people in this overwhelmingly Democratic city did vote for the Republican candidate. Epton won 28 of the city's 50 wards and got over 90 percent of the vote in many all-white areas.

A poll taken one week before the election revealed that the factor that most sharply differ-

entiated whites who supported Epton from whites who supported Washington was class. Thirty-nine percent of white college graduates, for example, supported Washington, as opposed to 12 percent of high school graduates and just 7 percent of whites who didn't complete high school. Over 30 percent of whites with incomes over \$40,000 a year supported Washington, while only 13 percent of those with incomes under \$15,000 did so.

Epton's racist campaign brought him close to victory—but in the end it also prevented him from going over the top. "The more I talk, the more people I alienate," he said—accurately—early in the campaign. His 48 percent vote total was nearly all based on anti-Washington sentiment. The last pre-election polls showed that to get 2-3 percent more, Epton needed to provide people with a positive reason to vote for him. He couldn't.

Same problems, same approach

Washington announced his "transition team" just before the election. It is largely made up of the same business people who worked closely with Richard J. Daley. One co-chairman is the president of Commonwealth Edison; the other, Edwin Berry, is the former president of the Chicago chapter of the Urban League. According to Berry, the team is made up of "all the high-class people in town who know how to run this city." Among these are the chairman of the Borg-Warner Corporation, the chairman of Northwest Industries, the chairman of Jewel Food Stores and senior officials of the

city's largest banks. In fact, the top capitalists in Chicago say they are "looking forward" to working with a professional like Washington after their experience with the often unpredictable Jane Byrne. Not a single prominent corporate head in Chicago endorsed Epton.

Today, the people of Chicago face the same problems they did before Harold Washington's election. In particular, there is not enough money to continue the services the city has provided in the past—much less to take steps to counteract the effects of the recession and the collapse of a large portion of the city's heavy industry.

For his part, Harold Washington will be working with the same old "high-class people" to try to solve these problems in the same old way. Caught in the web of capitalist politics, Washington can do little or nothing for the people who elected him. Any meaningful reform of the police department, for instance, would mean firing 90 percent of Chicago's corrupt, brutal and racist police force. Similarly, any significant improvement of the schools would take a steady increase in funding, not wholesale budget slashing.

In the context of declining services, many of Chicago's white neighborhoods have been relatively protected. Washington will face enormous pressure to continue that practice in order to forestall an even uglier racist mobilization than the one that took place during his campaign.

Harold Washington, like Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, Coleman Young of Detroit, Andrew Young of Atlanta or Tom Bradley of Los Angeles will prove not to be a leader of an insurrection, breaking the yoke of bondage, but simply a more or less typical capitalist politician. □

alista

los Trabajadores

5 de julio de 1983

icionaria social

illusions in those lead-
taking a totally uncrit-
toward them.

t attitude toward the
revolutionary party also
the formation of rotten
ocs. For years the PRT
the same international
n as the Socialist Work-
of the United States).
that the PRT must do
things to be consistent.
er take responsibility for
right-wing practice here
red States. Or it must
a principled, revolu-
tionalist is not essential
d socialist revolution.

itimate criticisms are no
ever, for our past sec-
ach toward the PRT. I
Torch/La Antorcha
ge its approach toward
good beginning might
g our error about the

newer

the Torch, May-June
Mexican voters to boy-
sidential elections not
ng, in itself, is always
but because voting in
election, under the spe-
entials of Mexican politics,
ttle toward building an
revolutionary work-
ent. On the contrary, a
urnout, in an election
governing capitalist
PRI, is guaranteed to
to bolster the "demo-
entials of the PRI pre-
ime when its ability to
cial peace in Mexico is
That is the meaning of
l reform which now
parties to run in elec-
not a concession to the
left, but a maneuver to

members of Mexicans, es-
ong the most oppressed
already deeply alienated
Continued on page 12)

Unemployed workers boo Reagan

More than 4,000 demonstrators, most of them unemployed steelworkers, greeted Ronald Reagan with chants and jeers when he traveled to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on April 6. The stated purpose of Reagan's visit was to try to win back the hearts of the many white unionized workers who voted for him in 1980 but who have since cooled to the administration under the impact of the economic crisis.

While in Pittsburgh, the president spoke before 1,000 business people gathered at the Hilton Hotel for a "National Conference on the Dislocated Worker." ("Dislocated worker" is trendy, sociological jargon for someone whose job has been permanently eliminated.) The conference was originally organized largely by the U.S. Steel Corporation and leaders of the United Steelworkers of America. In late March, however, the union pulled out of the conference and instead played a key role in organizing the anti-Reagan demonstration.

"The leading indicators are up and so am I," Reagan told the people at the conference. He called for cutting the minimum wage for teenagers with summer jobs. He also read from a want ad in the newspaper to illustrate his claim that jobs are "going for the asking" because workers don't have the right skills.

Outside the Hilton, the 4,000 protesters ignored rain that left them soaking wet and chanted: "We want jobs!" and "Reagan, Reagan—he's no good, send him back to Hollywood!" Signs carried by demonstrators read: "Feed the Hungry, Not the Pentagon" and "This is not Reagan country—17.5 percent unemployment in western Pennsylvania." Some protesters scuffled with police. Although Reagan avoided contact with the angry unemployed workers by using an underground garage entrance to the hotel, when Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan walked out the front door he was roundly jeered.

According to a Washington Post-ABC opinion poll taken in late January, 52 percent of the people in the U.S. reject Reagan's claim that "structural problems" beyond his control are what is causing unemployment. In the same poll, only 42 percent of the people approved of Reagan's overall

performance as president—just about the same low level of support Jimmy Carter had at the same point in his term.

Europeans protest nuclear weapons

Over 500,000 people took part in the European peace movement's traditional Easter weekend marches and rallies this year. The protests were aimed in particular at U.S. government plans to base the cruise and Pershing medium range nuclear missiles in Europe in the next year.

Just before Easter, Reagan made a television speech that was largely geared toward undercutting the European movement by seeming to offer a new peace plan to the Russians. But Reagan's theatrics had little new substance and did not affect the size or enthusiasm of this year's protests.

On Good Friday (April 1), the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England organized a human chain of over 50,000 anti-nuclear activists. It began at the fence of Greenham Common, a U.S. military base west of London, where cruise missiles are expected to be installed next December. The chain extended for 14 miles to a British nuclear weapons factory in the town of Burghfield.

A separate demonstration was held in Glasgow, Scotland, on April 2. Over 25,000 people marched and 3,000 participated in a "die-in" held in the town's central square.



Over 50,000 British anti-nuclear demonstrators set up a human chain stretching from a U.S. air force base at Greenham Common to a nuclear weapons factory in Burghfield, 14 miles away.

In West Germany, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators took part in Easter peace marches in nearly 100 cities and towns. "Euroshima by Pershing—Stop the NATO arms race," read one march banner. "Easter March 1983/ For an atomic weapon-free Hamburg," read the lead banner in that city's protest.

The day before Easter, about 75,000 West Germans took part in demonstrations that blocked the entrances to seven U.S. military bases. Police used tear gas to disburse protesters at the Neu Ulm base in Bavaria.

Easter marches against the cruise and Pershing missiles were also held in Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands. In the latter country, the marches were described as "warm-ups." Over the next six months, the people in the Netherlands will be debating whether to accept the cruise missiles and more marches are planned in this period. The peace movement there is one of Europe's strongest and may well be able to force the government to refuse to accept the cruise missiles.

Nazis and Klan rally in Michigan

Nearly 200 people gathered on April 9 to demonstrate against the use of the Kalamazoo, Michigan, public library by a coalition of right-wing fundamentalist Nazis and Ku Klux Klan groups. The right-wingers were attempting to use the library's auditorium for a

public forum as part of a continuing anti-gay campaign the coalition has organized in the southwest Michigan area over the past month. They also planned to show "Birth of a Nation," a racist film depicting the rise of the original KKK.

Shortly after the forum began, demonstrators drowned out the Nazis and KKKers by chanting anti-Nazi/Klan slogans. Library and police authorities then cleared the auditorium. Outside, the protesters gathered in the rain at two exits of the library to wait for the right-wingers to emerge. After waiting several hours in vain for the demonstrators to leave, the police finally whisked the Nazis and Klansmen away in a U-Haul truck, with the crowd in pursuit.

The anti-Nazi/Klan protest was organized by several Kalamazoo area political groups, including the Kalamazoo Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of El Salvador (CISPES), General Union of Palestinian Students, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), SHIMO Underground, as well as many members of Kalamazoo's lesbian and gay community. The protest also received the support of activists from other cities in Michigan, including the All-Peoples Congress/Workers World Party and the RSL.

The right-wing coalition has announced that it will hold an outdoor rally in Kalamazoo on May 14. Local residents say they will again organize for a large anti-racist, pro-gay turnout.

On March 20, three weeks prior to the Kalamazoo events, a group of about 20 Nazis attempted to rally in the Michigan city of Ann Arbor. To try to avoid a scheduled 1 p.m. counter-demonstration, the Nazis, in collaboration with the police, showed up at the planned City Hall site two hours earlier than originally announced. Despite this effort, the racists were met by a contingent of 30 supporters of the Progressive Labor Party/International Committee Against Racism (PLP/InCAR). After the police took sticks and canes away from the PLP/InCAR group and then allowed the Nazis to march armed with clubs and pipes, the PLP/InCAR supporters rushed the Nazis, forcing them to scatter and seek protection behind the police. Nine members of PLP/InCAR were arrested, several after having been clubbed repeatedly by the cops. Following the melee, the police escorted the Nazis away. The scheduled 1 p.m. anti-Nazi rally took place with a crowd of 250 listening to speeches given by representatives from diverse segments of

the Michigan area progressive movement. Principal sponsors of the anti-Nazi rally included the All-Peoples Congress/Workers World Party, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Revolutionary Workers League and the RSL.

—Mike Everett

Stop the death flights to El Salvador!

The campaign to stop deportation death flights of Salvadorean refugees continues. After winning a similar fight against Western Airlines last year, activists from Echo Park Los Angeles CISPES (Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) have recently renewed their struggle, this time against Mexicana Airlines. Mexicana is a nationalized airline, owned and operated by the Mexican government. A recent leaflet pre-



pared by Echo Park CISPES explains further:

"Mexicana airlines is the air carrier that the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) is now using to transport deported Salvadorean political refugees out of the U.S. and back to El Salvador. Many of these refugees will face arrest, imprisonment, torture and even death when they are dumped back in El Salvador by the INS and this airline. Before Mexicana Airlines took over this bloody task, it was Western Airlines that was making the big profits from the persecution of refugees. Through a long campaign against Western by ourselves and many other human rights, religious and political organizations, we forced Western to stop cooperating with the INS. We stopped Western and we can stop Mexicana too."

Two spirited picket lines of nearly 100 people each were held in March and April outside

briefs

Mexicana's d ticket offices. onstration, M forced to clos hours early du protesters at t
A third acti LA Internatio May 21. It wil ical Asylum f Refugees!," " Cooperating v and "Stop the

Ford worke have better

One year ag Auto Workers leaders were se negotiated con Ford Motor C rank and file, t the UAW's ma "pilot project" established at t Under this pro claimed, "80 p workforce will security' gua force reduction will be based on alternative w Later, Ford's C Plant and a Liv transmission pl sites for this pil

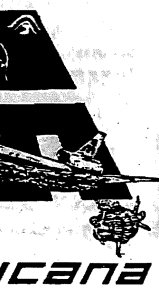
This past mo the Chicago pla look at the Pil Guarantee (PE they rejected it whelming vote o The reason? It t amounted to a t givebacks in ex mini-van of job plan would end Saturday overti use of part-time relief, combine classifications a draconian "Ind patibility Atten gram." One fea program is that attendance reco employees woul as their number: recall. If a work below standards if he or she had last 12 months— would be fired r back to work.

In return for a concessions, For assurance that 8 current workfor many workers al off—would keep "a lifetime?" W only until 1984, agreements, incl

area progressive
principal sponsors
rally included
es Congress/
ld Party,
rkers of the
l, Revolutionary
ue and the RSL.
—Mike Everett

he
s to
vador!

gn to stop depor-
ights of
efugees continues.
a similar fight
n Airlines last
from Echo Park
ISPES (Com-
larity with the
alvador) have
ed their struggle,
st Mexicana Air-
a is a national-
vned and
e Mexican gov-
cent leaflet pre-



Park CISPES
er:
airlines is the air
INS (Immigra-
tional Service)
transport de-
orean political
of the U.S. and
vador. Many of
will face arrest,
torture and even
ey are dumped
vador by the INS
e. Before Mexi-
ook over this
was Western
was making the big
the persecution of
ugh a long cam-
Western by our-
y other human
s and political
we forced
up cooperating
We stopped
ve can stop
d picket lines of
ople each were
and April outside

Mexicana's downtown LA ticket offices. At the first demonstration, Mexicana was forced to close its office several hours early due to the crush of protesters at the door.

A third action is scheduled at LA International Airport on May 21. It will demand: "Political Asylum for Salvadorean Refugees!," "Mexicana Stop Cooperating with the INS!," and "Stop the Death Flights!"

—Albert Lary

Ford workers have a better idea

One year ago, when United Auto Workers union (UAW) leaders were selling the recently negotiated contract with the Ford Motor Company to the rank and file, they bragged in the UAW's magazine about a "pilot project" that would be established at two Ford plants. Under this project, the union claimed, "80 percent of the workforce will win 'lifetime job security' guarantees. Any work-force reductions at the two sites will be based on attrition or alternative work assignment."

Later, Ford's Chicago Assembly Plant and a Livonia, Michigan, transmission plant were set as sites for this pilot program. This past month, workers at the Chicago plant got a close look at the Pilot Employment Guarantee (PEG) plan. Then they rejected it by an overwhelming vote of 1,740-453. The reason? It turned out PEG amounted to a truckload of givebacks in exchange for a mini-van of job security. The plan would end restrictions on Saturday overtime, permit the use of part-timers, eliminate tag relief, combine skilled job classifications and institute a draconian "Industrial Incompatibility Attendance Program." One feature of this program is that the tardy and attendance records of laid-off employees would be examined as their numbers came up for recall. If a worker's record fell below standards—for example, if he or she had six tardies in the last 12 months—the worker would be fired rather than put back to work.

In return for all these concessions, Ford offered its assurance that 80 percent of the current workforce—but not the many workers already laid off—would keep their jobs. For "a lifetime?" Well, not quite—only until 1984, when all agreements, including the PEG,

are scheduled to be renegotiated! Reportedly, both company and local and international union officials were shocked when the workers expressed their undying gratitude by voting down the proposal by better than 4-to-1.

Polish Solidarity calls May 1 actions

Underground leaders of the outlawed Solidarity union in Poland are calling for mass demonstrations against the country's rulers on May 1. A statement from the underground released on April 14 declared, "We are issuing an appeal to demonstrate the unity of society and resistance through mass participation in true workers' celebrations." It urged workers to make May Day a "day of uncertainty and fear" for General Wojciech Jaruzelski's regime.

Lech Walesa, the former head of Solidarity, is supporting the protest. Following his release from prison last November, Walesa indicated that while he agreed with the goals of the underground militants, he differed with them over tactics. But on April 12, Walesa revealed he had recently held secret meetings with five leaders of the underground where they "discussed in detail the country's present situation and coordinated their stand."

According to underground sources, Walesa also attempted to meet with them to sign the April 14 statement, but was unable to escape police surveillance. Meanwhile, the Jaruzelski government is continuing its efforts to harass Walesa and suppress the Solidarity underground network. Walesa was arrested on April 13 and grilled for five hours over his meeting with the underground. On the following day his wife Danuta was also hauled in for questioning. Nine captured underground leaders are currently on trial in Warsaw for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government.

And, as we go to press on April 15, the Polish police have reportedly shut down one of Solidarity's underground radio transmitters.

The Polish government is also continuing its persecution of other well-known Solidarity leaders captured during the



Lech Walesa speaking at workers' rally before imposition of martial law.

initial military crackdown.

Anna Walentynowicz, a leader of the strikes in Gdańsk in August 1980, is being held in a psychiatric hospital in Warsaw. She is there supposedly for "observation" while awaiting trial on strike-related charges.

In Bydgoszcz, the government is trying Edmund Baluka on charges of "attempting to overthrow the government." Baluka was a leader of the 1970 shipyard workers' rebellion in Szczecin, and is a founder of the Polish Socialist Labor Party, an organization affiliated to one of the wings of the Trotskyist movement.

Finally, Solidarity left-winger Jan Rulewski and six other members of the union's National Commission are awaiting trial for "sedition."

Right to life???

The United States has the best medical care in the world. If you can afford it. A look at the infant mortality rate shows this.

Nationally, the infant mortality rate for all U.S. births is 11.7 deaths per 1,000 live births. That figure has been declining for two decades. But reports from those areas of the country hardest hit by the recession and joblessness indicate sharp increases in the infant mortality rate.

In some sections of Detroit, a predominantly Black city, the rate has climbed to 33 deaths per 1,000 births—nearly triple the national average. In Baltimore, Maryland—hard hit by steel layoffs—the infant mortality rates for whites jumped from 9.3 in 1981 to 13.2 in 1982. Similarly, in Pittsburgh—also hit by steel layoffs—the

rate rose from 10.8 in 1980 to 12.0 in 1981.

In Chicago, considered the most segregated city in the nation, the overall infant mortality rate was estimated at 19.2 per 1,000 live births for 1982. In the all-Black Avalon Park section of the city, the rate is an astounding 55 deaths per 1,000!

Most of these deaths don't have to happen. The medical knowledge exists today to drastically lower infant mortality and government funded programs have shown to be highly effective in lowering the rate. These programs provide baby formula, diet supplements and check-ups for needy pregnant women and small children. But the Reagan administration is greatly reducing these programs' funding. In Michigan, which recently reported its biggest jump in infant mortality since World War II, three maternity and infant care projects serving 6,000 women and 11,000 children have been shut down. Two family planning projects which reached out to 58,500 women were also closed.

The cost for each expectant mother in a typical program is only \$450 for the entire nine months of pregnancy. Yet the cost to the government of caring for a sick baby in a neonatal unit can often be as high as \$40,000. Such are the economics of "right-to-lifer" Ronald Reagan.

—Judy Garson

SWP wins trial

After a one-week trial in a U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) won a verdict in the suit brought by ex-SWP member Alan Gelfand. Gelfand had charged that the top leaders of the SWP were government agents, and that these leaders had expelled him from the SWP for seeking to unmask them, thereby denying him his constitutional right to belong to the political party of his choice.

In seeking to have the court reinstate him in the SWP, Gelfand effectively asked the Federal Court to pass judgment on the group's loyalty to Marxism, to explore the personal and political conduct of its leaders to determine if they might be agents, and to review the internal SWP procedures that led to his expulsion. The suit was widely denounced by union, civil rights and left organiza-

tions for opening the door to government investigation and harassment of unpopular political groups.

Gelfand's lawsuit was financed by the British Workers Revolutionary Party and its U.S. affiliate, the Workers League. These organizations have long maintained that the leaders of the SWP are government agents.

The March 9 verdict was handed down by Federal Judge Marianna Pfaelzer, who has presided over the case from its beginning four years ago. Toward the end of the trial, Pfaelzer declared: "And here we are now, after having spent all this time and money. I can only assume that the motive was to paralyze the SWP. If I had been presented with one piece of evidence that these people are agents of the United States government I wouldn't be so disturbed." However, Pfaelzer, a former president of the Los Angeles Police Commission who oversaw operations against the SWP in the mid-1970s, was responsible for prolonging and broadening the pre-trial discovery procedures, using them to collect extensive information about the internal functioning of the SWP.

The SWP is now filing legal papers to prove that the sole purpose of the Gelfand suit was to harass the SWP. This would make both Gelfand and his lawyers "guilty and liable for court costs they inflicted on the SWP." Ever alert for an opportunity to investigate the left, Pfaelzer proposed at the March 21 hearing that SWP attorneys bring her documents on the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers League to document their connection with Gelfand.

Questions that answer themselves

The following advertisement recently appeared in several left publications: "April 22-24 Berkshire Forum: 'The Subject Is Still Revolution.' Susan Schecter, David Laibman and Manning Marable will lead a symposium on building revolutionary consciousness in the U.S. Why the socialist movement in the U.S. is so much weaker than it is in many other capitalist countries. Set in the Berkshires, at a guest house. \$60, 80, 100 per day depending on income; includes meals, room (double occupancy)."

Who's Getting the Works at Weirton?

Worker Buy-Out Equals Corporate Bail-Out

An agreement reached on March 13 has opened the way for steelworkers at the huge Weirton Works in Weirton, West Virginia, to buy the mill from its parent company, the National Steel Corporation. If the 11,500 Weirton employees (including 4,000 laid-off workers) approve the buy-out, as expected, the mill would become by far the largest so-called employee-owned company in the U.S.

Increasingly, employee-ownership plans are being looked to as a way for workers to counter plant closings and save jobs in basic industry, particularly in the depressed industrial regions of the East and Midwest. A close look at the terms of the Weirton deal, however, suggests that "employee-ownership" offers workers far less than its proponents claim.

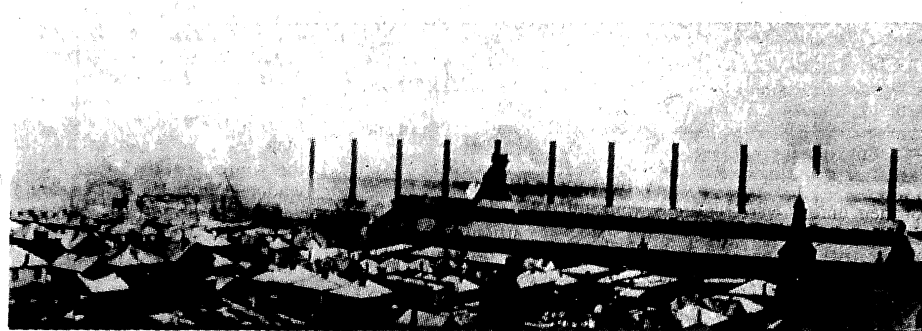
Weirton Steel, founded in 1909 and nestled along the Ohio River about 35 miles west of Pittsburgh, is one of the country's 10 biggest integrated steel mills. The company has long been touted within the steel industry for its high profits and stable labor-management relations. Ever since 1936, when Weirton set up a company union, the Independent Steelworkers Union (ISU), it has managed to keep the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) out of the mill. Weirton policy has been to pay its workforce slightly higher wages than the USWA was able to win from other steel companies. The ISU—whose officers are paid by the company—has never called a strike.

Weirton itself (population 26,000) is a classical company town, built around the mill and entirely dependent on it for survival. Nearly every family in Weirton has a member working at the mill. Local merchants rely on Weirton workers for most of their business and residents pay no local taxes since the company covers the costs of all utilities, street repairs and other municipal services. Through policies such as these, Weirton has been able to establish a stable, loyal pool of workers who have long felt sure they would have a permanent and relatively high-paying job at the company.

Today, however, Weirton Steel is in serious trouble. Like other companies in the slumping steel industry, Weirton's parent firm, National Steel—the nation's fourth largest producer—has been diversifying into areas of the economy it hopes will be more profitable than steel. (National invested

first in aluminum, then in savings and loans—both, as it turned out, relative losers.) At the same time, the market for the Weirton mill's main product, tin plate used in manufacturing containers, had declined significantly due to competition from aluminum can makers. In addition, millions of dollars are needed to modernize the mill to comply with federal environmental standards.

As a result, National announced last year that unless the workers bought the mill, it would limit all future investment in Weirton Steel, reduce operations to a minimum, and cut the workforce to less than 2,000. National preferred to curtail its investment—rather than simply close the mill down—because a complete shutdown would cost the company \$770 million in pension liabilities



owed to Weirton's high-seniority workers. By keeping the plant running as a small finishing mill, National would continue to employ those workers with the most seniority, thereby avoiding the lion's share of its pension obligations.

But for most Weirton workers—and for their families, the town and much of the surrounding area—letting the mill die such a slow death would be little better than an outright shutdown. Weirton Steel is the largest single employer and taxpayer in West Virginia. Since the state today has an unemployment rate of 21 percent—the highest in the nation—the prospects for laid-off Weirton employees finding new jobs would be dim indeed.

Despite this, many Weirton workers were initially skeptical about National's buy-out proposal. Eventually, however, much of the population of Weirton accepted the buy-out as the only way to save their jobs, their town and their futures. Union and community groups organized parades, rallies and fundraisers in support of the buy-out. Weirton management, along with state, county and city officials, all backed the

plan. And the Independent Steelworkers Union spent \$500,000—taken from its never-used strike fund—to hire experts to conduct a feasibility study of the company offer.

Cost is staggering

Unfortunately, the terms of the proposed buy-out hardly justify such enthusiasm. The cost in dollar terms alone is staggering: Weirton workers will pay National \$66 million for the mill and equipment over 15 years, starting in 1988. They will also shell out an estimated \$300 million for inventory and raw materials over the next 28 years; \$75 million immediately and another \$40 million in 1988.

In addition to all this, the feasibility study commissioned by the union concluded that needed investment for modernization and environmental improvements might total as much as \$1 billion over the next 10 years.

The specifics of the agreement are designed from start to finish to protect the interests of National Steel and the banks that would finance the deal. National will be released from its extensive pension obligations five years after the proposed buy-out takes place. In addition, it will be unloading an unprofitable company at well above the market price. As for Weirton's workers, they will virtually have to sell themselves to the banks to obtain the cash and loan guarantees needed for the buy-out. According to Gene Keilan, a financial expert who helped negotiate the proposed deal, the workers will have to arrange \$100 to \$150 million in immediate financial backing. But this loan, large as it is, would only be the beginning: Ronald Bancroft, who directed the feasibility study, estimates that the company will likely have to borrow \$40 to \$50 million—in each of the next five

years—to keep the plant operating.

To ensure that the bankers' loans are repaid, at 10 percent interest, a trust will be set up to negotiate the loans and make the actual purchase of the mill. As revenues are generated from the operation of the plant, the members of the trust board will pay off the loans. If the trust defaults on the loans, the banks will have first claim to any revenues generated from the sale of Weirton assets.

Beyond all this, the proposed buy-out agreement requires the workers to accept an immediate 32 percent cut in wages and benefits. This cut is supposed to make Weirton more competitive, by reducing labor costs. But the 32 percent cut was determined before the USWA was forced to grant major concessions to the steel industry in a

Two others will be picked by management, while the six remaining "independent" members will actually represent the interests of the lending banks. In other words, Weirton workers will have only token representation on the body that will make all decisions about the operation of "their" mill.

Even when—or if—the workers succeed in paying off their debts to the banks and turning Weirton into a profitable operation, they still will not gain real control of the mill. This is because the sale is to be carried out through a mechanism known as an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). Under this plan, the trust board will gradually issue shares of stock to the workers as it pays off the loans to the banks. But these shares will be non-voting stock. Thus, even when all the loans are paid off, the workers will have absolutely no control over management, which can go on running the mill just as before!

Difficult decision

Weirton workers are scheduled to vote on the proposed buy-out deal sometime prior to May 1. Undeniably, they face a difficult choice. If they do not buy the plant, the result will be the loss of thousands of jobs and the further devastation of an already hard-hit region of the country. On the other hand, if Weirton workers vote in favor of the buy-out agreement, they will lose at least one-third of their current wages and benefits and assume an obligation to pay a huge debt—all for a mere promise that some of them will keep their jobs and, in the indefinite future, receive a few shares of non-voting stock in a company that may not even be profitable.

Whatever the workers at Weirton Steel decide, one thing should be clear: "Worker-ownership" is little more than a corporate euphemism for worker givebacks. The form may be different, but the content is certainly the same.

Jack Arango, a Weirton employee with 18 years at the mill, summed up the situation: "What National's doing, they're forcing us to buy our jobs. Either starve or eat, that's what they're asking. The whole system's going to be the same, but our money's going to be running it, and we're taking the cuts. National doesn't care about us. They just care about how much money they can make for themselves." □

Growi Worry

Black workers in South Africa (Azania) are organizing themselves into unions. One of the most developments in this struggle has been the first-time unioning of Black gold miners. This is the heart of the South African economy and, as the half-million Black miners—97 percent of the mine workforce—have tremendous power. This gives their efforts special significance in the struggle to overthrow racist apartheid systems.

South Africa's Black miners are paid an average of \$1,080 a month—just one-fifth of what white miners receive. They are required to sign up for work for a year, then must live in all-male compounds, hundreds of miles from their families. The matters worse, South African gold digs are the world's most dangerous and deadly, with job accidents and deaths common.

Over the past five years, organizing efforts in the mines failed, even though workers in other industries in transport have succeeded in forming unions and winning concessions from management and government.

However, the situation in the mines began to change last year. In July, 30,000 miners struck for eight weeks. Although the strike was defeated—after 11 workers killed, 150 wounded and 5,000 fired and deported—"Bantustans" (Black homelands)—the mine owners recognized that if they did not organize Black miners some day, they would face a more militant and violent struggle in the future. As the *New York Times* explained the owners' view: "It is easier to negotiate with organized unions than to confront an angry mob."

In August, the National Union of Mineworkers was formed with the encouragement of the Congress of Mines, an organization of the mine owners. In October the union was granted a contract by the President Brand owned by the vast Anglo American Corporation. The December, the Chamber of Mines announced it would bargain with any union that could demonstrate "significant representation" among workers in any job category in any mine. It also declared it would grant organizers access to the mine compounds where

Growing Black Militancy, Internal Splits Worry South African Rulers

others will be picked by management, while the six remaining "independent" members will actually represent the assets of the lending banks. In her words, Weirton workers will have only token representation on the body that will make all decisions about the operation of "their" mill. Even when—or if—the workers succeed in paying off their debts to the banks and turning the operation into a profitable operation, they still will not gain real control of the mill. This is because the sale is to be carried through a mechanism known as an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). Under the plan, the trust board will actually issue shares of stock to the workers as it pays off the debts to the banks. But these shares will be non-voting stock. Even when all the loans are paid off, the workers will have absolutely no control over management, which can go on operating the mill just as before!

Difficult decision

Weirton workers are scheduled to vote on the proposed buy-out deal sometime prior to May 1. Undeniably, they face a difficult choice. If they do not accept the deal, the result will be the loss of thousands of jobs and the further devastation of the already hard-hit region of western Pennsylvania. On the other hand, if they vote in favor of the buy-out agreement, they will lose at least one-third of their current wages and benefits. They assume an obligation to pay the debt—all for a mere promise that some of them will keep their jobs and, in the distant future, receive a few shares of non-voting stock in a company that may not even be profitable.

Whatever the workers at Weirton Steel decide, one thing is clear: "Worker-ownership" is little more than a euphemistic euphemism for work-backs. The form may be different, but the content is mainly the same.

Jack Arango, a Weirton employee with 18 years at the mill, summed up the situation: "That National's doing, they're forcing us to buy our mill. Either starve or eat, that's what they're asking. The whole thing's going to be the same, our money's going to be taken out of us, and we're taking the money. National doesn't care about us. They just care about how much money they can make for themselves." □

Black workers in South Africa (Azania) are organizing themselves into unions at a rapid rate. One of the most dramatic developments in this struggle has been the first-time unionization of Black gold miners. Gold mining is the heart of the South African economy and, as a result, the half-million Black miners—97 percent of the mine workforce—have tremendous potential power. This gives their organizing efforts special significance in the struggle to overthrow the racist apartheid system.

South Africa's Black miners are paid an average of \$216 a month—just one-fifth of the \$1,080 a month paid to white miners. They are required to sign up for work for a year and then must live in all-male barracks inside the remote mine compounds, hundreds of miles from their families. To make matters worse, South Africa's gold digs are the world's deepest and death and injury on the job are common.

Over the past five years, most organizing efforts in the gold mines failed, even though Black workers in other industries and in transport have successfully formed unions and won a series of concessions from management and government.

However, the situation in the mines began to change last summer. In July, 30,000 miners in eight separate mines struck for a week. Although the strike was defeated—after 11 workers were killed, 150 wounded and over 5,000 fired and deported to the "Bantustans" (Black "homelands")—the mine owners recognized that if they did not grant Black miners some room for organizing, they would face even more militant and violent struggle in the future. As the *New York Times* explained the mine owners' view: "It is easier to negotiate with recognized leaders of organized unions than to confront an angry mob."

In August, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was formed with the quiet encouragement of the Chamber of Mines, an organization of all the mine owners. In October, the union was granted access to the President Brand mine, owned by the vast Anglo-American Corporation. Then, in December, the Chamber of Mines announced it would bargain with any union that could demonstrate "significant representation" among Black workers in any job category at any mine. It also declared that it would grant organizers access to the mine compounds whether or



Rally held earlier this year at the President Brand gold mine in Welkom, South Africa. To union organizer's chants of "Amandla!" ("Power!"), mineworkers responded "Ngawethu!" ("To the People!").

not their unions were registered with the government.

Since the beginning of this year, the NUM—which has not registered and thus exists as a semi-legal organization—has signed up nearly 18,000 members in 11 mines. Despite the Chamber decision, mine company officials have continued to harass NUM organizers, often preventing them from speaking and passing out leaflets. The government has also arrested several NUM organizers for supposed violations of the pass laws.

Conflicts divide white rulers

While South Africa's Black workers are making gains on the union front, conflicts within the white ruling class are intensifying. The main point of contention is South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha's strategy of preserving white minority rule by enlisting support for the apartheid regime from the so-called "Coloured" and Indian peoples. (In South Africa there are 2.7 million people of mixed-race backgrounds—officially classified as "Coloured" by the government—and about 800,000 people of East Indian origin, in addition to 23 million Blacks and 4.5 million whites.)

The centerpiece of Botha's strategy is a new constitution that would grant mixed-race

people and Indians greatly restricted participation in the government, while continuing to totally exclude Blacks. Under this constitution, a "Coloured" house of parliament and an Indian house of parliament would be set up, parallel to the present white-only parliament. Although the white body would be by far the most powerful of the three houses, as a further guarantee of white dominance the constitution calls for the establishment of a white-held presidency that would stand above all three parliamentary bodies and have near-dictatorial powers.

Initially, it appeared that Botha's scheme might at last be partially successful. In early January, the "Coloured" Labor Party announced it would support and participate in Botha's new form of government. Prior to this, the Labor Party had been a part of the Black Alliance, an anti-apartheid coalition headed by Gatscha Buthelezi, the government-recognized head of the Zulu people, which opposed Botha's new plan. The Labor Party's decision to support Botha appeared to be a major blow to the unity of oppressed people in South Africa. But, as it turned out, the Labor Party itself split and several of its most prominent figures condemned participation in Botha's government and pledged to form a new party that would rejoin the Black Alliance. In addition, hostile

demonstrations in mixed-race communities stopped Labor Party leader Allan Hendrickse wherever and whenever he tried to speak. By the end of February, he was forced to cancel all public appearances.

Botha is also having trouble convincing whites to go along with his plan. In March, the far right-wing parties of white South Africans—the Conservative Party and the fascist Herstigte Nasionale Party—pressured Botha and his ruling National Party into promising that the new constitution would be put up for a popular vote among the whites. These parties oppose any plan that gives non-whites any more rights, or even the appearance of more rights, than they presently have. Botha very much wanted to avoid a referendum on his constitution since he can win such a vote only by relying on the more liberal segment of the white population which is sympathetic to the opposition Progressive Federal Party. Worse still, from Botha's point of view, the plan for a referendum among the whites forced Labor Party leader Hendrickse to call for a vote in the mixed-race community as well. Such a referendum has no chance of winning among "Coloureds" and, as a result, Botha's plan for a new government by January 1984 has been derailed.

South African troops invade Lesotho

While the Botha government has been trying to lure reformists into collaborating with the apartheid regime, attacks on the more intransigent opponents of apartheid have escalated. On December 9, South African military units invaded the country of Lesotho, killing 42 people. The troops were searching for activists connected with the African National Congress (ANC), the oldest and most prominent revolutionary organization in South Africa.

Lesotho, an independent country surrounded by South Africa and completely dependent on it economically, has been providing asylum for political refugees from South Africa—though it has not been a major base for underground operations against the apartheid regime. After the raid, South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha warned the Lesotho government that it would be invaded again if it continued to allow opponents of apartheid their liberty.

In retaliation for the raid, and as a "salute to fallen heroes," the ANC set off four bombs inside South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power plant on December 18, the night before the funeral for those killed in Lesotho. The Koeberg plant was under construction and the bombs did not release any radiation. Nevertheless, since Koeberg is one of the most heavily guarded installations in the country, the action was a significant psychological blow to the regime.

Unfortunately, the apartheid regime continues to claim its victims. On March 9, Tembisa Simon Mndawe became the 56th prisoner detained under security laws to die in police custody. As it usually does, the government claimed that Mndawe had committed suicide by hanging himself. On March 22, nine alleged supporters of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania went on trial for charges that could result in death sentences. And six ANC activists are currently in prison under death sentences that are likely to be carried out soon.

On top of all this, the South African police have launched an offensive against 75 so-called black spots—areas where Black people are living in violation of laws that define 86 percent of South Africa as "white-only" territory. On April 4, police killed Saul Mkhize, 44, who was leading a fight to prevent the destruction of his hometown of Driefontein, a Black farming village of 5,000, founded in 1912. The Botha regime intends to confiscate the land and deport the residents to a Bantustan. In fitting testament to the ugly brutality of apartheid, the government plans to dig up Driefontein's dead and ship the remains to the same Bantustan as well! □

Subscribe to

FORWARD

RML LEADS MILITANT ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATION

Newspaper of the
RML of Jamaica, WI

One year subscription: \$5

Order from: RSL,
PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

CIA-Backed Rightists Invade Nicaragua

(Continued from page 1)

sion, the Fuerzas Democráticas Nicaragüenses (FDN—Nicaraguan Democratic Forces), is nominally headed by business leaders and politicians who supported the overthrow of Somoza, but who now oppose the Sandinista regime. It is actually controlled by former Somocistas grouped in the 15 of September Legion.

The FDN's military operations are led by Colonel Enrique Bermúdez Veralá, Somoza's former military attache in Washington. Most of the FDN field commanders are former members of the National Guard's elite "Rattlesnake" battalion. One of them told a U.S. reporter, "Come the counter-revolution there will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua."

A second group, the Alianza Revolucionaria Democrática (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance), is led by Eden Pastora Gómez. Pastora, also known as Commander Zero, was a popular hero of the revolution who commanded the FSLN's Southern Front in the final stages of the war against Somoza. After Somoza was toppled, he served as vice minister of defense in the Sandinista regime and as commander of the Sandinista People's Militia.

In July 1981, Pastora resigned his posts and departed the country for an unknown destination. He left behind a letter implying that he was going to join guerrillas fighting U.S. imperialism elsewhere in Central America.

Pastora surfaced in Costa Rica in April 1982, and denounced the Sandinista regime. He accused the FSLN leadership of breaking its promises to the Nicaraguan people by opposing "political pluralism, the practice of free elections and respect for individual rights." He condemned the government for "terrorizing" dissident Miskito Indians and for limiting freedom of the press. He also criticized the growing Cuban and Russian influence in Nicaragua, saying he opposed imperialism in Poland and Afghanistan as well as in Vietnam and El Salvador, and demanded that Cuban military personnel be ordered out of Nicaragua.

Spokespersons for Pastora's Alliance say they are "dissident revolutionaries," not counter-revolutionaries. They claim to support many of the reforms implemented by the Sandinistas, including the nationwide literacy campaign, the nationalization of Somoza's property and the banks, income redistribution efforts, and "some aspects" of the Sandinistas' agrarian reform program.

Pastora and his allies also insist that they will not join

forces with the Somocistas, nor accept aid from the Reagan administration or the CIA. They specifically criticized the recent invasion, saying it would only build popular support for the Sandinistas. And, until now, they have—in public at least—opposed military efforts to overthrow the FSLN.

But the real aims of Pastora and his supporters are more ambiguous. Despite official denials, their Alliance has held "informal discussions" with the FDN leadership. It also maintains military training camps in Costa Rica. Pastora himself reportedly re-entered Nicaragua in early April after saying his

or at least not in active opposition. This, in part, is why the Miskitos played little role in the struggle against Somoza.)

After the revolution, the Sandinistas' efforts to set up a strong, centralized state machine brought them into conflict with the Miskitos, who wanted to maintain their traditional autonomy. FSLN leaders at first demanded the Miskitos give up their own organizations and join those being set up by the government. When they launched the literacy campaign, the Sandinistas insisted the Miskitos learn Spanish rather than their own language. These and other con-

cerns. Fogarth at one time admitted—but now denies—Sandinista charges that he worked as a Somoza agent when he was a college student in Managua.

An opposing faction, led by Brooklyn Rivera, is allied with Pastora. The Rivera faction claims that it has no ties with the Somocistas, receives no outside aid, and says it is based entirely within Nicaragua.

U.S. plots against Nicaragua exposed

Recent press reports have revealed how the Reagan admin-

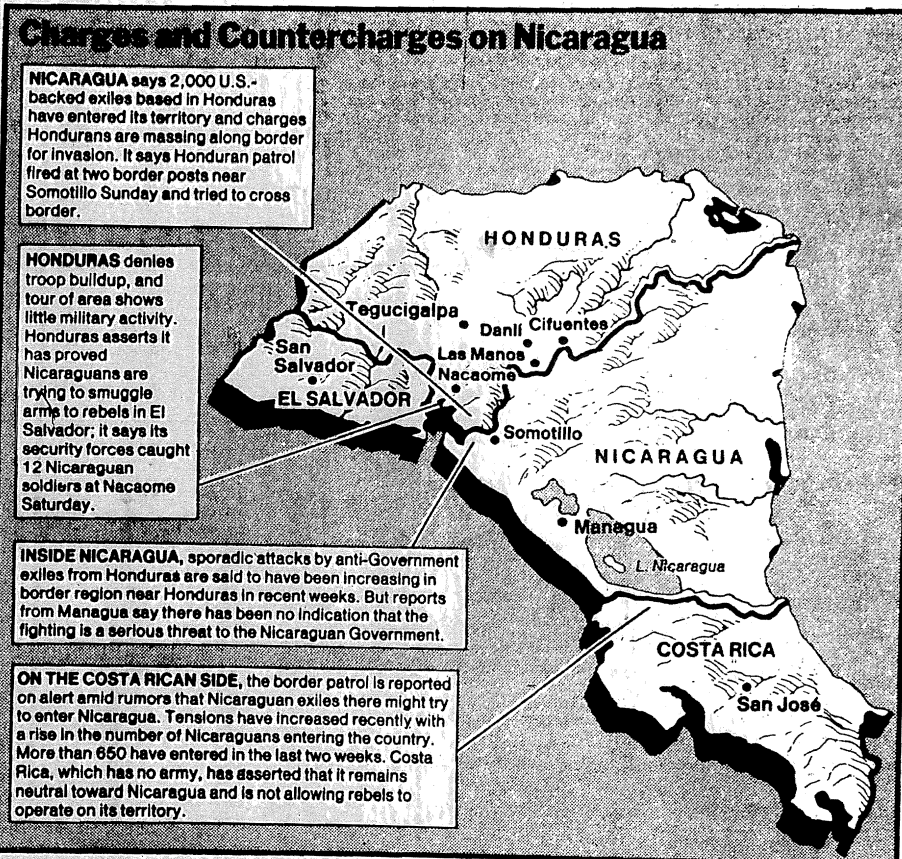
mainly on military "advisers" provided by the rightist Argentine military government rather than on U.S. forces. But this strategy collapsed when war broke out between the British and Argentine governments over the Malvinas Islands last spring. The U.S. supported British imperialism's successful campaign to reconquer the Malvinas; the Argentine rulers, in retaliation, sharply cut back their training programs for the Nicaraguan exiles.

This forced the administration to take a much more direct role in the campaign against the Sandinistas. During the summer of 1982, the CIA delivered plane-loads of arms to Fogarth's Miskito forces; at the same time, the U.S. military transported Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan border to protect the Somocista camps from Sandinista reprisals. Numerous U.S. advisers with Latin American backgrounds were brought in to train the rightists. And in December, joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises along the Nicaraguan border were held as a cover for providing additional arms, supplies and training for the counter-revolutionaries.

Meanwhile, the Reagan administration developed an elaborate command structure designed to conceal the extent of its collaboration with the Somocistas. A team composed of U.S. diplomatic, CIA and military experts led by John Negroponte, the U.S. ambassador to Honduras, devised the overall strategy for the anti-Sandinista campaign. Its specifics were passed on to the Honduran military command by CIA and military liaison officers; the Honduran military then transmitted them to the Somocista leaders. This charade was set up so that the administration could deny any direct link with the efforts of the Somocistas and other pro-U.S. forces within Nicaragua to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy and otherwise harass the Sandinista regime.

Splits in U.S. ruling class

The administration's anti-Sandinista campaign is provoking protests from growing sections of the U.S. ruling class. This opposition comes in part from liberals who still hope to reach an accommodation with the Sandinista government that would commit it to maintaining a private sector and political pluralism and keep it from going over entirely to the pro-Russian bloc. But even more conservative elements in the U.S. ruling class—those who share the administration's overall view on the Sandinistas—fear that Reagan's policies



supporters would resort to "other methods" if the Sandinista regime refused to negotiate with him by April 15.

FSLN policies provoke Miskito revolt

The third major group opposing the FSLN government is the Miskito Indians. The Miskitos, along with two smaller Indian peoples, the Sumu and the Rama, and some 30,000 Black descendants of escaped slaves, live on Nicaragua's isolated Atlantic Coast. These peoples have their own cultures, their own languages, and have little contact with the Nicaraguan central government. (Somoza, for example, allowed the Miskitos some limited autonomy in order to keep them loyal to him

licts led to mass strikes and demonstrations against the Sandinistas in the town of Bluefields in October 1980, shutting the town down for a week.

In February 1981, after the FSLN jailed Miskito leaders for encouraging "separatism," thousands of Miskitos fled to Honduras and took up arms against the Sandinistas. Another mass exodus took place in January 1982, after the Sandinistas forced over 10,000 Miskitos to evacuate their homes near the border for "security reasons."

Tragically, the Sandinistas' policies have driven at least some Miskitos into the arms of the Somocistas and the CIA. One wing of the Miskito resistance, led by Steadman Fogarth, has joined the FDN. His forces are armed by the CIA and trained by Somocista offi-

cialists. The administration has used the Nicaraguan exile groups in its plots against the Sandinista regime. Shortly after taking office in 1981, the administration began developing plans for "the removal of the government in Managua." Its schemes started to take concrete shape in November 1981, when the National Security Council allocated \$19 million for the Somocistas—supposedly for the sole purpose of preventing Nicaraguan aid from reaching leftist rebels in El Salvador.

From the beginning, the Reagan administration feared that any open effort to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution would meet congressional opposition and mass popular protests at home and abroad. The government, therefore, hoped to conceal its ties to the Somocista guerrillas by relying

could drag U.S. into a long, unwinnable war in Nicaragua. Such U.S. elements intensify the struggle in Mexico, create a rift with Cuba and many of the U.S. not least, provoke war movement States itself.

Last September Reagan's cover against the Sandinistas leak out, Congress Boland amendment bids the administration taking any action **pose of overthrowing government of Nicaragua** in light of recent members of Congress both parties have the Reagan government's spirit, of this law. S. Moynihan (D-N.H.) ple, a Cold War communist record decades, accusation of breaking congressional code in the Senate and Representatives denounced plans U.S. involvement in Nicaragua.

More serious administration still, State Department requested a meeting administration April to discuss U.S. actions in Nicaragua well-publicized actually reflects a position to the administration by the who are supposed to home and abroad actually carry it.

There are also that some Pentagon officials may even administration's many leaks to the U.S. policy again including the Security Council stem at least in the and Pentagon reportedly believe administration's Nicaragua "running out of will end in a fiat

Mobilize against U.S. aggression

It is crucial to tant, mass mobilization to U.S. Central America stake than just Nicaragua. The that are most counter-revolutionary in Central America the attack against oppressed people States and the world. To defend Nicaragua and Central America U.S. ruling class ourselves. □

gua

on military "advisers" led by the rightist Argentine government rather than U.S. forces. But this y collapsed when war broke out between the British and Argentine governments over the Malvinas Islands last spring. The U.S. supported British imperialism's successful campaign to conquer the Malvinas; the Argentine rulers, in retaliation, cut back their training programs for the Nicaraguan

forced the administration to take a much more direct role in the campaign against the Sandinistas. During the summer of 1982, the CIA delivered thousands of arms to Fogarth's forces; at the same time the U.S. military transferred Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan border to protect Somocista camps from Sandinista reprisals. Numerous advisers with Latin American backgrounds were brought in to train the right-wing Honduran military exiles along the Nicaraguan border. These were held as a cover for providing additional arms, supplies and training for the anti-revolutionaries.

Meanwhile, the Reagan administration developed an elaborate command structure designed to conceal the extent of its collaboration with the Somocistas. A team composed of diplomatic, CIA and military experts led by John Negroponte, the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, devised the overall strategy for the anti-Sandinista campaign. Its specifics were based on the Honduran military command by CIA and military liaison officers; the Honduran military then transferred them to the Somocista forces. This charade was set up so that the administration could deny any direct link with the efforts of the Somocistas and their pro-U.S. forces within Nicaragua to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy and other areas that harass the Sandinista re-

s in U.S.
g class

administration's anti-Sandinista campaign is provoking protests from growing sections of the U.S. ruling class. Opposition comes in part from liberals who still hope to see an accommodation with the Sandinista government that would commit it to maintaining the private sector and political liberalism and keep it from falling entirely to the pro-Sandinista bloc. But even more opposition comes from the conservative elements in the ruling class—those who see the administration's over-reliance on the Sandinistas—that Reagan's policies

could drag U.S. imperialism into a long, difficult and unwinnable war in Central America. Such U.S. intervention, these elements fear, would intensify the social crisis in Mexico, create a confrontation with Cuba and Russia, alienate many of the U.S. allies and, not least, provoke a mass anti-war movement in the United States itself.

Last September, as reports of Reagan's covert campaign against the Sandinistas began to leak out, Congress passed the Boland amendment, which forbids the administration from taking any actions "for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua." In the light of recent events, many members of Congress from both parties have now accused the Reagan government of violating the spirit, if not the letter, of this law. Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY), for example, a Cold Warrior whose anti-communist record goes back for decades, accused the administration of breaking the law. And congressional committees, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, have announced plans to investigate U.S. involvement in the fighting in Nicaragua.

More serious for the administration still, high-ranking State Department officials requested a meeting with top administration aides in early April to discuss the legality of U.S. actions in Nicaragua. This well-publicized "request" actually reflects a serious opposition to the administration's campaign by the very people who are supposed to defend it at home and abroad, if not actually carry it out.

There are also indications that some Pentagon and CIA officials may even oppose the administration's actions. The many leaks to the press about U.S. policy against Nicaragua—including the text of National Security Council documents—stem at least in part from CIA and Pentagon officials who reportedly believe the administration's Nicaragua policy is "running out of control" and will end in a fiasco.

Mobilize against U.S. aggression!

It is crucial to build a militant, mass mobilization in opposition to U.S. aggression in Central America. More is at stake than just the defense of Nicaragua. The same forces that are masterminding the counter-revolutionary offensive in Central America are leading the attack against working and oppressed people in the United States and throughout the world. To defend the people of Nicaragua and the rest of Central America against the U.S. ruling class is to defend ourselves. □

Queen Elizabeth II of England recently made a tour of the Western Hemisphere. One of her stops was Jamaica. Below we are reprinting an article on her visit there by our sister organization, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica. The article is by Jon Thomas and is from the February 27-March 26 issue of the RML's newspaper, the Forward.

Missis Queen has come and gone and undoubtedly many conscious Jamaicans are wondering what it was all about. The light, water, roads and public transportation remain in a mess. Many of us have no jobs (note the "suspension" of the crash programme) and can't find food to eat. Even in the case of those of us who have jobs, it looks like money gone on long leave. Yet thousands and thousands of dollars were spent to bring down two people who represent Jamaica's historical enslavement as well as its present-day domination by Western imperialism.

What seems clear is that the Seaga regime engineered the recent state visit to try and

distract the masses from the terrible suffering that has been heaped on them by the present world capitalist crisis and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP—the ruling party) government's pro-U.S., pro-big business policies. The Seaga regime obviously figured on tapping into the more conservative side of the consciousness and psychology of the Jamaican masses in planning the visit.



In so doing it deliberately sought to revive the old bucky massa situation where there was "a place for everyone and everyone in his place." The masses' place of course being permanently that of hewers of wood and drawers of water—at the very bottom of the pile.

The recent visit by the English queen and her husband was

therefore another cynical attempt by the Seaga regime to stifle and hold back the vital, creative and progressive side of the Jamaican personality. For they realize that the masses will not sit down and bear the present suffering indefinitely. Mass resistance is going to flare up.

We have nothing to do with Missis Queen and her tribe. In the first place, they represent

the colonial subjugation of Jamaica (and places like Ireland up to now). In the second place, they represent an elite and parasitic body fattening on the blood and sweat of the working people of England, Jamaica and every other country where they maintain a neocolonial foothold.

Thus we are republicans. But

our republicanism is different from that of Manley and the Peoples National Party (PNP—the bourgeois opposition party). For in 1975 the PNP, which claims to be for republicanism, invited Queen Elizabeth to Jamaica. During the recent visit Michael Manley, the Republican, was to be seen smiling up with the queen. Why? Because he and the PNP are yet again trying to convince the middle class and the capitalists that they are really "responsible" politicians. They don't really want to bring about an end to the suffering the masses now face under capitalism and imperialism. Instead they want to reconcile the masses into accepting their oppression.

For our part, we call for a workers' and small farmers' republic in Jamaica and for a world republic where the world's masses control their own destiny and coexist in peace and harmony. Away with the queens, princes, capitalist politicians, capitalist bosses and other thieving, bloodsucking exploiters. Forward to the workers' revolution in Jamaica and internationally. □

Brazil Hit by Three Days of Anti-Government Rioting

In early April, thousands of unemployed workers in São Paulo, Brazil, went into the streets in a militant, three-day rebellion against President João Baptista Figueiredo's military regime.

Anti-government protests by jobless workers first broke out in one of the city's industrial suburbs on April 4. On the following day, in an effort to confine the workers to peaceful protests, the radical Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers' Party) and local community and trade union officials organized a "March Against Unemployment" to the governor's palace.

When the marchers reached the palace, they tore down a fence and stormed onto the grounds demanding jobs, food for the unemployed, shortened workdays and unemployment compensation (which does not exist in Brazil). In response, Governor Franco Montoro told a workers' delegation that he would take measures to create 40,000 jobs.

But such promises did not satisfy the workers, who moved into the streets surrounding the palace and began emptying stores and supermarkets. When Montoro sent in riot police to

suppress them, the workers fought back with stones, clubs and iron bars. Streetfighting continued on April 6, forcing the national government to put the army on alert.

Montoro was finally able to disperse the rebellion by banning all public gatherings and sending in 10,000 state riot police to clear the streets. Altogether some 500 demonstrators were jailed during the protests and about 100 people were reported injured. Meanwhile, similar streetfighting broke out on April 11 in Rio de Janeiro, where 2,500 unemployed workers battled police.

The massive unemployment rate in São Paulo, where nearly 700,000 workers—13 percent of the workforce—have no jobs, is only one sign of an economic crisis that is bringing the entire country to the point of collapse. After the military seized power in 1964, it cut wages in half, while offering generous terms to foreign investors. These measures produced an "economic miracle," in which the country's gross domestic product tripled over the following 10 years.

But the Brazilian economy began to falter in 1976, and has been in deep recession for the

past three years. The inflation rate has zoomed from 15 percent in 1972 to over 100 percent today and the country's foreign debts have ballooned to some \$88 billion. In February, the government was forced to take drastic measures to head off a total economic collapse, including borrowing \$4.9 billion from the International Monetary Fund to pay off short-term debts and devaluing the currency 23 percent.

The failure of Brazil's "economic miracle" provoked increasing opposition to military rule by nearly all sections of the population. Beginning in 1977, for example, leaders of the business community and the Roman Catholic Church—who had previously supported the government—began demanding democratic reforms.

However, it was the Brazilian working class that emerged as the main threat to the military government. In 1978, workers in São Paulo organized their first strikes in over a decade. Their militancy sparked the greatest strike wave in Brazilian history in 1979. It was after this that Luis Inácio da Silva, (Lula), a leader of the São Paulo workers, along with other militants, formed the radical

PT, which is based mainly in São Paulo.

In an effort to contain the opposition movement, the military government introduced a liberalization program in 1979 called the "abertura," or "opening." It eased censorship, declared an amnesty for political prisoners, allowed opposition parties to organize and agreed to hold free elections.

Last November 15, in the first free elections in Brazil in 17 years, opposition parties captured 70 percent of the vote, gaining control of a majority of Brazil's state governments, as well as the electoral college that will choose Brazil's next president in 1985. In the state of Rio de Janeiro, Leonel Brizola, leader of the social democratic Democratic Labor Party, was elected governor. In the state of São Paulo, Montoro, a candidate of the moderate Brazilian Democratic Movement Party was elected, while the PT gained 1.1 million votes, more than 10 percent of the total.

But as the uprising in São Paulo demonstrated, neither the military nor the pro-capitalist opposition parties—nor even the somewhat more radical leaders of the PT—have been able to contain the militancy of the Brazilian working class. □

Numb from the worst economic crisis in 50 years, the world's capitalist economies are lurching toward a full-scale trade war. If it develops, such a conflict will throw "normal" capitalist competition based on price, quality and service out the window. Instead, the ruling class of each country will try to increase its sales and profits by "protecting" its home market while trying to grab off big chunks of everyone else's with tariffs, quotas, subsidies and bureaucratic regulations.

If a trade war does break out, it will batter any economic recovery, and likely will also turn the present recession into an all-out depression.

Fronts on which a trade war is heating up include:

• **Agriculture:** Here the conflict is especially intense, with each capitalist country trying to prop up its food sector as a matter of national security. In addition, in some countries such as France and Japan, the ruling class protects farmers in order to shore up its political base.

Already, bruising battles have broken out. In January, the U.S. announced it would sell \$150 million worth of flour to Egypt, the world's largest importer of wheat flour and traditionally a European market. The U.S. government will kick in almost 40 percent of the deal through subsidies. Officials in Washington said the action was taken as a "warning" to the Europeans to reduce the subsidies of their own agricultural exports. But Michael L. Hall of the National Corn Growers Association saw it differently: "Call it whatever you want," he said. "It is a war designed to protect export interests." Later, an Agriculture Department official admitted: "What we are doing is moving the overcapacity in flour mills from this country to Europe."

Also in January, the Chinese government cut off imports of U.S. cotton, soybeans and chemical fibers after the U.S. had unilaterally imposed quotas on Chinese textiles and garments.

Meanwhile, farmers themselves are mobilizing. In Maine, potato farmers are threatening to block trucks carrying imported Canadian potatoes. In Japan 10,000 farmers marched recently to protect their home market against U.S. imports. And in France, angry wine producers have dumped thousands of gallons of imported Italian wine while egg farmers released thousands of chickens to run loose through northern cities to protest foreign competition.

• **U.S. vs. Japan:** In addition to agriculture, the U.S. is fighting the Japanese over autos, steel, motorcycles, machine tools, semiconductors and other electronic products. On April 3, the U.S. raised the tariff on imported Japanese motorcycles tenfold. Earlier, after much pressure, the U.S. had won another round when the Japanese "voluntarily" agreed to limit for a third year their exports of cars to the U.S. However, Japanese trade official Tadayoshi Nakazawa warned that "a fourth year is out of the question."

• **Europe vs. Japan:** Early this year, France began requiring that all Japanese video tape recorders (VTRs) be cleared through a tiny nine-person customs-house in the middle of the country. The resulting backup effectively shut Japan out of the French VTR market and forced the Japanese into another "voluntary" agreement to limit their exports.

• **Within Europe:** Last month France forced West Germany to revalue its currency, threatening to pull down the entire eight-nation European Monetary System by withdrawing from it and raising its own trade barriers if the Germans did not agree to the French demands. France has been running a huge trade deficit (that is, importing far more goods than it exported) and wanted the Germans to pay as much as possible for it.

In fact, the entire European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market) is badly fraying because of trade conflicts. The EEC was set up by the major West European countries in the 1950s to promote economic growth by lowering trade barriers among them. But today these barriers are again high. As Karl-Heinz Narjes, the German representative to the EEC, put it: "Twenty-five years after the Common Market was founded, there is no difference between exporting into the European Community and exporting from one country to another within it." The Germans want to solve the Common Market's internal problems by pushing for its original goal of lowering barriers within Europe. But they aim to do it at the expense of raising all-European tariffs against goods from the U.S. and Japan.

Economic crisis breeds protectionism

Capitalist governments are moving toward a trade war despite their own recognition that such a conflict will not only be bad for large segments of their own national economies, but may also turn the present crisis into a full-scale depression.

The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, notes that Secretary of State George Shultz, an economist trained in the traditions of free trade, calls competitive dumping like the Egyptian flour deal "insane" but defends it nonetheless. On its own editorial page, the *Journal* runs articles labeling protectionism "a primitive and contemptible concept"—while at the same time endorsing the practice.

"The choice isn't any longer between free trade and protectionism," remarks a high French official, "it's between partial protectionism and full-blown protectionism."

Why has world capitalism reached this point?

For the last several years it has been floundering in a deep crisis. Products like oil, grain, steel and cars cannot be sold profitably and world trade has shrunk. To try to restore profits, capitalists all over the world have scrapped huge amounts of productive capacity, laid off workers, cut wages and slashed social programs. But so far none of this has solved the crisis.

As a result, the capitalists of each country are now trying to increase their own markets and profits by openly grabbing off everyone else's. In other words, with "normal" capitalist competition no longer profitable, the governments of the world are each trying to prop up their own capitalists' profits by subsidizing exports and by raising tariffs and quotas to cut imports.

In doing this, they are increasing the levels of national chauvinism and racism—and also strengthening the ideological foundations for a new world war. In the U.S., for example, workers in Milwau-

kee burned a Japanese flag to protest imports. Parking lots at unions in Detroit and factories in Connecticut have banned foreign cars. In Detroit, bumper stickers proclaim "Remember Pearl Harbor!" And on the floor of Congress, liberal Democrat John Dingell has recently made openly racist attacks on the Japanese.

In the U.S., this rise of protectionism signals the end of a 35-year-old policy of free trade. The U.S. emerged from World War II as the number one power on earth. Among other things, it had the world's best-equipped army. It had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. It held three-quarters of the world's gold supply. Moreover, during the war it had vastly expanded its productive capacity while most of the rest of the world was

priced Japanese imports had caused its sales to decline. Fifteen years ago Harley had a near-monopoly on the big-cycle market; today it holds only a 30 percent share. But many observers of the motorcycle industry reject the idea that Harley's troubles stem from Japanese competition. (For one thing, many "Japanese" motorcycles are in fact made by Honda in Marysville, Ohio, or Kawasaki in Lincoln, Nebraska.) Rather, they cite problems with Harley's product or management. Until two years ago the company had been a subsidiary of AMF, Inc., a big entertainment-industry conglomerate. AMF used the earnings from its motorcycle division to finance other operations—while its Japanese competitors reinvested their profits in new motorcycle products and

admit that foreign technological edge actions confirm that ago foreign firms information and from U.S. manu other way around Acme-Cleveland, ers, announced a ese and Italian m import their tech

As they grow n tectonists are r scapegoat. It i Japanese "unfair ducts in the U.S. barring U.S. expo lie; Reagan's C Advisers Report main sources of f

INTO THE ABYSS? THE THREAT OF

Global Trade War

devastated. In this situation, the U.S. promoted free trade to increase its own profits by rebuilding capitalism and setting up an empire in a war-ravaged world.

Now, however, things are dramatically different. During the long postwar boom, the European and Japanese economies grew enormously, becoming the leaders in many industrial fields. Russia also made gains. Meanwhile, much of U.S. basic industry stagnated, temporarily protected by its world empire, while the U.S. capitalists were more interested in short-term earnings gains, cash flows and speculation rather than in modernization and long-term production planning. At the same time, U.S. industry was sapped by the costs of maintaining the huge, non-productive military machine needed to police its empire. These costs zoomed even higher with the U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

Today, profits have dried up. U.S. industry increasingly is trying to extract earnings from the hides of other imperialists. Several examples make this clear.

As mentioned, the U.S. two weeks ago raised the tariff on Japanese motorcycles from 4.4 percent to 49.4 percent. It acted after the Harley-Davidson Motor Co. claimed that lower-

modern plants. As a result, today's Harley-Davidsons are basically 1950s machines which cost \$1,500-2,000 more than their 1980s Japanese counterparts. In the words of Phil Schilling, editor of *Cycle* magazine:

"I think AMF bought Harley-Davidson in an effort to take a relatively small company, get production up and make a lot of money with it. In doing so, very frankly, the quality of the product suffered."

The machine tool industry provides a similar example. Twenty years ago virtually no machine tools were imported into the U.S.; in 1981, imports accounted for 41 percent of the market. To shore up their own declining sales, U.S. manufacturers are petitioning the government to limit sharply the supply of imported tools. "Free trade has to be harnessed to be fair," complains the president of one company.

The scapegoat: Japan

But is "unfair" free trade really the problem? Not even the machine tool builders themselves think so. Many

are to be found Tokyo, but in report goes on t ment's monetary maintained a high dollar against fore by making import: is the second la market for U.S. number one mark craft, lumber and the Japanese reduc barriers recently, t commented that Ja more open market Ambassador Man eliminating the r barriers would o deficit with Japan l a total of \$18 bill

In fact, the Jap trade surplus in in order to compen in raw materials, islands lack. This i protectionism very markets for the m facturers would world's economies, start a chain reacti down every other The increasingly tations we are seein

ese imports had caused its e. Fifteen years ago Harley monopoly on the big-cycle / it holds only a 30 percent ny observers of the motocy y reject the idea that bles stem from Japanese (For one thing, many motorcycles are in fact da in Marysville, Ohio, or a Lincoln, Nebraska.) ite problems with Harley's nagement. Until two years any had been a subsidiary c., a big entertainment- lomerate. AMF used the its motorcycle division to r operations—while its ppetitors reinvested their motorcycle products and

admit that foreign producers have a technological edge over the U.S. Their actions confirm this: Whereas 20 years ago foreign firms sought out technical information and licensing agreements from U.S. manufacturers, now it's the other way around. Recently Bendix and Acme-Cleveland, two large manufacturers, announced agreements with Japanese and Italian machine tool builders to import their technology into the U.S.

As they grow more powerful, the protectionists are making Japan into a scapegoat. It is claimed that the Japanese "unfairly" sell low-priced products in the U.S. while simultaneously barring U.S. exports to Japan. This is a lie; Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers Report says as much: "The main sources of the U.S. (trade) deficit

happened during the Great Depression. After the speculative boom of the late 1920s collapsed and production and profits took a nosedive in 1930, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Act, which raised tariffs to the highest level in U.S. history. In retaliation, every other country also raised its tariffs, strangling trade and aggravating the slump.

Despite this history, the tariffs, quotas and subsidies of a trade war are nevertheless being sold to U.S. workers as necessary to "protect" jobs against "unfair" foreign competition. "What are our kids supposed to do?" asks 1984 Democratic presidential front-runner Walter Mondale. "Sweep up around Japanese computers and sell McDonald's hamburgers the rest of their lives?"

Last December, the House of Representatives passed the so-called "domestic content" bill. This legislation would have required all foreign auto companies selling more than 200,000 cars a year to include 75 percent U.S.-made parts in their vehicles. The aim of the bill was to choke off the flow of imported cars into the U.S. Its supporters touted it as a way to save hundreds of thousands of jobs, primarily in the auto industry and its suppliers.

Some boosters went even farther. The leader of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), Michael Harrington, claimed that the bill was "a first step toward the democratic control of investment" by multinational corporations.

Protectionism won't save jobs

All these arguments are false. Protectionist legislation like the domestic content bill will not save jobs. By sparking a retaliatory trade war, such measures will in fact wind up costing jobs, especially in export-oriented industries like agriculture, aircraft, coal and computers. Mondale himself admits that one out of six manufacturing jobs is directly dependent on exports. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for 38,000 auto-related jobs that the bill would "save," another 104,000 would be lost in other industries.

Moreover, protectionist laws may not even benefit one's "own" industry. U.S. steel companies have enjoyed some form of government protectionism for over 10 years. But these policies did nothing to stop the effects on steel of the deep recession, nor did they do anything to prevent the steel companies from laying off 60 percent of their workforce, slashing wages, and running at just 30 percent of capacity last year. And they didn't stop U.S. Steel from contracting to build an office complex in Seattle with Korean steel, nor from proposing to shut down its Fairless steelworks and instead buy steel from Britain.

As for DSA leader Harrington's "democratic control" over multinational corporations' investment policies, provoking a trade war isn't controlling anything. What is needed to fight the autocracy of the multinationals is to build international solidarity, not enact laws which line up U.S. workers with their "own" employers who—like the steel companies—won't do anything for them anyway.

The coalition supporting the domestic content bill included the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and several other large unions, some small

business owners, and dozens of liberal Democrats, including Mondale. Opposing it were the Reagan administration and most large corporations.

For some unions, such as the UAW, leading a fight for protectionism represents an historic change in policy. From its earliest days, the UAW had supported free trade. However, the UAW leadership, like its counterparts in the rest of the U.S. labor movement, has always been most concerned about preserving capitalism. After World War II, it made a deal with the companies. Part of this deal was for the union to limit its support of other workers' struggles in return for wage and benefit increases for autoworkers. The deal survived so long as the companies made money in the postwar boom. But when the bottom began falling out in the mid-'70s, the deal collapsed. The companies demanded concessions and the union leadership went along. Still committed above all to saving the companies, and having isolated the union from other workers, the UAW tops could do nothing else but blame the industry's problems on imports rather than on the actions of the companies and the capitalist system as a whole.

Big business and the Reagan administration opposed the domestic content bill. Trade representative William Brock called it the "worst threat to the international trading system to come before Congress in a decade." But this is not because Reagan and the companies really are champions of free trade. The Reagan administration already has dumped subsidized flour in Egypt, imposed quotas on China, drastically slashed imports of Japanese motorcycles, and forced the Europeans and Japanese into "voluntary" quotas on steel and cars. Rather, most large corporations have extensive foreign operations; one-third of U.S. corporate profits comes from foreign investment and trade. Because of this, big business fears the effects of an all-out trade war on their profits. However, this stand will quickly change if the world economic crisis deepens. If the multinationals' foreign profits begin to dry up altogether, big business won't hesitate to try to prop them up through a trade war. The steel industry has already gone this way.

Right now, the spokespeople for big business are still arguing for free trade in terms of "comparative advantage." What this doctrine says is that with genuinely free exchange in free markets, the world's goods will be produced by the relatively most efficient producers.

In this way costs will be minimized and everyone will benefit.

However, this theory ignores the real dynamic of international capitalist prosperity, which is profits, not trade. Even with free trade and free markets, the rate of profit will tend to fall. And as the rate of profit falls, production will eventually decline as well. Free trade may retard its fall, but will not stop it. In the 35 years of relatively free trade, the U.S. nevertheless went through seven recessions.

Moreover, in practice trade never really has been free. Governments have intervened in it for decades. Since the turn of the century, quotas, subsidies and international cartels especially have restricted trade. Even when it had a policy of free trade, the U.S. still imposed quotas on oil and sugar, among other things. Exports were subsidized by the government Export-Import Bank. Agricultural exports were indirectly subsidized through the scores of government farm programs. Armaments, a major U.S. export, were totally subsidized—the government paid entirely for the development and manufacture of the "products." Even machine tools were subsidized when they were heavily exported; in the 1950s the Air Force subsidized the development of the numerically-controlled machines which at that time put the U.S. in the front of the industry.

Capitalist system falling apart

As the world economic crisis deepens, the capitalists increasingly are showing themselves unable to prevent their system from falling apart completely. Many have already given up. "Trade frictions won't go away," laments Yukitsugo Nakagawa of Japan's highly-regarded Nomura Research Institute. "The time of high growth is over, the trade problems are structural and so the trend toward protectionism will continue. The problems will become more severe. It's a very sad thing for the world."

Defending free trade will not by itself solve this crisis. But by opposing protectionism, workers can build international solidarity, and begin to lay the basis for the kind of revolutionary struggle which is necessary to save us all from being dragged down with the system. □

Global Trade War

s. As a result, today's sons are basically 1950s ch cost \$1,500-2,000 more Os Japanese counterparts. of Phil Schilling, editor of ne:

MF bought Harley-David- t to take a relatively small production up and make a with it. In doing so, very quality of the product

the tool industry provides a ple. Twenty years ago machine tools were import- U.S.; in 1981, imports 41 percent of the market. their own declining sales, cturers are petitioning the o limit sharply the supply ols. "Free trade has to be be fair," complains the one company.

pegoat:

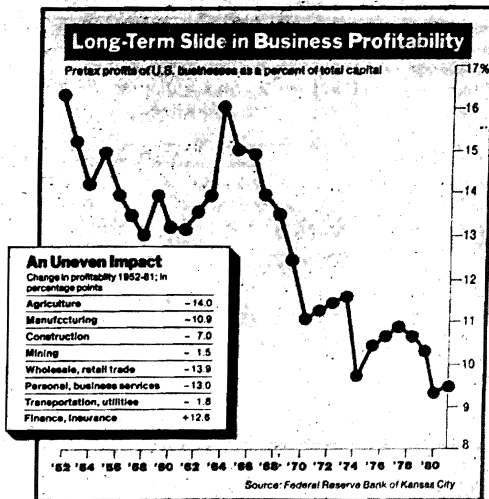
air" free trade really the t even the machine tool selves think so. Many

are to be found not in Paris, or in Tokyo, but in Washington." The report goes on to blame the government's monetary policies, which have maintained a high exchange rate of the dollar against foreign currencies, thereby making imports cheap. Japan in fact is the second largest (after Canada) market for U.S. exports, and the number one market for U.S. coal, aircraft, lumber and food exports. After the Japanese reduced a number of trade barriers recently, the *Wall Street Journal* commented that Japan now is one of the more open markets in the world. U.S. Ambassador Mansfield estimates that eliminating the rest of the Japanese barriers would only reduce the U.S. deficit with Japan by \$1-5 billion (out of a total of \$18 billion).

In fact, the Japanese have to run a trade surplus in manufactured goods in order to compensate for a huge deficit in raw materials, which the Japanese islands lack. This makes the dangers of protectionism very clear: Shutting off markets for the major Japanese manufacturers would wreck one of the world's economies, which in turn could start a chain reaction that would bring down every other country as well.

The increasingly bitter trade confrontations we are seeing today parallel what

Profits of corporations are declining, leading capitalists of each country to try to increase their own markets by openly grabbing off everyone else's. Result will be a full-scale trade war—and an all-out depression.



Letter from a steelworker:

'Build a United Workers' Movement Against Concessions!'

(The author of the following letter works for the Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana, and is a member of Local 1010 of the United Steelworkers of America [USWA].)

Everybody's mad and smoking under their hats at the union leaders who sold us out on March 2, 1983. On that day, local presidents of the USWA voted 169 to 63 to accept the steel companies' demand for a \$4,000 yearly pay cut per worker. The USWA Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC) gave away \$2 to \$3 billion in wages and benefits over the course of the new 41-month contract.

There was tremendous pressure on the local presidents at the BSIC to accept an early contract and wage cut. Pressure had been building from the last two BSIC votes in July and November, when concessions were rejected. During this nine-month period of on-again/off-again negotiations, the companies put out a lot of propaganda to try to scare steelworkers into accepting a wage cut: The big steel companies threatened more layoffs and plant closings while the auto giant, General Motors, announced it would begin buying Japanese steel if an agreement wasn't reached by March 1.

Although the problems of the steel industry have been caused by the steel companies themselves and by the overall crisis of capitalism, steelworkers are being made to foot the bill. For years, the steel bosses took profits from steel and reinvested them in other, more profitable areas of the economy, while they ran the steel mills with increasingly outdated machines and equipment. Today, billions of dollars are needed to modernize the industry, and the companies are screaming for concessions and protection from foreign-made steel. For their part, the USWA leaders have forced steelworkers to accept \$2-3 billion in concessions and the loss of 160,000 jobs in the vain hope that this will save the industry.

Steelworkers are angry with all union officials, even those who voted "no," because they didn't do enough to stop the wage giveaway. No local president—including the militant-talking Bill Andrews of Local 1010—ever seriously organized the rank and file. A strike preparation committee set up by Local 1010 in September 1982 met only twice. In November, some local USWA presidents did call a protest that turned out 100 people, but in March there was no mobilization at all. This was because the so-called opposition local presidents really agreed that some cuts had to be made; they just disagreed over

how much should be cut. Even the tradition of voting on the local contract at the plant gates that began under Jim Balanoff [director, USWA District 31 from 1977 to 1981—Ed.] went into the garbage after the national contract was signed. Bill Andrews signed the Local 1010 contract in Pittsburgh without discussion or vote by local members.

Another round of contract concessions will come up in 1986. Unless we fight back, our union leaders will once again join with the companies to try to bail out a sinking ship with a new wage cut. They have no solution to the crisis of falling production and profits, except to attack the workers and make everyone cheap labor. But it's a losing strategy to keep bailing out a sinking ship.

We must organize now to fight back in 1986. We need to prepare for a strike. To defend ourselves in this wage cut period, steelworkers need solidarity with other workers who handle steel products. We don't want steel products moved from

the shipping docks and warehouses because steel companies will stockpile and break the strike. The 1959 strike, which failed because shipping docks and warehouses were not shut down, showed that we can't win a strike in steel without labor solidarity.

To win, steelworkers must be part of a united workers' movement against concessions and other ruling class attacks. This kind of movement means not only giving money to defend a strike, but also rising up. Speeches about solidarity must be followed by action, demonstrations and strikes. It means mobilizing thousands of people. Our movement must fight racism and sexism and unite with young people in a fight for jobs. We must see Mexican workers and Japanese workers not as competitors for jobs, but as exploited sisters and brothers. Everyone needs a job. What we don't need is capitalism dividing us and making us enemies.

To unite millions of workers we will need a program that millions can agree on and fight

for. Here is a program we could start to fight the power of the ruling class with:

1. Workers' Control of Industry—We need the nationalization without compensation of all steel plants, and direct workers' control of the operation by our own elected union production committees.

2. 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay—We need a shorter workweek to make more jobs. We need full employment.

3. Reconversion of the Arms Economy—We need to orient the economy to provide for human needs, not for war. End the war budget. Rebuild the cities with decent housing, rapid transit, hospitals, schools.

4. A Political Party of the Working Class—We must stop supporting the two parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans, and build a party of labor and its allies among all oppressed people.

This program may look utopian to many today since most people are demoralized and cynical about a fighting movement. But the working class

movement will not always look like this; there will be militant struggle in the future. We have to prepare for it now. □

EVENTS

NEW YORK

APRIL 16—Demonstrate Against U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua, Grenada and El Salvador. Saturday, noon, Herald Sq. Sponsored by broad coalition of left and progressive forces.

MERIDEN, CT

APRIL 30—Demonstrate against the Ku Klux Klan. For more info, call (212) 695-6802.

CHICAGO

MAY 8—Demonstration "Freeze the Arms Race—Fund Education." Gather at State and Wacker at 12:30, march to Grant Park. Sponsored by Help End the Arms Race and Student Freeze Network. For info, call (312) 334-5335.

LOS ANGELES

MAY 21—Stop Mexicana Airlines Death Flights! Saturday, noon, at Mexicana Airlines Office, LA Int'l Airport. Sponsored by Echo Park CISPES. For more info, call (213) 660-4587 or (213) 385-6029.

Mexican Elections

(Continued from page 2)

from the PRI government and its every-six-year electoral farce. As revolutionaries, we should encourage this hostility to the system. We should not be trying to convince people that their vote really "does make a difference." That, we believe, is the major difference between our view and the view of the PRT.

We certainly do not wish to abstain from any struggles of workers and the oppressed. To the extent that the PRT's electoral campaign overlapped with existing social and economic struggles—strike support rallies, gay rights rallies, actions of peasants and urban colonos—we should be involved, doing all we can to ensure the success of these struggles. But was it really impossible to participate in these events without carrying a "Vote for Rosario" banner? We don't believe the criteria for activism were so narrowly defined. Voting may be one goal of an organizing campaign, but it is not the only possible goal and, sometimes, may not even be the best one.

We may have been mistaken in our description of the PRT campaign as mostly reformist and largely indistinguishable from the PSUM's. Not being in Mexico during the campaign, we were dependent on the PRT's press, *Bandera Socialista*, for information about their work. What we noticed was a strongly reformist slant in the coverage of their electoral work. Prominent campaign slogans displayed in the newspaper included: "For Democracy and Independent Unions!" "Against Lay-Offs!" "Respect the Right to Strike!" and "Nationalize the

Banks!"—all perfectly good slogans, but hardly distinctive. The demand for bank nationalization was adopted by the government itself after the elections as a radical capitalist solution to Mexico's financial collapse.

A PRT statement issued more than a month after the July 4 election is not very convincing evidence that the campaign itself offered a revolutionary socialist alternative to electoralism. It is easy to contrast the PRT strategy to that of the PAN (a right-wing opposition group), as the quoted selection does. But the issue is: How different was the PRT's strategy from that of the radical reformist PSUM? It did not seem to us that the PRT campaign put forth "with total clarity the necessity of... revolution." On the contrary, to us it appeared that the popular slogans of the campaign stressed either the theme "Vote for Rosario" (a personalist appeal to support a respected movement leader) or "Vote for Radical Reforms."

We did recognize in our original article that the PRT's emphasis on women's and gay rights made it unique among the Mexican left. For that reason, in fact, we suggested that those who wanted to vote would do best to support the PRT.

No one wants to place unnecessary obstacles in the way of dialogue on the left. We should be working together and talking to each other much more than we presently do. But there has to be room for expressing views (even unpopular ones) and defending them, without being accused of blocking the debate.

Albert Lary and José Zapata

RSL Publications

Capitalism in Crisis.....	\$.50
Socialism vs. State Capitalism: Polish Workers Fight for Freedom.....	\$1.00
Socialism and the Fight for Lesbian and Gay Liberation.....	\$1.00
* The Rise of State Capitalism (How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed).....	\$.50
The Russian Revolution (Revolutionary Socialist Educational Series, No. 1).....	\$1.00
Imperialism, National Liberation and Socialist Revolution (Educational Series, No. 2).....	\$1.00
Marxism and the Soviet Union.....	\$.95
Basic Analysis of State Capitalism (Document of Struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Red Flag Union).....	\$.60
Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution (Document of Struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency of the RFU).....	\$.50
South Africa: Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution.....	\$.50
* Chile: Never Again!.....	\$.50
Programme of the RML of Jamaica.....	\$.25

Torch/La Antorcha Reprints, 15 cents each:

- * A Revolutionary Strategy for Women's Liberation
- * Woman Be Free!
- Black Lesbian Speaks Out
- Black Women in South Africa: Revolutionary Fighters Against Oppression
- * Why Marxists Support National Liberation Struggles
- * Malcolm X: Revolution Knows No Compromise
- Energy, Environment and the Economic Crisis—The Contributions and Contradictions of Barry Commoner
- The Holocaust: Who Is to Blame?

Torch/La Antorcha Supplements, 10 cents each:

- * Has China Come Full Circle? Deng Opens the Door to U.S. Imperialism (January, 1979)
- Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (June, 1979)
- * Victory to the Glydons Strike! (May-June, 1980)
- Which Way to Nuclear Disarmament? (June, 1982)

RSL Position Papers, 15 cents each:

- Which Way Forward for the Anti-Klan Movement?
- Toward a Fighting Anti-Draft Movement
- * Socialist Revolution: The Only Road to Lesbian and Gay Liberation

* Items marked with an asterisk are also available in Spanish. When ordering literature, be sure to indicate if you want the Spanish material.

Order from: RSL, PO Box 1288, GPO, New York, NY 10116

ions!'

not always look
will be militant
ature. We have
t now. □

NTS

ORK

trate Against U.S.
agua, Grenada and
ay, noon, Herald
ad coalition of left
es.

N, CT

strate against the
ore info, call (212)

GO

tion "Freeze the
ducation." Gather
at 12:30, march to
d by Help End the
at Freeze Network.
134-5335.

ELES

exicana Airlines
y, noon, at Mexi-
LA Int'l Airport.
ark CISPES. For
660-4587 or (212)

ns

.....\$50

t for

.....\$1.00

.....\$1.00

olution Was

.....\$50

Educational

.....\$1.00

ution

.....\$1.00

.....\$95

uggle of the

.....\$60

ocument of

.....\$50

.....\$50

.....\$50

.....\$25

rs Against

ontributions

to U.S.

1979)

Gay

in Spanish.
ou want the

NY 10116



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, housewives, 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 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!

Where to find us:

RSL 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) 334-5335

CINCINNATI
PO Box 46623
Cincinnati, OH 45246
(513) 874-3755

DETROIT
PO Box 8373
Detroit, MI 48213
(313) 331-7757

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

NEW ORLEANS
PO Box 70831
New Orleans, LA 70172

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

SAN FRANCISCO
495 Ellis St., #190
San Francisco, CA 94102

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE
PO Box 27
Kingston 7, Jamaica
West Indies

Subscribe to the TORCH

- Introductory—3 issues—\$1.00 Prisoners—FREE, donations appreciated
 One year—12 issues—\$5.00 Overseas Airmail—12 issues—\$12.00
 Recesson Special—12 issues (slow mail)—\$2.50
 I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send this blank and check to: TORCH, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116 98