

# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

MAY 15-JUNE 14, 1982

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## WHICH WAY TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT?

*Will the Governments Disarm—  
Or Do We Need to Disarm Them?*

*See Centerspread*

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Four-Page  
Supplement  
Inside**

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Defy Martial  
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**SECCION EN ESPAÑOL**

## Argentina Defends Its Claim to Malvinas Islands

MAY 13—The war between Britain and Argentina for control of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands is approaching a critical point.

Up to 10,000 British troops are sailing toward the islands in preparation for a possible invasion. Meanwhile, negotiations for a ceasefire remain stalled because both governments have staked their prestige—and probably their survival—on victory in the Malvinas and cannot afford even the appearance of backing down.

So far the Argentine forces are putting up a strong resistance against the British naval expedition. On May 2 a British submarine sank the General Belgrano, a 43-year-old cruiser that was the second largest ship in the Argentine navy, killing between 300 and 500 of its crew.

But the Argentines evened the score two days later by a missile



Argentine cruiser General Belgrano on final fueling stop. On May 2, British sub sank the ship, killing several hundred of its crew.

attack on one of Britain's most modern warships, the destroyer Sheffield, that reduced it to a burnt-out hulk. Around 20 British sailors on the Sheffield were killed, while nearly 50 were wounded.

As yet, the British expedition has not tried to land troops on the Malvinas. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government realizes that such an invasion would meet stiff opposition. (Continued on page 4)

**our  
readers  
write...**

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 1288  
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## Prisoner fights transfer

Ronald Simmat is a prisoner in the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers and is a long-time reader of the Torch/La Antorcha. About a year ago, a local paper, the Journal Inquirer, gave Simmat a weekly column, in which he exposed conditions in the prison, among other topics. Now the prison

keepers are trying to transfer Simmat—against his will—to a federal prison in Oxford, Wisconsin. Recently Simmat sent the Torch/La Antorcha a batch of clippings about his situation, including some of his own columns. Below we are reprinting his Journal Inquirer column of April 10, 1982.

On March 1 U.S. District Judge M. Joseph Blumenfeld listened to Connecticut's prison keepers say I should be transferred to the federal prison in Oxford, Wisconsin. Two lawyers hired by the Journal In-

quirer to represent me in my attempt to stay at Somers State Prison and to continue writing for the newspaper, Dominic Squatrito and Richard Dyer of Manchester, told Judge Blumenfeld I was not being trans-

ferred but exiled to silence me and to end my column from prison.

On March 11 Correction Commissioner John Manson wrote to the legal counsel to Gov. O'Neill, Jay Jackson, that "Judge Blumenfeld will, of course, sort out the facts and make an appropriate ruling. It should come within a few days. There is little question in my mind that he will rule in favor of the transfer."

Commissioner Manson was wrong, for on March 26 Judge Blumenfeld did not rule in favor of the transfer but instead issued a temporary injunction against it and ordered a full trial. Manson, though, did not entertain the possibility of being wrong when he wrote to the governor's legal counsel on March 11, for on page four of the letter Manson wrote that "there is little question in my mind that with Simmat transferred," the Journal Inquirer's managing editor, Chris Powell, "will engage another prisoner to write a prison column. It would be my intention to have Warden Robinson sit down with Mr. Powell in the hope he would agree to guidelines that would eliminate the use of prisoners' names or identities in such columns."

No one should worry, for if I am silenced, the Journal Inquirer indeed immediately would have another prisoner reporting from inside the prison using names, dates, and all the other facts that the public rightly expects in the news. The newspaper will not accept con-

## Draft resisters plan June actions

Dear friends,

Preparations are beginning for what might be the largest joint action by draft resisters in this century. Following a week-end of workshops and nonviolence training (June 18-20 in Berkeley), a contingent of resistance affinity groups will participate in the June 21 blockade and legal demonstration against the Livermore nuclear weapons labs.

Livermore and a similar facility in New Mexico have developed every single nuclear weapon in the U.S. arsenal. These labs have invented the atomic, hydrogen, and neutron bombs, and as a result the U.S. has over 31,000 nuclear warheads—with

the equivalent explosive force of one million Hiroshima bombs.

The pre-blockade resistance gathering is being organized by Berkeley Resistance. The organizers welcome all who are committed to draft resistance: registration and induction refusers, resistance supporters and activists.

Draft prosecutions will probably begin early this summer, and the pre-blockade gathering will enhance solidarity and networking among draft resisters from around the country. Moreover, resistance affinity groups established for the gathering and blockade will provide tight communities of mutual support once prosecutions begin.

For more information about the Livermore blockade, contact the Livermore Action Group at 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703, (415) 644-2028.

If you would like to attend the pre-blockade resistance gathering in Berkeley, please write to Berkeley Resistance, c/o ASUC Berkeley Draft Counseling Center, 300-C Eshelman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720, or call (415) 642-0165 (weekdays), (415) 549-1719 (evenings and weekends).

In peace,  
Pat Sweeney  
War Resisters League

ditions imposed by prison officials. Prison news will continue to be reported as factually as possible.

As a prisoner of long experience, I provide an alternative to official sources of prison news, often describing what I believe to be the questionable and even criminal behavior of the jailers. Shame on those who would stop this on the pretext of assuring my safety when really they contrive only to secure the secrecy they need to hide their own misdeeds.

—Ron Simmat

## E V E N T S

### Ann Arbor

CONFERENCE ON NUCLEAR ARMS & DISARMAMENT—Fri. & Sat., May 21-22. Univ. of Michigan campus; Rackam Bldg. Sponsored by Michigan Alliance for Disarmament (MAD), (313) 662-6597.

### Berkeley

NATIONAL RESISTANCE GATHERING—Draft Resistance Conference followed by blockade & demonstration at Livermore labs. June 18-21. For more info, contact Berkeley Resistance (415) 642-0165 (weekdays) or (415) 549-1719 (eves. & wkends.).

### Chicago

STONEWALL COMMITTEE MTG.—Second meeting to organize for counter-demonstration against Nazis on Lesbian & Gay Pride Day, June 27.

Tues., May 18, 7:30 pm, at Unitarian Church, 615 W. Wellington. For more info, call (312) 226-5915.

### Los Angeles

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST REAGAN—Tues., May 25, 5 pm, at the Century Plaza Hotel, between Santa Monica & Olympic Blvds. in Century City. To participate with the RSL, call (213) 385-6029.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS NATIONAL NETWORK (R2N2) REGIONAL CONFERENCE—Sat., June 5. For more details, call (213) 385-6029.

DEMONSTRATE FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT—Sat., June 12. For more details, call (213) 385-6029.

FORUM DISCUSSION—"Haiti, Jamaica, and Revolution in the Caribbean," Sun., June 20,

9 am, 9428 So. Western Ave. Sponsored by People United Freedom Forum, with featured speaker from the RSL. Admission free.

### New York

STOP THE DEPORTATION OF HAITIANS TO BELIZE—Sat., June 5, noon. March down Eastern Parkway from Nostrand Ave. to Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn. To march with the RSL, call (212) 695-6802.

UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT—Sat., June 12. March from Central Park to the UN. The NY branch of the RSL is planning a major mobilization for the march, including distribution of the Torch & our Disarmament Supplement, button & T-shirt sales, and a contingent in the march. To participate with the RSL, or for more info, call (212) 695-6802.

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'The Winter Is Yours, But the Spring Will Be Ours'

# THOUSANDS DEFY MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Soon after martial law was imposed in Poland last December, a new slogan appeared in leaflets and on walls around the country: "The winter is yours, but the spring will be ours."

Spring has come. In early May the Polish people rose up in the largest wave of struggle against Polish state capitalism since General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law December 13.

The protests began on May 1 with peaceful counter-demonstrations against the traditional government-sponsored May Day celebrations. In Warsaw, the official parade, guarded by truckloads of police and troops, marched grimly through empty streets.

Meanwhile, thousands of people, mainly young workers and students, gathered near the royal palace—a symbol of Polish national independence—a few blocks away. One group unfurled a banner reading "Free Solidarity!" Then dozens of other banners reading "Dictatorship, No!" "We Demand Solidarity!" and "Free [Lech] Walesa!"—the interned leader of the suspended Solidarity union—were enthusiastically lifted from under coats and inside knapsacks.

Chanting "Down with the junta!" "We want freedom!" and singing the national anthem, an exuberant crowd of up to 50,000 demonstrators moved through the streets. When police tried to block the marchers they turned down a side street, hurling insults at the cops. Similar marches took place in Gdańsk and other cities, although details on them are lacking.

Two days later further protests exploded into militant, spontaneous rebellions against the government. Elements in the Solidarity underground movement called for marches against martial law on May 3, the anniversary of the granting of the first Polish constitution in 1791.

Police efforts to suppress the demonstrators provoked street battles in at least 13 major cities ranging from Gdańsk in the north to Kraków in the south, and from Szczecin in western Poland to Lublin in the east.

In Warsaw police attacked around 30,000 protesters with water cannon, clubs and teargas. Shouting "Gestapo, Gestapo," people fought back with rocks and whatever else they could find. A two-hour battle for control of Warsaw's Old Town Square ended only after police rushed heavy reinforcements to the area. Then fighting spread



Solidarity supporters in Warsaw as they tear down police barriers during May 3 demonstration...

to other parts of the city and went on for more than four hours.

In Gdańsk an angry crowd—"several thousand strong," according to government reports—tried to overrun the city's central square and then attacked a police station and the local headquarters of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). In Szczecin, where militants set up barricades, seized a hotel, and later set fire to it, skirmishes with police continued into May 4.

One government official admitted that "incidents" also broke out in "quite a number" of smaller towns as well.

Altogether over 1,300 demonstrators were jailed, while at least 72 police and an unknown number of protesters were injured.

A new series of revolts could erupt on May 13. The recently formed Provisional Coordinating Commission of the Solidarity underground has called for a 15-minute general strike on the 13th to protest six months of martial law. The government is trying to head off mass protests by reimposing strict curfew regulations and cutting phone service in Warsaw and other cities. It has also banned the use of private cars and suspended cultural and sporting events.

## Jaruzelski under fire

The recent outbreaks are almost certain to intensify debates within the PUWP over how to safeguard state-capitalist rule in Poland. It is no secret that there are conflicts in the party between moderates who want to maintain at least the

illusion of seeking a "national accord" with the Polish people and more hardline elements who want an all-out campaign to smash resistance to the government. These debates were outlined in a previous issue of the Torch/La Antorcha (Vol. 9, No. 3, March 15-April 14, 1982).

In the wake of the uprisings, Jaruzelski himself is coming under fire from sections of the PUWP leadership for the first time since he declared martial law. One unnamed adviser "associated with the leadership" told the New York Times: "The truth is that Jaruzelski is indecisive and vacillating... He did not know what to do with power once he got it. Underneath him are all these factions pulling in different directions."

But the rebellions were apparently also a shock to many leaders of the opposition movement. Solidarity's Coordinating Commission reportedly did not organize the May actions. Instead it had called on the Polish people only to ignore the official May Day celebrations and go to church or for walks in the park.

Leaders of the Polish Roman Catholic Church, who are seeking the role of arbiter between the government and the Solidarity movement, condemned "extremists" on both sides for the May 3 violence. Polish bishops met and issued a statement warning that the May 3 events "are delaying social accord, halting steps towards normalization and misguiding the youth." In a separate interview Archbishop Józef Glemp claimed: "It is perfidy to attribute this to Solidarity when it is not Solidarity. The real Solidarity does not do such things."

The real issue behind such claims is that while the "real Solidarity"—in other words, the official underground leadership—has enormous prestige among the Polish people, it does not seem to have effective control over the movement. Instead, the resistance appears to be made up of countless local organizations, based in factories, offices, schools and neighborhoods, that operate more or less independently. All these groups are groping for a successful strategy against the Polish rulers, and many are more militant than the "official" underground leadership.

The May 1 demonstration in Warsaw, for example, was reportedly organized by some 60 factory and office committees independent of the Coordinating Commission. At the demonstration itself, some leaflets declared that unless martial law was lifted by July, "The Polish Underground Army will start action against the occupiers." And on May 7 the commission warned that "there are conspiracy groups operating in top secrecy in Kraków province, ready for everything, the most desperate moves. If the authorities ignore us, these groups will slip out of control."

## Solidarity leaders seek compromise

Even before the May events, the emergence of these forces had touched off a strategy debate in the top levels of the Solidarity leadership, with Zbigniew Bujak and Jacek Kuron playing leading roles. Bujak was the leader of Solidarity's Warsaw branch, and has become the main spokesperson of the commission. Kuron was the union's chief strategist. He was interned in December but has been able to smuggle articles

into the underground press.

Bujak has repeatedly urged the Polish people to avoid mass confrontations with the government, and confine their protests to largely symbolic actions. He argues that militant resistance to the regime would only strengthen the influence of the PUWP hardliners. This in turn would wreck any chance for negotiations between the Solidarity leadership and the government to end martial law and ensure a permanent role for the union in Polish society.

But Kuron believes such a passive strategy is unworkable given the deep popular hatred of martial law. In an article that appeared in the underground weekly *Tygodnik Mazowsze* in March, he expressed his fear that the Polish people might rise up in a spontaneous revolt that would force the collapse of the Jaruzelski regime and provoke a Russian invasion.

To prevent such a confrontation, Kuron called for building a tightly-controlled mass movement that could organize demonstrations, and even a general strike, to force the government into negotiations with Solidarity. The same issue of *Tygodnik Mazowsze* included a response by Bujak and other underground leaders, arguing that any effort to organize a "final showdown" with the Jaruzelski regime would end in catastrophe for the Polish people.

Despite their differences both Kuron and the underground leaders accept the need for some kind of compromise with the more moderate elements in the PUWP. They want to confine the opposition movement to limits acceptable to these elements—and, even more importantly, to the Russian ruling class. They disagree only over what those limits are.

In an argument directed as much toward these rulers as to the Polish underground, Kuron

(Continued on page 16)



... Later, special police turn water cannon on crowd, breaking up the protest.

# Argentina Defends Claim to Malvinas

(Continued from page 1)

Argentines and suffer heavy casualties, with no guarantee of success. But it may be driven to escalate the war through an invasion or other military action in order to claim military victory and strengthen its hand at the bargaining table.

## British unity breaking down

Although the Thatcher regime still enjoys widespread support for its attack on Argentina, the facade of national unity for its policies is breaking down. The opposition Labour Party is calling for a negotiated settlement, while the party's left wing is demanding an immediate ceasefire. Meanwhile, the most right-wing elements in the ruling Conservative Party are demanding outright military victory, and are urging attacks on the Argentine mainland.

While the government and the right-wing press are trying to whip up war fever, the British people themselves appear to have conflicting feelings about the Malvinas conflict. Polls released May 2 show a slight decline in popular support for the government's conduct of the war, although 71 percent still backed the government's policy. But the same poll revealed that 49 percent of the British people don't think the Malvinas are worth a single British life.

At first many people combined support for Thatcher's "principled stand against aggression" with chauvinist pride in the fading British imperial tradition. Such support included a dose of outright racism, as many believed the British navy would cakewalk over what the press called the "swarthy gauchos" in Argentina.

But British losses—particularly the destruction of the Sheffield—are leading at least some people to reconsider their support for the war. As one worker put it, "It looked to be easy, didn't it? I thought we might end up with some losses, but I never imagined they would come this way."

## Argentines support takeover, oppose junta

Among the Argentine people, initial jubilation over the reclaiming of the Malvinas has given way to anxiety over the war. Nevertheless, even the hostile U.S. capitalist press admits that popular support for the war is universal.

At the same time, many

Argentines are combining support for the takeover of the Malvinas with opposition to President Leopoldo Galtieri's right-wing military government. On April 26 and again on May 1, Argentine trade unions and leftist organizations brought thousands of people into the streets of Buenos Aires, the national capital.

The demonstrators held up banners reading "May 1—the workers against the English and the exploiters!" and chanted, "It's going to end, it's going to end, the military dictatorship!" as well as anti-British slogans.

## U.S. backs British imperialism

On the international front, the outbreak of open war between Britain and Argentina forced the Reagan administration to bring its thinly concealed support for the Thatcher government out into the open.

On April 30, after fighting had begun, the administration dropped its earlier role as an "impartial mediator" in the conflict and announced its support for Britain. It imposed economic and military sanctions against the Argentine government, while promising "material support" for the British forces.

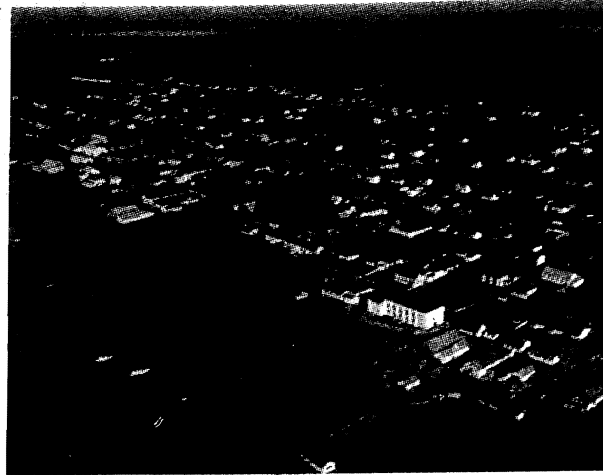
The administration has refused to comment on exactly what kind of aid it is giving to the British military. However, it is known that the U.S. military was providing the British fleet with intelligence information on Argentine military positions around the Malvinas even before actual fighting began. And it is reportedly supplying the British fleet with at least part of the fuel it needs to maintain its blockade of the Malvinas.

## West European rulers reconsider stance

Western European rulers, on the other hand, are starting to draw back from their original firm support of the British government. On April 10, the 10 governments in the Common Market condemned the Argentine government's takeover of the Malvinas and imposed the toughest sanctions against Argentina in the Market's 25-year history.

While these governments recognize Argentina has a legitimate claim to the islands, they objected to the government's effort to impose its claim by force.

But the Western European rulers are also uncomfortable



Britain has made several bombing raids on military installations near the Malvinas' capital of Port Stanley, pictured above.

with British military efforts to drive the Argentines out of the Malvinas. On May 4 the Irish government demanded an immediate ceasefire and declared it would oppose renewal of the sanctions when they expire May 17. The Irish people themselves, who fought for centuries to free themselves from British domination, are scarcely sympathetic to British imperialism in the Malvinas.

The governments of West Germany, Italy, Sweden and Denmark are also calling for a

negotiated settlement and expressing varying degrees of hesitation about renewing the sanctions.

Western European leaders falsely believed that the sanctions, combined with the threat of British military retaliation, would be enough to force the Argentine government to back down. Now that this has failed, they want to stop the war before it escalates into a major international crisis that could wreck European-Latin American relations for years.

Moreover, these leaders want

the world to forget about their own past—and present—imperialist policies, and are more than a little uneasy over the Thatcher government's revival of old-fashioned gunboat "diplomacy."

## Latin America supports Argentina

Within Latin America, almost all governments are supporting Argentina's claim to the Malvinas, and condemning U.S. support for Britain. The Brazilian government has reportedly provided some symbolic aid to the Argentine military. And in Peru, thousands of people went into the streets on May 13 calling for defeat of the "English pirates."

This international line-up reveals the Malvinas conflict for what it is—a struggle against colonialism. Two conservative, white, Anglo-Saxon governments—Britain and the U.S.—are waging what even their own allies believe is a senseless war against a Latin American regime that had the "effrontery" to reclaim stolen territory without asking their permission.

We support both the Argentine people's right to the Malvinas, and the Argentine government's right to defend its takeover of the islands from U.S. and British imperialism. □

## Benefit Film Showing Held to Support Salvadorean Liberation Struggle

Over 80 people attended an RSL benefit film showing in Los Angeles April 30 of the Vietnam War-era classic "Hearts and Minds." The event was designed as a fund raiser for the Salvadorean rebel organizations, the FDR/FMLN, and featured speakers from the FDR, the local draft resistance movement and the RSL.

The first guest speaker was David Wayte, a young man who has publicly refused to register for the new draft. Wayte urged people to stop the next war before it starts and proposed a new anti-draft movement as a basic part of all anti-war work.

"We know they can't start a war without a draft," he declared. "And they can't start a draft without draft registration."

Wayte himself faces federal prosecution for his refusal to register. "When my turn comes in the courthouse," he concluded, "I hope to see you all there with me in support."

Marcelo Rodriguez, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, analyzed the meaning of the recent Salvadorean elections. After describing the coercive measures used by the military junta to assure a large voter turnout, Rodriguez declared that the election results have turned the clock back to a period before the 1979 coup.

"The war in El Salvador is no longer merely one for national liberation," he said. "It has become a war against fascism." He predicted an increase in the fighting and a prolonged struggle before victory is won.

Later, in a gesture of solidarity, Rodriguez declined the financial aid raised through the film showing. He urged the RSL to keep the funds and invest them in further activities of this nature, to build a stronger anti-imperialist movement inside the U.S.

RSL spokesperson Elaine Scott reviewed the RSL's achievements in a number of democratic and solidarity movements. She called on the audience to join in defense of the Salvadorean revolution as a step toward defeating imperialism around the world.

At the same time, she pointed out: "Workers need their own independent organizations, both here and in El Salvador. The liberals and the Democrats may say they oppose U.S. involvement in El Salvador, like they opposed the Vietnam War after the U.S. began to lose it. But what they really want to do is preserve capitalism."

"We say capitalism, in all its forms, is our main enemy. That's why we are in the RSL. We hope you will check out more of what we have to say and continue to work with us."

# Fasc Nazis P Pride

CHICAGO—A lesbian and gay community voted on May 27 to counter the announcement of the American Nazi Party's June 27 "anti-homosexual, pro-traditional family" rally. The National Lesbian and Gay Pride Rally, also set for June 27.

THE lesbian and gay community, and a wide range of progressive org-

For information about the Gay Pride plans, see

reacted sharply to the plans. Nearly 40 people attended the May 27 meeting, including representatives of the Jewish Lesbian Group and White Men's Women Organized for Productive Choice, Chicago's Black Gays, National Agenda, Chutzpah, National Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary League. The RSL had a meeting, with the endorsement of the Take Back Coalition.

Michael Botkin of

## Rally Assault

Last month, the Antorcha reported the lesbian and gay rally in Chicago on March 20 was attacked by armed right-wingers. Since then, we have received more information on the assault, and on the rally that took place a week later.

By ABBY WEINSTEIN

Six hundred people gathered in Mexico City on March 20 to protest the attack on the lesbian and gay community earlier by a right-wing party group on a lesbian rally. In the March 20 assault, some 50 men, armed with knives and brass knuckles, charged the rally's participants, wounding 10. (Last month, the Antorcha incorrectly reported that five of the participants were also wounded and arrested, but not injured.)

The March 27 protest against the right-wing attack drew

# Fascists Attack Lesbians and Gay Men

## Nazis Plan March on Gay Pride Day in Chicago

CHICAGO—A meeting in this city's lesbian and gay community voted on May 4 to form the Stonewall Committee to counter the announced plans of the American Nazi Party for a June 27 "anti-homosexual, pro-life, pro-traditional American family" rally. The Nazi rally is timed to coincide with Chicago's annual Lesbian and Gay Pride Rally, also set for June 27.

THE lesbian and gay community, and a wide range of left and progressive organizations,

For information about RSL Gay Pride plans, see page 16.

reacted sharply to the Nazi rally plans. Nearly 40 people attended the May 4 meeting, including representatives of the Jewish Lesbian Group, Black and White Men Together, Women Organized for Reproductive Choice, Chicago Women's Uprising, National Coalition of Black Gays, New Jewish Agenda, Chutzpah, International Socialist Organization, Sojourner Truth Organization and the Revolutionary Socialist League. The RSL had called the meeting, with the endorsement of the Take Back the Night Coalition.

Michael Botkin of the RSL

opened the meeting by saying that the Nazi decision to rally at Lincoln Park, traditional site of the Gay Pride rally, was a direct attack on the annual lesbian and gay march. Botkin called on the meeting's participants to begin to organize for a broad, militant response to this Nazi provocation. Botkin stressed the importance of demonstrating that the lesbian and gay community in Chicago will neither tolerate nor be intimidated by the Nazi bigots.

A lively discussion followed these remarks, with people expressing varying views on how to best respond to the Nazi challenge. A representative of the Illinois Gay and Lesbian Task Force opposed a direct confrontation with the Nazis, saying he "didn't want to stoop to their level." However, the majority of those present felt that it would be a mistake to ignore the Nazis and voted to call for a demonstration at the same time and same place as the announced Nazi rally.

THE Stonewall Committee faces two important tasks in its organizing for the June 27 protest. The first is to ensure the maximum possible unity within the lesbian and gay community itself. This is a distinct problem because the Nazis are scheduled to rally in Lincoln Park from

2:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. while, at present, the gay pride march, though it is set to begin at 2:00, is not likely to reach Lincoln Park until 4:30 or later—after the Nazi rally has ended. This means that anti-Nazi activists, lesbians and gays in particular, will be forced to choose between the gay pride march and the anti-Nazi mobilization. To overcome this potential split, the Stonewall Committee is proposing to the official Gay Pride Committee that it move up the starting time of the parade and plan to arrive at Lincoln Park at the time of the Nazi rally. This would greatly strengthen the entire anti-Nazi mobilization as well as prevent the lesbian and gay community from being divided.

AN additional task for the Stonewall Committee is to reach out energetically beyond the lesbian and gay community to build for the anti-Nazi protest. While the Nazis have made anti-gay bigotry a specific focus of their planned June 27 rally, Nazi hatred of oppressed groups is hardly confined to lesbians and gays. Jews, Blacks, Latins, undocumented workers, unwed pregnant mothers, young people who smoke pot—all those



Above, one of several Nazi rallies held in Chicago over past few years.

who don't fit the "Nazi mold"—are on the list of those the Nazis would throw into concentration camps. It is important that the June 27 protest be a broad and united mobilization of lesbian, gay, Black, Latin, Jewish and women's groups, trade unions, and other organizations of working and oppressed people. Such a mobilization would help to educate people about the nature of gay oppression under capitalism and would be an important state-

ment of unity in the face of the Nazi program of division and hatred.

The Stonewall Committee will be holding its next meeting to organize for the June 27 anti-Nazi demonstration on May 18 at 7:30 p.m. at the Second Unitarian Church, 615 West Wellington. All anti-Nazi activists are encouraged to attend.

**Defend Gay Pride Day!**  
**Stop the Nazis!**  
**An Injury to One**  
**Is an Injury to All!**

## Young Women's Sexual Freedom Real Issue in HHS Notification Rule

By MARY RIVERS

"Our minimum responsibility is to protect the health and, in some cases, the life of children receiving prescriptions, who may be at risk of embolism, stroke and permanent sterility."

So says the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), trying to justify its new regulation that federally-funded family planning agencies must notify parents of women under 18 who receive prescriptions for contraceptives. The rule also states that both parents must be informed, even if living separately, within 10 days of when the prescription is written—all in the name of young women's "health."

But who are they kidding? Since when is the Reagan administration so worried about our health?

In fact, many experts believe the new rule will go a long way toward harming the health of tens of thousands of young women. Dr. George Ryan, head of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, estimates there will be "well over 100,000" unwanted teenage pregnancies as a direct result of the HHS rule. And, as Dr. Luella Klein, project director of the Maternal and Infant Care Clinic of Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta, stated: "Pregnancy is five times as risky for teens as the pill."

More pregnancies will also mean more abortions—both legal and back-alley. These too increase the chances that a young woman's health will be hurt.

So what's the new rule really about? Marjory Mecklenburg, Acting Deputy Assist-

ant Secretary of Public Affairs and Director of the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs, who helped draft this regulation, let the foam out of the can when she said, "... If parents and children communicate, children will use contraceptives more effectively and will be more likely to delay sex." The National Pro-Family Coalition, a strong backer of the new regulation, was even more upfront, terming it "a first step toward the restoration of parental authority as well as a deterrent to sexual experience."

The simple truth is that the HHS, the Reagan administration and the right wing aren't concerned with anyone's health. They are worried about young people's sexual activity and "morals." They are worried about controlling our lives.

But will this measure keep young women from having sex? Two years ago the Guttmacher Institute conducted a survey of over 2,400 teenage women and found that more than half wouldn't return to a clinic if their parents had to know, but would continue to have sex even with no contraceptives. The Washington Post reports that "A survey of teenagers in family planning clinics showed that if parental notice was the price of prescription contraceptives, 20 percent would continue their sexual activities with little or no protection. Only 2 percent said they would abstain."

So—once again—the facts indicate just the opposite of what the government says. Under the guise of looking out for our interests, they take away our privacy and right to control our own bodies—and endanger more teenage women in the bargain.

## Rally Held to Protest Assault in Mexico City

Last month, the Torch/La Antorcha reported that a lesbian and gay rally in Mexico City on March 20 was attacked by armed right-wing thugs. Since then, we have received more information on the brutal assault, and on the rally that took place a week later to protest it.

By ABBY WEINSTEIN

Six hundred people rallied in Mexico City on March 27 to protest the attack one week earlier by a right-wing paramilitary group on a lesbian and gay rally. In the March 20 assault, some 50 men, armed with clubs, knives and brass knuckles, charged the rally's participants, wounding 10. (Last month's Torch/La Antorcha reported incorrectly that five of the assailants were also wounded; five were arrested, but none injured.)

The March 27 protest of the right-wing attack drew consid-

erable support beyond Mexico City's lesbian and gay movement. This was an important development since, in the past, the majority of Mexico's left and feminist movements have either been hostile to or have simply ignored the gay movement and gay people.

"Now an attack on gays is considered an attack on the democratic rights of all," noted Bandera Socialista, newspaper of the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), one of the organizers of the March 20 rally. (The PRT is affiliated to the U.S. Socialist Workers Party—SWP.)

Gay Community News, a U.S.-based publication, made this same point, reporting that a petition protesting the assault had been signed by the Stalinist-dominated Unified Socialist Mexican Party (PSUM), the Women's Liberation Movement (MLM) and several well-known writers, including Carlos Mon-

(Continued on page 16)



## Robert Hooks convicted by all-white jury

On May 4, Robert Hooks, a Black youth from upstate New York charged in the deaths of two reputed Klan members, was found guilty by an all-white jury of first degree manslaughter. As we reported last month, Hooks admitted he stabbed the men in a fight last September 14 in Binghamton, New York, but pleaded not guilty by reason of self-defense. Hooks was represented in court by the well-known political attorney Conrad Lynn.

The facts of the case pointed to a near-classic self-defense plea. Hooks, age 18, is a shy, very religious person, originally from rural Alabama. He did not arm himself until after five white men shouted racist epithets at him and attacked him without provocation on the street. A short time after the first attack, the five men jumped him again. Hooks attempted to flee but was stopped by his racist assailants. He fought back with a kitchen knife in self-defense. After the incident Hooks turned himself in to police, but had no idea he had killed two men. When told, Hooks broke down in tears. Overwhelmed by involvement in the loss of human life, he gave a cathartic, full account of the events.

From all reports, Hooks had an unusually "clean" trial. Many of the defense's motions were granted. The instructions to the jury were exemplary.

Facts that justify self-defense, an experienced lawyer, a fair judge—but Hooks is sitting in jail today. Why? Because "the community standards" of 98.5-percent-white Binghamton simply do not include the right of self-defense for Black people when attacked by whites. The jury took two days to reach a verdict, indicating the defense efforts made some impact, but in the end, years of racist indoctrination weighed heavier. The fairest trial possible in the context of a racist society can still turn out to be little better than a legal lynching.

In June Robert Hooks will be sentenced. Appeals will also be filed within the next month. Money for the defense effort is still needed and can be sent care of Conrad Lynn, 49 South Main St., Spring Valley, NY 10977.

## In brief . . .

A suit by women prisoners in Kentucky is now in its trial stage, and the results could have far-reaching consequences for women behind bars around the country. The suit demands changes in prison rules and programs based on the difference between the treatment of men and women prisoners.

A recent New York Times article reported that when a woman enters the Kentucky state prison "her street clothes are taken away and replaced with dull, shapeless green state-issued dresses; she is not allowed to wear makeup or display pictures of her children or other loved ones; she must turn out the lights and go to bed at 9:30 p.m. In her cell she may possess a Bible, an ashtray and a drinking glass." Men prisoners in Kentucky, except for those in maximum security, are not subject to any similar rules.

The suit also hits at the difference in prison job training programs. The only vocational program for women is in clerical work. All the women are trained to cook, clean and sew. . .

On April 20, the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) agreed to end the use of a privileged class of prisoners, called building tenders, in positions of authority over other prisoners. The end of the building tender system was one of many changes ordered by Judge W. Justice when he ruled on the Ruiz suit last April. TDC is now attempting to reach compromise agreements with the Justice Department on many sections of the ruling, figuring that they will get a better deal that way than by appealing. In what may be an attempt to gain leverage in those negotiations, on May 10 the TDC board "voted unanimously to stop accepting inmates . . . until the space requirements of a federal court order [Ruiz] can be met," according to the Washington Post. Juan Parra in the Coffield Unit wrote us with the information that there are now 32,450 prisoners in TDC, up from 30,200 a year ago. There are 14,000 cells in the system.

—WF

# Students Battle to Save Medgar Evers College

Since April 20, students at Medgar Evers College, an overwhelmingly Black school in Brooklyn, New York, have occupied the office of the school's president, Dr. Richard D. Trent. The protesters are demanding Trent's resignation or transfer.

Medgar Evers, which has 2,800 students, is part of the City University of New York (CUNY) system, which includes over 15 other colleges and universities.

The sit-in follows a six-day student strike held in mid-March that, among other things, also demanded Trent's replacement. Later, on March 26, the school's faculty voted 88-26 in favor of Trent's removal.

Trent, who is Black, has become a central issue at Medgar Evers because of his arrogant refusal to discuss the school's problems with students or faculty.

**ABOUT 95 percent of Medgar Evers' students are Black.** A large proportion of the student body takes classes in the evening and works during the day. Over 90 percent get some kind of financial aid. Over 70 percent are women.

Students at Medgar Evers are angry because they believe the school is being allowed to die. Established in 1970 as a concession to the city's Black movement, Medgar Evers has been the poor step-child of CUNY ever since.

As the authorities' fear of the Black movement faded during the 1970s, so did the funding for Medgar Evers. The school was founded as a four-year college but was cut back to a two-year community college in the mid-

1970s. Although there have been plans to build a real campus for Medgar Evers for years, today the school is crowded into two old buildings—one a former warehouse—in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn. And Medgar Evers is somehow the only CUNY school without childcare facilities—despite the fact that a majority of the student body is female.

**NOW Medgar Evers' very existence is threatened.** The federal government, which has always indirectly provided much of the funding for the school, is openly uninterested in Black education or even preserving the public school systems at all.

Many students believe CUNY would like to cripple Medgar Evers to the point where it seems useless to maintain it as a separate college, and then merge it into another CUNY school. And many people believe Trent, if asked, would agree to grease the skids for MEC's downfall.

There is good reason to think this. Dr. Trent, a former social psychologist, has been president of Medgar Evers since it was founded. Throughout its history, he has acted as the loyal servant of the CUNY board and its policy of "benign neglect." When Medgar Evers was being reduced to a two-year school, for instance, groups of students went to the state capital to push for more money, but Trent did not.

Trent has also apparently done nothing about the lack of childcare, although he claims that he has been working on this problem for 10 years (for 10 years!).

This spring, the CUNY board

announced plans to raise community college tuition by \$150, to \$1,080 a year. At the same time, financial aid is being cut. Under these circumstances, it did not take much to cause an explosion.

On March 4, Trent transferred a dean after she accused him of misappropriating college money. Some students protested but "the skirmish between these few students and the office of the president left most of the student body and the faculty members on the sidelines," according to **Weekend Big Red**, a Black Brooklyn newspaper.

On March 11, however, Trent made students wait six hours and then failed to show up at all to a meeting scheduled to discuss the situation. The bottled-up resentment and anger then broke out. Soon the issues of childcare needs, the lack of security in the buildings and their state of disrepair, and general demands for the upgrading of the college overshadowed the original, more narrow, issues. A student strike began on March 16 and was called off one week later.

Although a majority of students boycotted classes, the strike seemed to have little impact on the administration. Trent remained silent throughout the strike.

**IN the face of Trent's intransigence,** the focus of the struggle shifted almost exclusively to his removal. The faculty's vote and the current sit-in followed. There is little doubt that the majority of MEC students support the occupation. Just before it began, for example, over 1,000 students rallied to demand Trent's ouster. □

## To Our Readers Behind Bars

So far we have gotten a really good response to the prisoner renewal notices we sent out last month (on the back of the wrappers the **Torch/La Antorcha** is mailed in). Prisoners from around the country have returned the renewal forms, some enclosing donations—which are very much appreciated—and others warm words of encouragement. A prisoner from Georgia writes: "I must say thank-you for what you have done for me. Before your paper came into my life I was a narrow-minded fool and was a lost sheep, but now I am a socialist."

Unfortunately, we have also received word from several prisoners, particularly in the notorious Texas Department of Corrections, that their **Torch/La Antorcha** arrived without a wrapper. These prisoners are worried that they will not get their renewal notices and their subscriptions will be canceled.

If you have been a subscriber to the **Torch/La Antorcha** for a while and your paper arrives without a wrapper, drop us a note. We will not cut off the subscription of anyone we hear from—even if you don't have a renewal form. If you know of other prisoners who are in the same boat, perhaps one person can write us a letter with the names and numbers of everyone who wants to continue to receive the **Torch/La Antorcha**. If your paper stops coming, let us know.

The main thing is that we have to know that you are still interested in receiving the **Torch**. Otherwise we will be spending money and time—two precious commodities—sending papers that, for all we know, wind up in a garbage can somewhere.

So, once again, look for a renewal notice on the back of the wrapper your newspaper comes in. When you get one (approximately a year after you first subscribed), fill it out and send it back to us. That's the best way to ensure that you won't miss a single issue of the **Torch/La Antorcha**.

Thanks and take care. □

By WILLIA

Just days before the announcement of the unemployment rate had risen 9.4 percent, a pro-reaction record, the Reagan administration launched "Project Jobs," a one-week campaign to attract Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to arrest over 5,000 workers.

Using 400 agents, the INS reached its state targets of \$500,000, 'reached its state targets in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Houston, Chicago, Newark and New York. The INS rested and about 100 of those were deported.

"Project Jobs" is a reply to the INS. It has been called "Terror." For many communities where the INS has documented workers in fear of a sudden deportation, Los Angeles, for example, were noticeably empty. Workers chose to rather than risk the clutches of "La Migra." The INS is often called "the INS in LA's Los Angeles districts was down 50 percent; half of all applicants for a children's medical program in East Los Angeles were turned away. Attendance at adult English classes dropped by 20 to 30 percent.

The administration was to open up "Project Jobs" that would be open to U.S. citizens. A campaign for CETA training programs, a sick joke for Reagan's campaign to round up 5,000 workers for a program! The real reason for the raids—almost timed to coincide with the release of record-high unemployment figures—was to whip up racist sentiment against foreign-born workers by shift attention away from the administration's own economic policies.

## 300 raids in five

Nonetheless, the INS conducted a heavy campaign to bolster that the INS round up "good jobs aren't going after job busboys," was how the INS got its official put.

And, indeed, the INS raid its usual target: garment factories or the

## 'Project Jobs' — Or 'Project Terror'?

By WILLIAM FALK

Just days before the government announced that the unemployment rate had climbed to 9.4 percent, a post-Depression record, the Reagan administration launched "Project Jobs"—a one-week campaign by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to round up and arrest over 5,000 undocumented workers.

Using 400 agents and a budget of \$500,000, "Project Jobs" reached its stated goal: 5,635 people in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Dallas, Houston, Chicago, Detroit, Newark and New York were arrested and about three-quarters of those were subsequently deported.

"Project Jobs" might more aptly have been called "Project Terror." For an entire week, communities where many undocumented workers live waited in fear of a sudden raid. In Los Angeles, for example, city buses were noticeably empty, as many workers chose to stay at home rather than risk falling into the clutches of "La Migra," as the INS is often called. Retail business in LA's Latin shopping districts was down by 10-15 percent; half of all appointments at a children's medical clinic in East Los Angeles were missed; attendance at adult education English classes in the city dropped by 20 to 50 percent.

The administration claimed that the purpose of the raids was to open up "high paying jobs" that would be attractive to U.S. citizens. After slashing funds for CETA and other job training programs, it is surely a sick joke for Reagan to term a campaign to round up and deport 5,000 workers a jobs program! The real purpose of the raids—almost too obviously timed to coincide with the release of record-high unemployment figures—was to try to whip up racist sentiment against foreign-born workers and thereby shift attention away from the administration's own failed economic policies.

## 300 raids in five days

Nonetheless, the administration conducted a heavy media campaign to bolster the claim that the INS roundup would open up "good jobs." "We aren't going after janitors and busboys," was how one immigration official put it.

And, indeed, the INS did not raid its usual targets—the garment factories or the vegetable



INS agents raid factory in Los Angeles.

and fruit fields of the southeast or the west, where undocumented workers labor for extremely low pay under brutal working conditions (and where cases of outright slavery have been exposed).

Instead, beginning on April 26, agents surrounded factory after factory—there were nearly 300 raids in five days—and rounded up every black- or brown-skinned person they could find.

Many of those taken away by La Migra were U.S. citizens or legal residents. In Colorado, for example, 71 of the 107 people picked up by the INS turned out to be legal residents. In a Detroit raid, agents grabbed 33 workers from the Frederick and Herrud-meat packing plant. All of them proved to have documents and were released.

Over 85 percent of all undocumented workers captured in the raids were Mexican, although the best estimates are that Mexicans make up only 50 percent of all undocumented workers in the U.S. And, despite the claim that the INS agents were going after workers earning more than \$4.50 an hour, over half of all those arrested earned (like most undocumented workers) less than \$4.50 an hour. Many made only slightly more than the \$3.35 national minimum wage.

Once arrested, the workers were subjected to intense pressure to sign papers that waived their right to a hearing and allowed their immediate deportation. Some workers were told that getting a lawyer would cost \$4,000, though lawyers were in fact available free of charge. Agents told others that their fingers would be broken if they refused to be fingerprinted.

Luisa Barraza Garcia was arrested at her job at a furniture factory near Los Angeles. She has been in the U.S. for 13 years and has a daughter born here. After her arrest she underwent what the INS calls "processing."

"When they [La Migra] started questioning me," Barraza told a reporter from the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, "one of the men in the room who spoke Spanish told me he was my lawyer. He turned out to be one of them, but I believed him at first. Then he asked me if I had distinguishing marks on my body. When I said no, he said, 'Wouldn't you like me to give you some?'"

Another agent asked Barraza if she was from El Salvador. "I said no, and he said 'Yes, you are. I'm going to send you back to your country so they'll kill you along with the other people there so you people can't come to the United States.'"

## Job claims absurd

The INS claimed at the end of the week that the raids were a success: that jobs were opened up for U.S. citizens and that "the great solid majority which doesn't speak out" had "residual positive feeling" about the raids.

It is not surprising that this supposed support was so silent—with more than 10 million people out of work (the closing of even one large auto or steel plant eliminates as many as 5,000 jobs in a single stroke), it is doubtful that too many people were fooled into believ-

reduce the workforce outside the restrictions of the union contract!

Moreover, in the past, job vacancies created by raids have usually been filled by other undocumented workers. Many of the jobs involved such dangerous and unpleasant work—slitting the throats of chickens and gutting them while holding them by their feet, for example—that workers with any alternatives refused to accept them. Foreign-born workers—faced with the alternative of worse wages and conditions at home—take these jobs more quickly.

The irony is that the reasons things are so bad in their own countries, in Mexico or in the Caribbean, for example, is that the U.S. ruling class has systematically plundered and stolen the wealth of these countries and their people.

Reagan's "Project Jobs" was a cynical, racist shuck. All workers who labor for the U.S. capitalists, whether in other countries or in the U.S., whether documented or undocumented, have the same interests and can enforce their interests only by uniting and fighting back against the growing corporate offensive.

A real "Project Jobs" would begin not with the arrest of Mexican workers, but with the arrest of 5,000 leading members of the U.S. ruling class. □

Extension of Voting Rights  
Act Now Assured

On April 19 over 1,000 civil rights marchers took off from the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama for a 2,000 mile march and voter registration drive that will pass through five states and end up in Washington, D.C., on July 4.

The march is being led by the Rev. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and is endorsed by Jesse Jackson, the head of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

The focus of the march when it began was renewal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which expires next August. On May 3, however, renewal was assured when the Reagan administration endorsed an extension bill put together by moderate Republican senators and endorsed by leading Senate Democrats.

This extension bill is basically the same as one the administration has been opposing for months. It states that redistrict-

ing and other changes in voting procedures are illegal if their effect is to discriminate against Blacks or Latins. Reagan had wanted civil rights groups to have to prove that the purpose or intent of a change was to deny Blacks or Latins their rights before the change could be declared illegal. This is almost impossible to do.

Reagan reversed himself for two reasons. One, by all counts he was going to lose on this issue anyway. Two, there is widespread fear in the Republican Party that the hatred and distrust that nearly all Black people feel toward Reagan will cause heavy Black voter turnout for Democrats this fall. Under pressure from Republicans up for re-election, White House strategists are seeking ways to blunt the impact of Reagan's racist image. The Washington Post reports that their thinking is basically, "You can't win the Black vote, but don't stir it up against you." □

# Miners' Election Campaign Begins

By W.E. SCHWEIZER

United Mine Workers of America (UMW) President Sam Church has announced he is running for re-election. His only opponent so far is Rich Trumka, a 32-year-old miner and former union staff attorney from Nemaquin, Pennsylvania.

The election, for a five-year term, will be held November 4.

Church's announcement comes as part of an almost miraculous comeback. Only a year ago miners overwhelmingly rejected a contract he had negotiated and went on to wage a militant, 72-day strike. Church became known throughout the coalfields as "Sellout Sam." He lost his majority on the union's International Executive Board (IEB). And less than six months ago it looked like several potential candidates were scrambling to succeed him.

What happened? Since the miners' strike a year ago, the economy has fallen into a deep recession and the U.S. labor movement has gone into a general retreat. The United Auto Workers union has voted big givebacks to Ford, General Motors and International Harvester; the powerful Teamsters union has made concessions to the trucking companies; and Conrail workers were forced to give up wages and benefits, to name just a few examples.

MINERS have also lost. Although total coal output is up this year, the production of

metallurgical coal used in steel-making is stagnant, and a number of miners have been laid off. Meanwhile, non-union mines continue to open, even in the heart of UMW districts.

In the face of this, Church's contracts—which a year ago were the target of a massive



UMW President Sam Church.

rank and file rebellion—have begun to look relatively good to many UMW members. Church made a point of this when he announced his candidacy:

**"We got a 40-month contract, totaling about 37 and a half percent guaranteed increases while other unions are taking freezes and making givebacks."**

Church has also made himself look good by beating back some of Reagan's budget cuts. For example, last year he called UMW members off the job in a

successful demonstration to defeat more restrictive eligibility requirements for black lung benefits. Also, by threatening more walkouts, Church has succeeded in forcing the Reagan administration to lift a hiring freeze on federal mine safety inspectors and rescind some cutbacks in the Mine Safety and Health Administration.

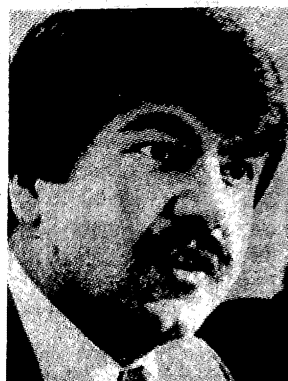
Church threatened another strike most recently on May 7 against a new Reagan plan to loosen mine safety regulations.

AS vice-president, Church took over the leadership of the UMW in 1979 from Arnold Miller. Years before, Church had been a supporter of the corrupt regime of W.A. "Tony" Boyle. He switched sides after a huge rank and file movement threw out Boyle and elected Miller in 1972. However, Miller could not keep down the ranks and resigned after repeated rebellions and wildcat strikes had all but evaporated his authority over the union.

Church set out immediately to control the rank and file and to consolidate his hold on the union. The 1981 strike was a temporary setback for Church. Now, however, Church is using the current period of retreat and recession to get himself back on track. For example, in January he successfully backed Raymond Thompson, a perennial also-ran who ousted Trumka supporter Jack Perry in an election rerun for president of District 17 in northern West

Virginia, the union's largest. Perry had won the original election last year.

Trumka made his mark in 1981 by articulating the rank and file's anger over Church's first sellout contract. He later went on to win the District 4 seat on the IEB against an incumbent who had supported the sellout. Church is worried that Trumka's campaign could become a rallying point for rank and file UMW members who are angry over company attacks, Reagan cutbacks and Church's conservative and bureaucratic leadership.



Challenger Rich Trumka.

As a result, several months ago he dispatched Trumka indefinitely to District 21 in Arkansas as part of a "commission" to oversee a long and bitter strike there. District 21 is

the union's smallest, far from the main coalfield campaign area.

Other conservative leaders in AFL-CIO unions are also worried about Trumka. For example, William H. Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, presented the Church campaign with a \$5,600 check at a \$200-per-ticket cocktail-buffet on March 28. That event, at Washington's Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, raised nearly \$200,000 for Church.

At this time neither candidate has outlined a program or strategy based on miners' needs. Church has already shown his approach—from his support of Tony Boyle down to the sellout of '81. Trumka so far has said very little. In an interview in *Labor Notes*, he talks about a lot of good things, but says nothing about how to get them.

UMW members face severe problems in the years ahead. The capitalists will step up their efforts to mine more coal more cheaply, resulting in worsening safety conditions in the mines. They will continue trying to cut pension, health and black lung benefits. They will intensify their attacks on the very existence of the union.

This year, the stakes are high. More than in a long time, the UMW needs a leadership which will organize the miners to defend themselves. Whether such a leadership results from the elections remains to be seen. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Striker shot in Rhode Island

A strike by 1,600 workers at two Browne & Sharpe machine tool plants near Providence, Rhode Island, is entering its seventh month. The workers, members of the International Association of Machinists, walked out October 19 after negotiations for a new contract broke down. The immediate issue in the strike is the company's insistence on "flexible" seniority provisions that would give it the power to lay off older workers.

Police and scabs have stopped at nothing to defeat the striking workers. On March 22 police used pepper gas against 800 workers who sat down in a driveway to keep scabs from entering the plant. Three weeks later a worker on the picket line was shot and wounded by two scabs. After the shooting, management rejected an offer by Rhode Island Governor J. Joseph Garrahy to set up a mediation board to settle the strike.

The company is intentionally prolonging the strike as a means to survive the depression in the machine tool industry. One union official pointed out to reporters that machine tool orders are down 48 percent from last year, and accused the company of refusing to bargain in order to "make use of the economic times."

Browne & Sharpe is also trying to set a union-busting example for other Rhode Island employers. Company president Henry Sharpe publicly condemns collective bargaining as a

"wasteful affair," while one manager told union negotiators: "This company is going to show the rest of Rhode Island how to operate."

### A different class of employee?

Over 100 workers at the Hotel Trianon in Washington, D.C., have been on strike since October against a hotel ownership made up of some of the wealthiest supporters of the Republican Party. The strike began after the owners demanded the right to bring in "a different class of employee" to replace the workers, 95 percent of whom are Black and Latin.

Last September a group of wealthy businessmen, who each contributed more than \$10,000 to the Republican National Committee, bought the Trianon, then called the Embassy Row Hotel. Their goal was to transform it into "a five-star hotel, along the lines of Marie Antoinette's summer home," for Republican fatcats and political leaders. In October the new owners withdrew from the city's hotel association, which had a contract with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, in order to negotiate a separate agreement with the union. They then demanded the right to fire whomever they pleased after a three-month waiting period, as well as asking for givebacks from the union's benefit package. The workers responded by walking out.

Although management has replaced all the

striking workers, union pickets have held the hotel's occupancy rate to 50 percent, well below that of other area hotels.

### Murder at Indiana work site

On April 15, an elevated expressway ramp under construction near East Chicago, Indiana, collapsed, killing 12 workers and injuring 32 more. Freak accident? Earthquake? No, the 12 workers were murdered, though no one will ever be tried for the crime.

Only one month earlier, a federal inspector had noted a host of safety violations at the site: The construction scaffolding had no guy wires, even though such wires are legally required on scaffolding over 40 feet high; the ramp itself was missing the steel reinforcement bars normally used to support newly poured concrete until it hardens; and the concrete used to build the columns that supported the ramp was noticeably weak.

It was this concrete that was the immediate cause of the disaster. One column—located at the precise point where the ramp collapsed—cracked and shifted under the weight of the ramp. Construction workers call this "green concrete"—concrete that is unstable because it has not been given sufficient time to harden after it is poured. Construction companies know all about green concrete. So do government officials. But contractors and state officials often use concrete before it hardens to speed up production on public projects.

—PB

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# Jearl Wood Acquitted!

## Vietnam Vet Found Not Guilty in Shooting of Foreman

**MARKHAM, IL**—On May 4, a jury of eight women and four men acquitted Jearl Wood, a Black Vietnam veteran and member of United Auto Workers Local 551, of attempted murder and all other charges arising from the August 22, 1980, shooting of Cecil Harrell, a racist-sexist white general foreman at Ford's Chicago Assembly plant.

The jury of two Blacks and 10 whites deliberated almost nine hours before finding Wood "not guilty by reason of temporary insanity" in the third week of his trial here.



Jearl and Zuella Wood embrace following Jearl's acquittal.

### Post-Vietnam stress syndrome

Courtroom testimony exposed the conditions Wood faced as a Marine in a forward artillery unit during 1969-70 near Da Nang, Phu Bai, and Chu Lai in northern South Vietnam. Other witnesses described the oppressive heat, noise and line speed at the Chicago Assembly plant. Ford's racist management policies were not a target of defense testimony, although the Jearl Wood Defense Committee had drawn attention to racial oppression in its picket lines and its Open Letter to Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley.

Wood's only physical injury from the Vietnam War was impaired hearing. But Jearl's wife, Zuella Wood, told Assistant State's Attorney Ray Garza earlier in the year, "You don't have to be shot to be wounded." She proved this by her moving testimony showing how heavy combat in Vietnam had harmed Jearl, turning her outgoing high

school sweetheart into a tense, mistrustful person.

Vietnam veterans—including one who served in Wood's Marine unit—described the stressful conditions of combat for the jury. One of the jurors was a white Vietnam vet who had also served in a forward artillery unit.

Jearl's own foreman, a Ford security guard and a white woman co-worker all refuted Cecil Harrell's lie that Wood was "intoxicated" on August 22, 1980. (This phony charge was Ford's excuse to railroad him out of the factory that night.)

On April 29, Dr. John Wilson, the final defense witness, successfully defended his diagnosis of Jearl's condition as post-Vietnam Traumatic Stress Disorder.

On May 3, the Jearl Wood Defense Committee picketed the Markham courthouse before the defense and prosecu-

tion gave their closing arguments. Family members, co-workers, Vietnam veterans, and other friends of Wood again demanded that State's Attorney Daley drop all charges.

This demonstration marked the seventh time since June 1981 that Wood's supporters had taken to the streets.

### Wood a victim of capitalist oppression

Wood's acquittal follows a 21-month campaign that began

at the time of his arrest. The RSL has been active in this struggle from that night on. We believe that Wood is not a criminal but a victim of racist-capitalist oppression.

As an RSL member said at a Defense Committee benefit on February 28: "The U.S. government lied to Jearl Wood about the Vietnam War, put him through hell over there, and today is to blame for the psychological damage done to him."

The RSL also sees the struggle to free Jearl Wood as part of the struggle against racial oppression. An RSL supporter active in the Defense Committee pointed out: "There's something in the struggle [to free Jearl Wood] for everyone. The more that people hear about the unity we built to free my friend and co-worker, Jearl Wood—when some folks said we didn't have a chance—the more our fight will encourage working class and poor people to fight back against whatever kind of oppression."

In an interview with the Torch/La Antorcha on May 7, Zuella Wood said: "...the government should help all the Vietnam veterans who are suffering from delayed stress. I don't want Jearl, Jr., and Maurice to go to war at all. I don't want them going through the same thing their father went through. The U.S. government

should stay out of wars that don't concern them because it's the young men and women of the U.S. that have to fight and suffer."

Jearl added, "The treatment the Vietnam veterans are faced with today is one of the reasons why there should be 'No More Vietnams!' and no more U.S. involvement in foreign wars."

### Defense committee needs funds

Jearl Wood said about \$5,000 is still owed for expenses, such as fees and transportation of expert witnesses who testified in the two-and-a-half-week trial. Zuella Wood asked readers of the Torch/La Antorcha to send donations to: Jearl L. Wood Defense Committee, c/o Legal Services Center of Chicago-Kent College of Law, 77 South Wacker Drive, Chicago, IL 60606.

Jearl Wood had this to say to the readers of the Torch/La Antorcha and to the readers of Forward (newspaper of our sister-organization, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica): "Thanks to all the people who got behind me and my family in the struggle. Thank god for them and people like them for sticking by me to see the whole thing through ...." □

## UNEMPLOYMENT AT 40-YEAR HIGH

The national unemployment rate has hit a 40-year high. The April rate, announced by the government on May 7, was 9.4 percent of the workforce, or 10.3 million people. This is the bleakest job situation since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Black unemployment also hit a post-Depression record: 18.4 percent. Blue-collar joblessness rose to 13.7 percent, up from 12.9 percent the month before. Latin unemployment showed little change, sliding from 12.7 percent to 12.5 percent. But joblessness among young people rose more than a full percentage point, from 21.9 percent to 23 percent. In other words, nearly one out of four youths is without a job. For Black youth, that figure jumps to an astounding 48.1 percent—nearly one out of every two!

Since late 1981 there has been a huge increase in the number of the underemployed, that is, people who have part-time jobs because they can't find full-

time work. In April, this group grew to 5.8 million people—another record high.

A third official category is "discouraged workers"—people who would like a job but have given up on trying to find one. The number of discouraged workers in the first quarter of 1982 (the latest figure available) was 1.34 million.

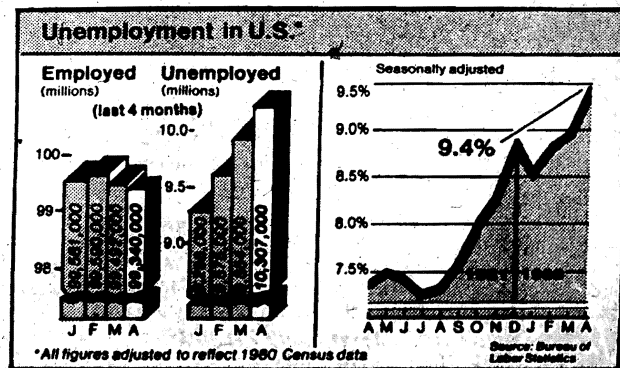
Add up the number of "dis-

couraged workers," the underemployed and the officially unemployed and the result is 17.5 million people, nearly 16 percent of the workforce.

Meanwhile, in a statement released the same day as the new figures, Reagan called the unemployment rate "disappointing," but added that there was less suffering than appeared to be the case. □



Thousands of Vietnam vets suffer from post-war stress disorder.



# Mexico to Hold Presidential Elections — But Winner Already Selected

By ALBERT LARY  
and JOSE ZAPATA

1982 is a presidential election year in Mexico and an expensive campaign to replace out-going President José López Portillo is now underway. While the election won't take place until July 4, the results have been known since last September. Yet this odd fact hasn't dampened the enthusiasm of the six parties in the race.

The election has attracted an unusual amount of international attention. During the past six years of López Portillo's regime, Mexico's political importance has risen rapidly and today the country is considered a key factor in the volatile Central American/Caribbean area.

## Millions impoverished despite oil boom

Most of Mexico's new political importance is based on oil. In 1974, the country was importing petroleum. Today it is the fourth largest oil exporter in the world and may have oil reserves greater than those of Saudi Arabia. But this newfound oil wealth has not brought economic stability to Mexico.

The recent 40 percent devaluation of the Mexican peso was only a symptom of the international capitalist crisis in which the country is caught. Mexico may be rich in oil, but it is still an underdeveloped nation, thoroughly tied to, and dependent on, U.S. imperialism.

Inflation in Mexico is running at over 45 percent. Its foreign debt, at \$50 billion, is one of the highest in the world. And its overall economic growth rate, quite high during the late 1970s, is slowing fast.

Mexico's oil boom has not meant a better life for most Mexicans. One third of the population continues to live in impoverished rural areas, and for millions of these small farmers, as well as many others, life is considerably worse today than it was six years ago.

Over half of Mexico's 70 million people are underemployed and live at, or below, the starvation level. Fifteen million Mexicans have never tasted



milk. Twenty-eight percent of all adults are illiterate and half of the children are receiving no education. Twenty percent of the adult population survives on the equivalent of \$250 a year.

These figures paint a grim picture that is seldom revealed in the official Mexican press. Externally, Mexico's new influence as an oil-exporter, combined with a general decline in U.S. influence over Latin Amer-

ica, has greatly increased Mexico's international prestige. But at home a stagnant economy, falling wages and living standards, and growing social tensions have produced a new wave of land seizures, bank robberies and political violence.

The PRI's process of selecting candidates for the presidential race is a well-kept mystery. The party is organized into three sectors—labor, peasants, and professional/businessmen—and these are supposed to nominate and lobby internally for their preferred candidates before a public announcement is made. The final decision as to who will be the new president is made by the out-going president himself.

Since the PRI's chosen candidate always wins, the only real election takes place behind closed doors, among a few top leaders of the ruling party. Once, when asked to explain the process of presidential elections in Mexico, a former PRI chairman jokingly replied, "Anyone can be Pope, but only cardinals ever make it."

Indeed! Not only has every Mexican president in the past 50 years come from the PRI apparatus, but each one has emerged from the cabinet of the previous president.

Miguel de la Madrid follows this tradition. He is a lawyer, Harvard-educated, and a longtime associate of José López Portillo. As minister of planning and the budget under López Portillo, De la Madrid won the favor of Mexico's big capitalists and foreign investors. Like López Portillo, De la Madrid is considered a technocrat and modernizer, but his economic policy will be even more conservative and his foreign policy is expected to tilt more toward the U.S.

De la Madrid is campaigning hard, he says, "to win with a

big vote and a big majority." His caravan of buses, vans and 70 assistants travels from city to city. At each stop, busloads of poor people are brought in to line the streets and cheer. Campaign rallies provide elaborate entertainment, and thousands attend simply to see their favorite entertainers—all provided by the PRI-controlled actors' union. Raffles of TV sets, stereos and food are used to draw crowds. Last fall, a PRI rally in Mérida ended in tragedy when 20,000 people, attracted by a campaign raffle, jammed into a bullring built for 8,000. When the stands collapsed, 60 people died.

## Five other parties also running

De la Madrid is running against five minor-party opponents who are expected to split a small percentage of the vote.

The strongest of the opposition parties is the right-wing Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN—National Action Party), based among wealthy landowners.

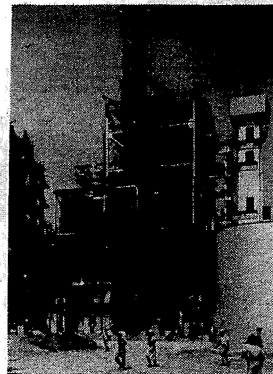
The other significant opposition is the Partido Socialista Unificado Mexicano (PSUM—Unified Mexican Socialist Party), a leftist coalition dominated by the former Mexican Communist Party (CP). The CP officially dissolved itself when the PSUM was formed last year, but the PSUM's presidential candidate, Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, is the former head of the CP and there is little doubt that CP politics prevail inside PSUM.

The Mexican CP, through the PSUM, offers perhaps the best example of how so much of the Mexican left has turned away from revolutionary organizing in favor of an electoral strategy for change. The PSUM/CP claims that socialism can be won through the ballot box.

(Continued on page 15)



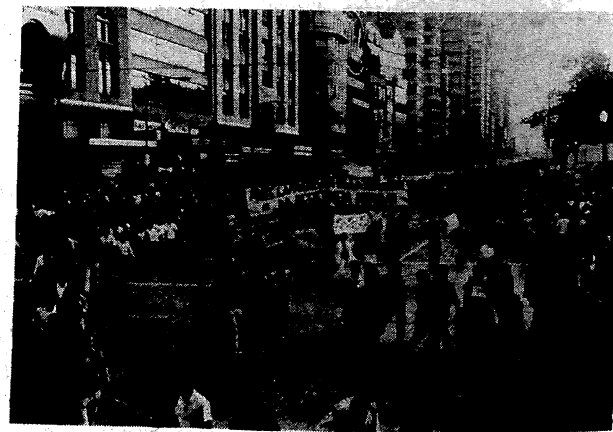
Cartoon at left reads: "So this time he's called De la Madrid—What else is new?" Above, poster of PRI candidate De la Madrid outside ruling party's headquarters in Oaxaca.



Oil refinery in Salamanca. Mexico's oil boom has not meant a better life for most Mexicans.

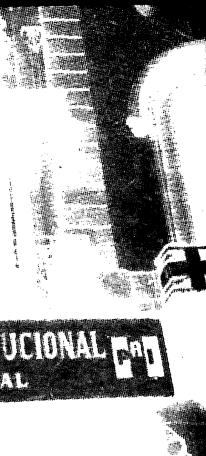
## PRI in power over 50 years

The Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary Party) is Mexico's official ruling party and has never lost a major election since its origin over 50 years ago. This year's elections will be



Mass protests by workers, peasants and students swept Mexico in the late 1960s and early '70s, and forced PRI to enact minor electoral "reform."

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Madrid—What else is  
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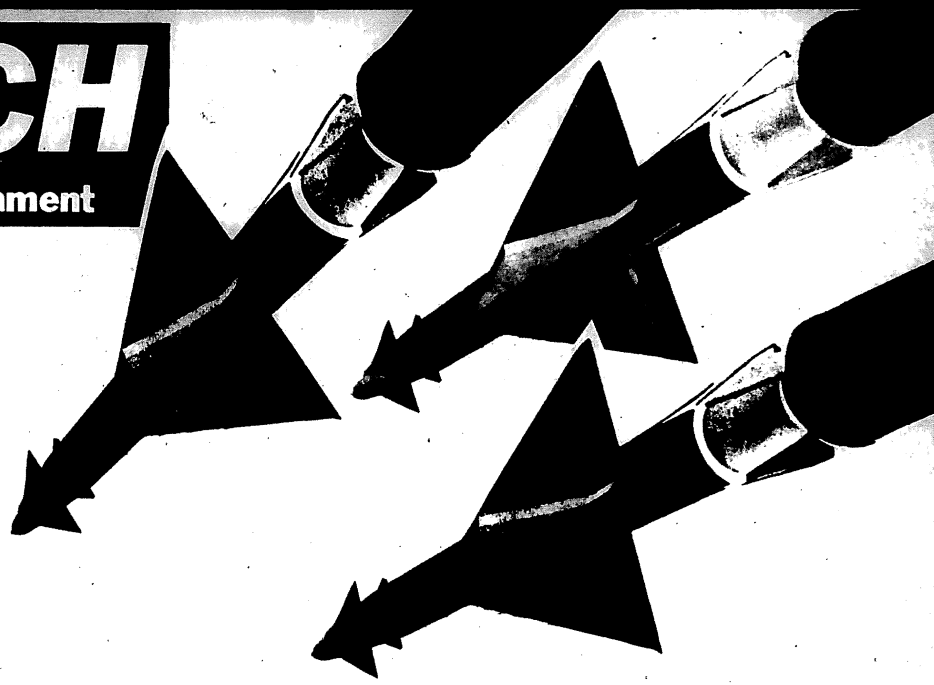
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# TORCH

Supplement on Nuclear Disarmament

## WHICH WAY TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT?



Will the  
governments  
disarm—  
or do we need  
to disarm them?

Supplement to the May 15-June 14, 1982, Torch/La Antorcha,  
Newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League . . . . . 10¢

# WHICH WAY TO

By WAYNE GORDON

The world we live in has many evils: racism, sexism, national oppression, dictatorships of the right or "left," mass poverty and famine, and others.

Yet nothing threatens humanity more than nuclear war. Every year, the rulers of the world's main powers take an enormous share of the wealth produced by working people and devote it to the insane purpose of preparing a nuclear holocaust.

As potential victims, we have to decide how to stop them. How can the world's working people prevent our "leaders" from wiping out humanity?

The first step is to join together in the broad anti-war movement. We should all participate in the demonstrations and protests against the nuclear arms build-up, the U.S. war in El Salvador, the revival of the draft, and other war moves.

But as we do this, we need to discuss, openly and honestly, the following question: What strategy should the anti-war movement adopt to prevent human self-destruction?

This is our topic.

## Negotiations for disarmament

The program put forward most often for preventing a nuclear holocaust is that of **negotiated treaties for disarmament** among the U.S., USSR, and other nuclear-armed states. Such negotiations might begin with a freeze at the current hellishly high level of nuclear arms, but they would—if this program is to work—have to proceed to agreements to dismantle all nuclear weapons and then all conventional weapons, down to police levels. In addition, an international system of checking and arbitration would need to be set up, to head off conflicts that could lead to new wars and the rebuilding of nuclear weapons.

This program of negotiated disarmament treaties rests on a set of assumptions **all of which would have to be true if it is to work.** It assumes that the U.S. rulers—big business and the politicians—would agree to disarm (even if only under pressure) and that the U.S. social system could function in a disarmed world. It also assumes that the rulers of the Soviet Union—the top bureaucrats—would agree to disarm and that their system could function in a disarmed world. (It assumes the same of the rest of the world's governments, but here we will only discuss the two superpowers.)

In the opinion of the Revolutionary Socialist League, these assumptions are false.

## The U.S. ruling class will not disarm

Formally, the U.S. is a democracy, where the people elect the leaders. But in reality, the main centers of power lie in the big corporations and the banks.

These are owned by a tiny minority of the population (the big capitalists, or bourgeoisie).

This minority (which is not elected) runs the economy under the pressure of the market. In competition with each other, the capitalists decide to invest in new plants or to close down factories, to create jobs or to end them, to work with the unions or to try to smash them, to invest in the U.S. or abroad, to pollute or to control pollution, and so on.

Most of the people in the country have little or no wealth except our hands and heads, our muscles and brains. If we are to eat, we must sell our ability to work to the owners of the factories, mines and other big businesses. Under their orders—without any democratic control at all—we produce society's wealth. They pay us to produce commodities and then we must pay them for the goods we have made, so we can continue to live and work for them.

The U.S. capitalists rule over more than the U.S. population. They dominate most of the world with their wealth and their military power. Millions upon millions of people toil for starvation wages in U.S.-owned factories and plantations throughout the world—in Latin America, Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The markets of the underdeveloped countries are dominated by U.S. corporations; their governments and businesses are deeply in debt to U.S. banks. And, despite competition, the countries of Western Europe and Japan are subordinate allies of the U.S. capitalists. Even Russia and the Eastern European states are heavily in debt to the U.S. bankers and government.

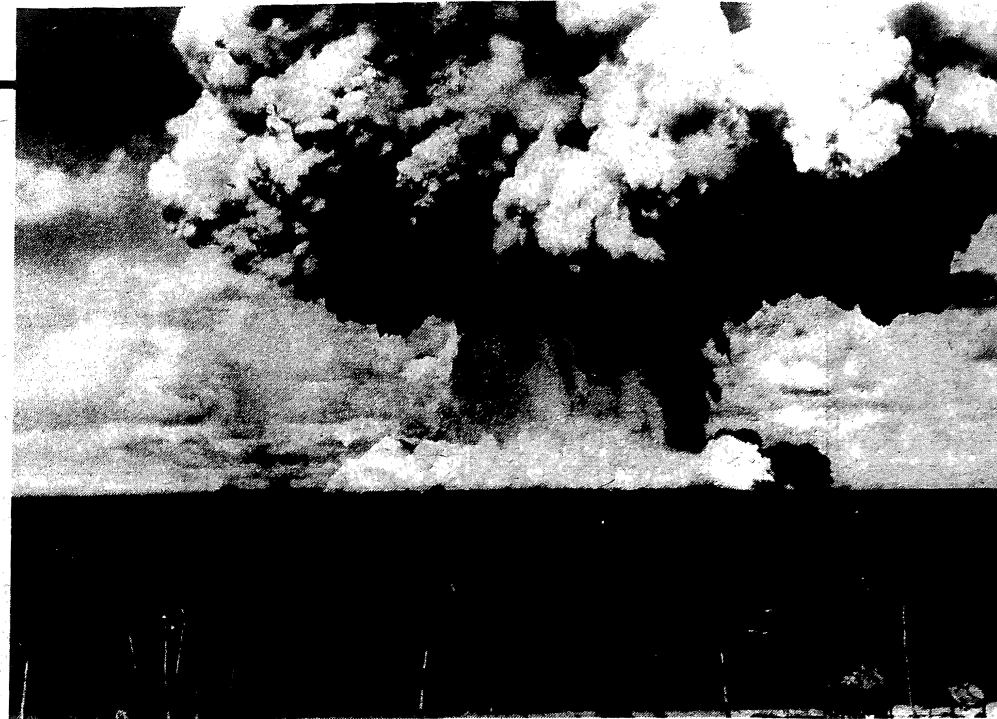
Although the corporate capitalists rule over working people at home and abroad, they are not all-powerful. They themselves are dominated by the world and national markets. The giant corporations and different blocs of national capitalists must compete among themselves for the profits stolen from the world's workers. In times of international economic crisis, this becomes fierce as they fight for shares of a declining amount of wealth.

To defend their positions in this competition, the big capitalists rely on their control of their own national governments. Big government serves big business in many ways. The way that concerns us here is the use of the government's military forces, nuclear and conventional, in the service of the capitalists.

The U.S. military is used to defend the U.S. capitalists' foreign markets, investments, and supplies of natural resources against competitors. The U.S. capitalists have fought world wars to prevent German, Japanese, and other capitalists from seizing the U.S. empire. They are just as determined to keep the Russians, their main rivals today, from getting it.

**In a disarmed world, the U.S. capitalists could not protect their empire against rival imperialists.**

The U.S. capitalists also use their military might to hold down the workers and small farmers of their empire. Since World War II, they have fought wars against the Koreans and the Vietnamese; they have invaded Cuba, the Dominican



Republic, Lebanon, Guatemala, Iran and other countries. Presently they are stepping up their war in Central America and stationing troops in the Middle East.

**In a disarmed world, the U.S. imperialists could not hold down the oppressed and poverty-stricken people they exploit around the world.**

Finally, the military is the capitalists' last resort against the U.S. population itself. Since World War II, troops have been called out to break strikes of truckers, railroad workers, steelworkers, postal workers, and others. Troops (and in some cases, tanks) were used to put down the Black rebellions of the 1960s. As the system's prosperity continues to decline, there will be more internal conflicts—and more use of the armed forces inside the U.S.

**In a disarmed world, the U.S. capitalists could not protect their wealth from the people of this country.**

**In sum, in a disarmed world U.S. capitalism could not survive.** The capitalists know this and will do everything in their power to prevent a disarmed, peaceful world from coming into existence.

## The Russian ruling class will not disarm

All that we have said of the U.S. can be said of the Soviet Union, despite the apparent differences. Just as the U.S. rulers hide behind "democracy," so the Russian rulers hide behind "socialism" and "communism." Their "socialism" mostly consists of government ownership of industry, along with the fact that those in power call themselves "communists." But socialism and communism meant something very different to Marx and Lenin and Trotsky and other great socialists—and it means something very different to us as well. We believe

that in a socialist society working people—the immense majority—would democratically and cooperatively run society.

In the Soviet Union, the workers have no more control over the economy and the state than do people in the U.S. As in the U.S., they must work for others if they are not to starve. They are paid to produce commodities that they then buy back from their bosses. As in the U.S., a tiny minority controls the economy.

That the Soviet bosses do not officially "own" the factories and other sectors of the economy does not weaken their total control. They run the Soviet Union like a giant business: USSR, Inc. Russia is **state capitalist**, not socialist. The ruling bureaucrats are capitalists, not communists.

Like the U.S. capitalists, the rulers of the USSR oversee a vast empire. Today's Soviet Union is really the old Russian Empire reborn. A Russian ruling class oppresses and exploits Ukrainians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Estonians and many other national minorities within the official borders of the USSR. Beyond its boundaries, the Russians hold the eastern third of Europe and Outer Mongolia in Asia. They compete economically, politically and militarily with the U.S. throughout the world. (The ways in which Russian imperialism differs from U.S. imperialism are beyond the scope of this article—what matters here is that the Russian rulers have an empire and are imperialists.)

The Russian capitalists need their military might to keep out other imperialisms. Unlike the U.S., whose economic power gives it non-military ways of dominating countries (bank loans, trade and investments), the Russian capitalists are much weaker economically; they could not keep U.S. (and French, German, Japanese, etc.) influence out of their colonies without military occupation.

**In a disarmed world, Russian capitalists could not protect their empire from**

rival imperialists.

Since World War II, the Russians have used troops to conquer East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and have

Poland. **In a disarmed world, the Russian rulers could not oppress—inside the Soviet Union—from revolutionaries.**

Internally, the stifling dictatorship of the Russian rulers is merged with the forces of the workers' rebellion. In the Soviet Union, the Russian rulers in Poland: order the workers.

**In a disarmed world, the Russian rulers could not control their own**

In short, as with the Russian state without their military, **in a disarmed world, the Russian ruling class could not control their own empire.** Everything in the disarmed, peaceful world would be

## What anti-war movement will not disarm

If this is true, the anti-war movement achieve

There is no doubt that the anti-war movement is right, that the capitalists into or reforms, that they give. In the 1930s, the workers, through the capitalists to a heavy industry. In the Black people force to abolish Jim Crow and to grant other ref

# NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT?

But these gains did not threaten the central institutions of capitalist rule. They were limited—and temporary.

Today, reforms that were won by unionists, Blacks, women, gays, and others are under attack, as the economy declines and the capitalists can no longer afford them.

Like the movements that produced these gains, the anti-war movement can win important reforms. For example, it can aid the people of Central America by demanding that the U.S. get out. It can help U.S. youth by fighting the draft. It can prevent or delay the deployment of one or another specific missile systems, such as MX or the neutron bomb.

**But total disarmament is no limited reform. It challenges the very basis of the capitalists' class power. The U.S. and Russian capitalists do not merely "like" armaments, they need armaments. No matter what the popular pressure, they cannot disarm. Disarmament would mean giving up their only means of defending their system.**

Capitalist politicians often talk about disarmament. Talk is cheap. But all the talk of "arms control" has never led to disarmament and never will.

The governments of the major world powers participated in the Hague Conferences on disarmament of 1899 and 1907. This did not prevent World War I. After the war, the great powers set up the League of Nations. They signed an assortment of treaties and held various conferences, such as the 1925 Kellogg-Briand Pact to "renounce war," the 1932 Geneva Disarmament Conference of 59 states, and the 1933 No Force Declaration of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. These did not prevent World War II. After that war, the victors set up the United Nations and began other fruitless rounds of disarmament negotiations.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of such negotiations was the 1963 Test Ban Treaty. Yet today, in spite of that treaty and others, in spite of years of negotiations and detente, the nuclear arsenals are larger, their destructive power is far greater, and more nations have them, than ever before.

In fact, one function of the capitalists' talk about disarmament is to weaken popular opposition while they prepare for war. Seymour Melman co-chairperson of SANE, a very moderate disarmament organization, admits that passing the nuclear freeze proposal

(which he is for) could result in "... new anti-ballistic missile systems, which would make the possibility of a nuclear strike all the more real... [and lead to] a monumental increase in every aspect of the arms race except warheads."

It is right to support limited demands for "no first strike" and a nuclear freeze. But if we are fooled by the capitalists' empty promises of disarmament, we will only be setting ourselves up for World War III.

**Revolution: workers must disarm the governments**

Since the capitalists, both East and West, cannot and will not seriously disarm, they must be disarmed. The capitalists' armaments must be taken away from them. Their rule must be replaced by the rule of the workers and other oppressed people, who have no need to oppress the peoples of other lands or to threaten to exterminate them. **The capitalist social system must be replaced with a system that is capable of bringing about a peaceful world.** This replacing of the rule of a capitalist minority by the working majority is what we mean by a socialist revolution.

In a socialist revolution working people would rise up and take the factories, railroad and other parts of modern industry out of the hands of the capitalists and put them into the hands of the vast majority. They would get rid of the bureaucratic government that sits on top of society and replace it with a government of councils, elected by the working people from their places of work and association. The councils would be federated into regional, national, and, eventually, international organizations. The police and standing armies, sources of oppression and counter-revolution, would be disbanded. Instead, working people and youth would arm themselves and organize a popular militia. As the revolution spread to include the whole of the world, and other imperialist governments were overthrown, the need for even revolutionary armies would come to an end.

It would be nice if we could vote in socialism and with it a peaceful and democratic world. Unfortunately, the example of Chile and of European

fascism in the '30s makes this highly doubtful. Before this could happen, the capitalists would cancel the elections and attack the workers with fascist goons, police, and the military. We would then have to defend ourselves with arms. The workers would need to organize mutinies in the military, political strikes and seizures of factories, disarming of the police, and finally armed insurrection.

The governments have armies, arsenals, and atomic bombs. It is the workers, however, who make the atomic bombs and the tanks. It is the workers who clothe and feed the armed forces. It is workers and the children of workers who make up the ranks of the armed forces, those who use the weapons. If enough workers—enough from the poorest, unemployed to the better-off, white collar workers, and everyone in between—were united and determined, we could disarm the capitalists. We could make a revolution.

What tactics workers would follow during and after a revolution cannot be known with certainty, especially when we are so far from one. But if the U.S. working people overthrew the imperialist state, they might well make a declaration like this to the workers of Russia and the world:

**"We have disarmed our rulers. You do not have to support your governments out of fear of the U.S. imperialists. We are dismantling the nuclear missiles they built to destroy you. Unlike the U.S. imperialists, we workers will not threaten to exterminate you. We will not hold you hostage for the behavior of your governments.**

**"If your rulers invade us, we will defend ourselves by popular armed resistance and guerrilla war. We are now organizing ourselves for such resistance so that any invader will find it impossible to rule us. We will try to win over the ranks of any invading army to join us and revolt.**

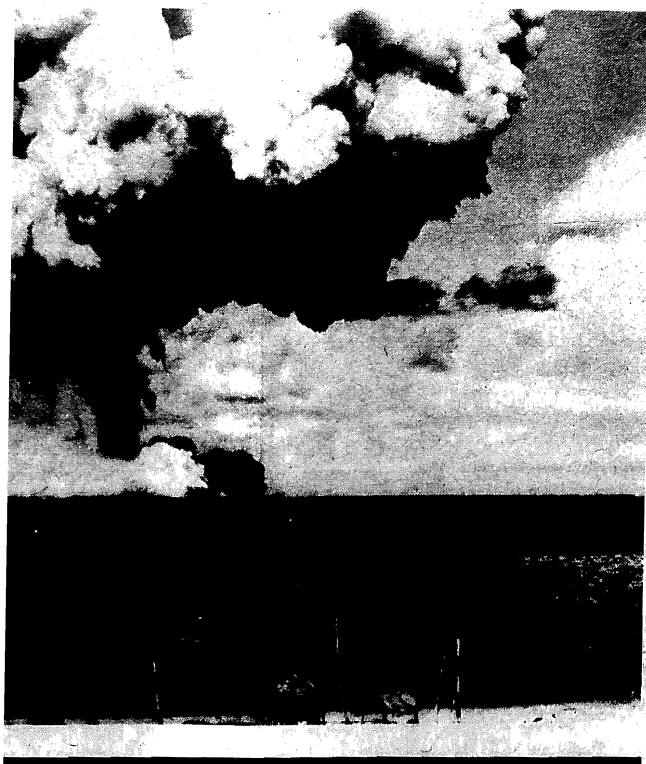
**"We appeal to you, sisters and brothers, to make your revolution and disarm your rulers. Join us in building a peaceful and free socialist world!"**

Under today's conditions, a workers' revolution in any country would tend to spread to other countries. In particular, a revolution in the U.S., given its key role in the world today, would shake the entire international capitalist system to its roots. And a revolutionary government would do its damndest to spread the revolution.

The workers of the world could build a new socialist society that has no need for armies and armaments. It would be a democratic, free, and cooperative society, run for human needs, not the profit of the capitalists. The technology that today can send nuclear warheads across oceans and continents could connect the world in peaceful communication and transportation. The industrialized (ex-imperialist) countries, relieved of the burden of the arms race, could help to industrialize the less-developed nations, without exploiting them.

Right now, the U.S. workers are far from a socialist revolution—as are the Russian workers. But revolutionary struggles are going on throughout the

*(Continued on next page)*



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Since World War II, the Russians have used troops against the people of East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Recently, they invaded Afghanistan and have threatened to invade Poland.

**In a disarmed world, the Russian rulers could not keep the nations they oppress—inside or outside the Soviet Union—from revolting.**

Internally, the Soviet Union is a stifling dictatorship. A vast police establishment is merged with the military forces. In the event of a Polish-style workers' rebellion in the Soviet Union, the Russian rulers would do as they did in Poland: order the military to crush the workers.

**In a disarmed world, they could not control their own people.**

In short, as with the U.S. capitalists, the Russian state capitalists cannot do without their military forces. **Like the U.S., in a disarmed world Russian capitalism could not survive.** The Russian bureaucrats also know this and will do everything in their power to prevent a disarmed, peaceful world from coming into being.

**What can an anti-war movement achieve?**

If this is true, what can an anti-war movement achieve?

There is no doubt that if conditions are right, mass movements can pressure the capitalists into granting concessions, or reforms, that they would prefer not to give. In the 1930s, for example, U.S. workers, through mass strikes, forced the capitalists to accept unionization of heavy industry. In the '50s and '60s, Black people forced the capitalists to abolish Jim Crow laws in the South, and to grant other reforms.



Hiroshima, after U.S. dropped atom bomb in 1945.

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world. In Central America and southern Africa, in East Europe and Afghanistan, both the U.S. and Russian capitalists are facing revolutionary workers and farmers. How much longer will the imperialist heartlands remain stable?

Today, the world economic crisis is destroying the internal stability of the big powers. Many pressures will push people toward revolution, such as increased poverty, racism, sexism, and national oppression. Certainly, one of the biggest reasons many people will turn toward revolution will be the fear of nuclear war.

As the disarmament movement awakens people to the danger of nuclear war, and to distrust of the governments, it contributes to the only real solution to nuclear war: socialist revolution.

### The new movement

The popular support for disarmament is newer even than the struggles against the war in El Salvador and against the draft. It shows a widespread opposition to the capitalists' war-making and is directed at both big powers.

Still in its beginning stages, the movement, not surprisingly, is led by moderate forces. These include the National Freeze Campaign, Ground Zero, SANE, church officials (including the Catholic Church, which is still campaigning against abortion rights), moderate environmentalists, and Democratic and Republican politicians (such as Kennedy and Hatfield). These forces support the capitalist system, wanting only to persuade the U.S. and Russian governments to negotiate disarmament or some form of arms limitation.

No matter how popular, the moderates' program will not work.

In the 1950s and early '60s, there was a similar movement for nuclear disarmament. It was dominated by SANE and other liberal groups. Its leaders tried to advise the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations how to negotiate with the Russians.

When the U.S. and USSR signed the 1963 Test Ban Treaty, they believed that the governments had actually turned toward disarmament. Essentially, the movement dissolved after that, although the arms race (and underground nuclear testing) expanded.

When the Vietnam War developed, most of the disarmament organizations refused to oppose it for years—they did not want to oppose the government or to appear to support "communism" (state capitalism). Some disarmament leaders even supported the war. Eventually, a whole new anti-war movement had to be built, without the support of most of the disarmament leadership and organizations.

Today's leaders who support the capitalist system are rebuilding this kind of liberal disarmament movement. And, once again—if their program wins out—we will see the eventual collapse of the movement. Already, just as the previous disarmament movement would not oppose the Vietnam War, the moderate organizations mentioned earlier advocated that the June 12 demonstration at the UN, and other disarmament activities, not oppose the U.S. war in El Salvador and not oppose the draft. What kind of disarmament movement is it that does not oppose the war that is actually being waged right now?!

One of the main goals of the liberal disarmament leaders is to channel the movement into the Democratic Party. Already, the Nuclear Freeze Campaign organization is planning to endorse congressional candidates in the 1982 elections. Leading Democratic presidential candidates, such as Ted Kennedy, have

supported the freeze proposal, as a way of appealing for such support.

But the Democratic Party, by its program and history, is tied to the capitalist system and its warmaking state. Time and again, liberal Democratic presidents have led the U.S. in imperialist wars.

Woodrow Wilson, elected to "keep us out of war," took the U.S. into World War I. Franklin Roosevelt, elected on a pledge to stay out of World War II, had secretly promised Churchill that the U.S. would enter the war. Truman sent U.S. troops to Korea. John Kennedy campaigned on the promise to end a (phony) "missile gap" with Russia. He sent "military advisers" to Vietnam and brought the world the closest it has ever been to nuclear war with his blockade of Cuba. His successor, Lyndon Johnson, stepped up the Vietnam War (after running against Barry Goldwater as the "peace candidate"). Johnson also invaded the Dominican Republic.

We could almost say, "Elect a liberal Democrat for president—get a war!" It will be suicide for the disarmament movement to follow the liberals into the Democratic Party deathtrap.

### Conclusion: the revolutionary program

The Revolutionary Socialist League welcomes the growth of the disarmament movement. Whatever its weaknesses, it reflects an awakening anti-war feeling and we will work to build it.

We will also fight inside the movement for our point of view. We propose a different direction from the liberal leadership. We seek to tie disarmament to other issues, such as El Salvador and the draft. We seek to link up disarmament with the fight for jobs and social

services and a militant response to racism and sexism.

We propose revolutionary solutions to these problems—not "solutions" limited by what the U.S. capitalists find acceptable or are willing to grant. And, unlike those who oppose U.S. imperialism but support the Russian government as an alternative, we urge the movement to condemn the military policies of both sides.

The Revolutionary Socialist League seeks to build a fighting movement, a movement that supports draft resistance, militant demonstrations, sit-ins, anti-war strikes, organizing soldiers and sailors to defend their rights, and all sorts of mass hell-raising. The more hard-fighting and threatening the movement is, the more it will restrain the imperialists from military adventures in the short run while the strength of our movement grows.

Always we try to draw out the lessons of the struggle, to show that socialist revolution is the way to peace. We do not seek to advise the government by being "respectable," but to build a revolutionary movement against the established authorities.

The revolutionary alternative is possible, but only if we organize for it. We are trying to build the Revolutionary Socialist League as a combat organization, a revolutionary working class party, with roots in every popular struggle, including every aspect of the anti-war movement. This kind of revolutionary organization is needed to win people away from the false program of trusting the imperialists to disarm themselves.

We must work to show people that the governments of the world will not disarm, that working people will have to disarm the governments. Nothing less will work.

It's socialist revolution or nuclear war. □

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# Mexican Elections

(Continued from page 10)

without revolution, even without much of any mass struggle. Its candidate, Martínez Verdugo, talks a lot about local issues, social justice, democracy and national defense. But these slogans are equally popular with the PRI's De la Madrid!

When pressed for specifics, the PSUM calls for breaking up big monopolies, nationalizing basic industry, price controls, and stricter control of currency exchange and capital export. What this has to do with socialism, or what role there is for workers and farmers to play, other than voting, is never explained. Yet the PSUM will spend an estimated 200 million pesos on this campaign.

The emergence of any electoral opposition from the left to the PRI's one-party dictatorship is the result of a sweeping electoral reform proposed by López Portillo at the beginning of his term in 1976. He was taking power in a country deep in social and economic crisis. The massacre of 500 protesting students in Mexico City's Plaza de Tlatelolco in 1968 had unleashed a wave of political activism. Students, unionists, intellectuals and peasants were organizing. Guerrilla warfare had broken out in isolated regions, both north and south. At the same time, an unprecedented economic crisis had brought Mexico to the edge of ruin.

López Portillo's political reform was designed to restore legitimacy to the system and to co-opt the main opposition forces. The number of seats in the national Chamber of Deputies was increased and electoral laws were changed to make it easier for opposition parties to be registered and actually win. To the rural guerrillas López Portillo offered the club of military repression and the olive branch of electoral power. "Ballots, not bullets" was to be the new road to revolutionary change.

But hand in hand with the political violence of the late 1960s and early 1970s came a growing sense of political

alienation and apathy. A government-sponsored public opinion poll taken in 1977 showed that 90 percent of the residents of Mexico City believed that voting was meaningless. And despite a widespread registration campaign before the 1979 legislative elections, an estimated 60 percent of all eligible voters did not vote.

This despite the fact that in Mexico voting is considered a



**Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo, former head of the Mexican Communist Party, is the candidate of the CP-dominated PSUM.**

legal obligation and non-voters can be penalized in numerous bureaucratic ways!

One model for the PSUM and other leftist electoralists is their surprising 1981 victory in Juchitán, Oaxaca. In this poor, largely Indian, city of 70,000 in southern Mexico, a leftist coalition including the CP took control with a plurality of 300 votes. This is the example most often cited to justify elaborate leftist electoral campaigns.

"Juchitán Is the Way!" shout the headlines of Mexico's left press. But if it is, who needs workers' revolution? While the leftist victory in Juchitán was undoubtedly an important gain, it came only after years of patient local organizing, even then barely succeeded, and is still sharply limited to one small city in an area which the PRI government has always had trouble controlling. Juchitán represents a limited victory for a program of radical reform. But

it cannot be duplicated on national scale. Unfortunately the PRI will not give up power so easily.

Another party in the race is the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), the Mexican section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Its candidate is a woman, Rosario Ibarra. The PRT's campaign raises various radical democratic and transitional demands, but avoids mention of the need for revolution. As a result, it is largely indistinguishable from the PSUM. One outstanding aspect of the PRT, however, has been its emphasis on women's and gay issues. Through this, it has won support from major groups of women and gays.

## Don't vote—organize!

This year, as always, millions of Mexicans will not vote—out of apathy, alienation and indifference. They know the elections are meaningless, that the PRI always wins. And in spite of the flurry of leftist electoral activity, those people who won't vote have by far the best idea.

Their abstention has the government frightened. To maintain its social control and its new-found international prestige, the PRI government needs the illusion of democracy. For this it grants electoral reform, registers left parties, and spends millions on the campaign trail.

But voting is a meaningless act under the present circumstances (since the PRI is guaranteed to win), and not voting is a more effective way of making it clear where you stand. The more people who vote, the easier it is for the PRI to pretend to represent the "people's will." A large vote solidifies the PRI's rule and perpetuates the joke of Mexican "democracy." Real change will come about by organizing people to fight, not by voting. Every significant social gain won by the Mexican people has come about this way—in the streets, not the ballot box.

Certainly, for those people who insist on casting a ballot, a vote for the socialist candidates, particularly the PRT with its emphasis on women's and gay liberation, would be better than a vote for the PRI.

But in Mexico today the level of poverty, malnutrition and alienation has reached the point of no return for many. These people can, and must, be organized into a conscious, self-directed, revolutionary force. No electoral campaign, and no president, can do that for them. **Don't vote! Organize!** □



## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

### Rebellion in West Bank and Gaza

Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are continuing the biggest rebellion against Israeli rule of the territories since they were conquered in 1967. In the latest fighting, Israeli troops shot seven demonstrators at the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip on May 5. That same day, a 14-year-old Palestinian girl died three days after she was shot by an Israeli settler in the West Bank. Altogether, at least 14 Palestinians have been killed and over 90 others wounded. Militants fighting back with knives and stones have killed two Israeli soldiers and wounded 46 soldiers and settlers.

The protests began last November when Prime Minister Menachem Begin's regime installed a civilian government in the territories to replace the previous military administration. Palestinians opposed the shift, correctly seeing it as a prelude to outright annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Resistance escalated in March when the new administration dismissed four Palestinian mayors from their posts. It exploded into open rebellion after an Israeli soldier, Alan Goodman, killed two people and wounded at least 13 others at the Dome of the Rock mosque in East Jerusalem on April 11.

Even some Israelis have been shocked by the government's ruthless efforts to suppress the demonstrators. On May 10 six Israeli army officers condemned the Begin regime's policy in the occupied territories in a news conference sponsored by the growing Israeli Peace Now movement. They accused it of treating the Palestinians "as objects, not as human beings." They also said that Israeli settlers in the territories are terrorizing the Palestinian population without fear of punishment by the government.

Above all, they stated that the government's repressive campaign was "dehumanizing" the Israeli soldiers themselves. One lieutenant declared: "They take a group of trainees, and they swoop down on the demonstrators like animals tearing at prey. Is this how we're educating our soldiers? Good God, what will become of us?"

### New president chosen in El Salvador

The Reagan administration and the Salvadorean military have successfully imposed their own candidate as provisional president of El Salvador's new government. He is Alvaro Alfredo Magaña, a bank president with close ties to the military. Magaña was formally elected as president by the Salvadorean Constituent Assembly on April 29.

Magaña's inauguration supposedly ends four weeks of intense political in-fighting that followed the constituent assembly elections in March. In those elections, four extreme right-wing parties won 36 of the 60 seats. The slightly more moderate Christian Democratic Party, which was backed by the Reagan administration, won the remaining 24 seats.

The election results were a disaster for U.S. imperialism. The Reagan administration had hoped they would produce a stable, moderate-looking Christian Democratic government that could gain international recognition and legitimize U.S. efforts to crush the popular rebellion. But Roberto D'Aubuisson, head of the neo-fascist ARENA party, insisted that the extreme right was entitled to control the government.

To prevent an ultra-right regime, Reagan sent special envoy Vernon Walters to El Salvador with a letter warning that his administration would cut off aid if the rightists named their own president, opposed social reforms, or refused to give the Christian Democrats a prominent role in the government. On April 21 Walters and Salvadorean military commanders delivered this ultimatum to representatives of all five parties. Then leaders of each party were separately summoned to meet with the military, who ordered them to choose one of three candidates acceptable to the U.S. government. Under this pressure the rightists agreed to accept Magaña.

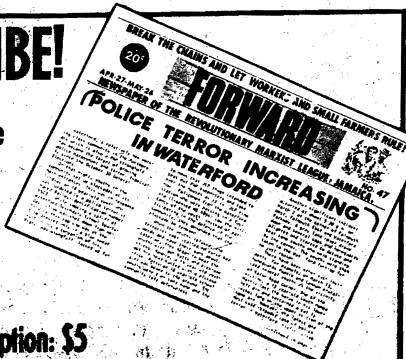
However, the new government is likely to be neither moderate nor stable. On April 26 the rightist parties elected D'Aubuisson as head of the assembly, while denying the Christian Democrats any leadership posts. And when the assembly voted Magaña into office, ultra-rightists in the assembly hall shouted protests and handed out leaflets calling him a "traitor," a "communist," and a "little Jew."

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# POLAND

(Continued from page 3)

claimed that only a mass movement could function effectively as an "active partner" in such a compromise, and offer the PUWP the "social mandate" it needs to stay in power. And he warned that a tightly-controlled movement was needed to prepare the Polish people for the "major concessions"—including guarantees to the Russian rulers—that would be required to achieve this compromise.

But the bankruptcy of this strategy should have become apparent with the December crackdown. Throughout the entire 1980-81 revolt, the Solidarity leaders sought to hold down the militancy of the Polish people while seeking a compromise with the PUWP. As a result, the Polish workers gradually became exhausted and frustrated by the continuing stalemate between the union and the government. Meanwhile, the Solidarity leadership by its own admission was taken completely by surprise by the declaration of martial law.

## New generation in struggle

The resistance that has developed since then, however, seems to differ from the former Solidarity in several important ways. To begin with, youth are playing a leading role. The Solidarity leadership was made up of veterans of the 1956 rebellion in Poland, like Kuron, and the 1970 workers' revolt, like Walesa. But the primary participants in the May rebellion were mainly young workers and students: They come from a new generation of Polish workers—more than half the Polish population is under 30—just beginning to make its weight felt in the Polish class struggle.

Moreover, these young workers are going into battle against the government with refreshing exuberance and high morale. All reporters in Warsaw were struck by the enthusiasm of the

young people in the streets.

These militants in effect had their own message for the Polish rulers: "We have lived through five months of martial law. We have survived the worst that you can do. Now we are fighting back." As one official noted, "The Polish people are no longer afraid."

Finally, the demonstrators who went into the streets on May 3 combined their exuberance with a militancy that went well beyond the largely peaceful strikes and protests of 1980-81. There was probably more actual fighting on May 3 than during the entire period between the 1980 strikes and the December 1981 crackdown. The protesters appeared to welcome the opportunity to strike back at their oppressors.

The recent struggles of the Polish people spell a major crisis for the Jaruzelski government. Despite five months of martial law it has been unable either to suppress the opposition movement or build even a minimal base among the Poles. Today, its rule is challenged by a growing movement of young and militant workers. There is good reason to believe that this will be only the beginning of mass struggles against Jaruzelski's martial law regime. □

# Mexico City Rally...

(Continued from page 5)

sivais and Elena Poniatowska, as well as the PRT.

The March 20 rally at which the right-wing assault took place was sponsored by the Committee of Lesbians and Gay Men in Support of Rosario Ibarra (CLHARI). Ibarra is the presidential candidate of the PRT. At the rally, the crowd heard speeches from PRT candidates Máximo Mejía, Claudia Hinojosa, Patria Jiménez and Ignacio Albarez. The four are the first openly gay candidates in Latin America, according to Gay Community News.

The physical attacks began when a gang assembled into a double-line military formation at one end of the block and began to count down from the number 10. Upon reaching "one," they charged rally participants and chased them down the side streets as they tried to escape.

The attackers, mostly teenagers, shouted "Perverts and communists get out!" and "We're going to throw you perverts out of here for bad-mouthing the PRI!" (The PRI

—Institutional Revolutionary Party—is the ruling capitalist party in Mexico.) The thugs also threatened to rape a group of lesbians who were among those defending the rally's sound equipment.

Neighborhood residents later told PRT candidate Ignacio Albarez that some of the attackers belonged to a local gang known for robberies, rapes and attacks on the local synagogue. This, along with the gang's obvious physical training, proficient use of weaponry and military-style assault formations, suggest that the attackers belong to a highly organized paramilitary group with fascist connections.

Moreover, there is strong evidence of police collaboration with the anti-gay thugs. **Bandera Socialista**, the PRT paper, reports that rally organizers called several different police stations after the assault had begun to request police protection. Though the attack lasted for a full 30 minutes, the police ignored the calls. (Only after the attack was over did the police finally arrest five gang members who had remained in the park where the rally had been held.)

Further, **Bandera Socialista** reports that: "Information ob-

tained from the arrested attackers and testimony presented by other people showed that David Tagle Valgui, one of the group's arrested leaders, is a federal agent, and that Jesus N., who directed that attack... is known to aid police agents."

This connection between the police and the paramilitary group was underscored when, shortly after the police arrived with the five arrested attackers at the Eighth Agency of the Public Ministry, they let four of the assailants go free. (A later meeting between representatives of CLHARI, PRT and Ministry of the Interior officials produced a promise that the four would be re-arrested; however, as of this writing, we have no further information on that promise.)

The March 20 attack in Mexico City is evidence that fascist groups are growing in numbers and strength—in Mexico as well as in the U.S. It is also evidence that lesbians and gay men—and all other groups targeted by the fascists—cannot rely on the police or the government for protection against thug attacks. In Mexico and in the U.S., we must build a movement that relies on its own strength to defend ourselves against the fascists. □

## RSL Plans for Lesbian and Gay Pride

A Los Angeles group, Gay Latinos, has called for all supporters of gay and latino rights to join them in a political contingent at this year's Christopher Street West (Gay Pride) march in West Hollywood June 27. The contingent will carry slogans defending the Salvadoran revolution, opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, and denouncing the terrorist raids of the Immigration service. All supporters—gay and non-gay, latino and non-latino—are welcome to participate. RSL supporters will be marching with the Gay Latinos contingent this year, in solidarity with their political demands. For more information, call the RSL at (213) 385-6029.

In New York, the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee is building for this year's Gay and Lesbian Pride March and Rally, set for June 27. Left wing organizations in the Committee, including Lavender Left; the Coalition Against Racism, Anti-Semitism, Sexism and Heterosexism; the RSL and others, are working to ensure that the march and rally address the need to fight back against the deepening attacks on gay people, oppose sexism and racism and emphasize the need for all oppressed people to unite in a struggle for genuine liberation. For more information or to help build a contingent based on this perspective, call the RSL at (212) 695-6802.

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rta que pueda peñar  
os un movimiento de  
: vida del pueblo.  
i oponerse a los cre-  
lta construir un movi-  
litante y combatiente  
primida se unan a sí  
s que la gente traba-  
camino fuera de este

temos  
vimiento

la Brenner.  
será mucho peor de lo  
el desempleo creciente  
servicios sociales, el  
a de la página 3)

empleo