

# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

JULY 15-AUGUST 14, 1982

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## Lebanon's Agony Continues

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

- Palestinians surrounded in West Beirut
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- Reagan says U.S. may send troops



Devastated section of West Beirut following Israeli bombing raid.

The latest stage of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has produced unwelcome results for the regime of Prime Minister Menachem Begin and an unexpected reprieve for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Since entering the country on June 6 Israeli troops have overwhelmed both the armed forces of the PLO and the Syrian troops that have occupied parts of Lebanon since 1976. The Israelis have killed or wounded over 10,000 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, and reduced the major towns of southern Lebanon to rubble. But for all the efficiency of the Zionist war machine, the Begin government

has been unable to completely achieve the political goals it sought by invading the country.

Israel originally claimed it invaded Lebanon to secure the safety of its northern border by destroying PLO bases in southern Lebanon. But it quickly became clear that the Israeli rulers actually wanted to cripple the PLO and drive its forces and the Syrian troops completely out of the country. Begin is insisting that any settlement must include the complete departure of the PLO from Lebanon; the removal of all Syrian troops, and the restoration of the authority of the central Lebanese government.

The Israeli rulers hope to set up a stable rightist regime in Lebanon that could police both the 650,000 Palestinian refugees there and the largely anti-Zionist Muslims who make up the majority of the Lebanese population. Specifically, Begin is demanding that the Muslims disarm, giving the rightist Christians, and their Israeli backers, a free hand over the country. He is promoting the most important rightist warlord in Lebanon, Bashir Gemayel, as the country's next president. Begin also insists that another right-wing leader, Saad Haddad, "should be part of the  
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**our  
readers  
write...**

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10116

## Picket line hits anti-Puerto Rican slurs

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

Last Thursday (July 1) I went to a picket at the headquarters of the W.R. Grace Co. on 42nd Street in New York, to demand the resignation or dismissal of J. Peter Grace from his White House advisory post for his insult to the Puerto Rican people. Grace is chairman of Reagan's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control. He is also chairman and chief executive officer of the Grace Company and the highest paid executive of any U.S. corporation, as well as a long-time buddy of Ronald Reagan.

On May 27, in a speech in Dallas to a bunch of feed and grain industry bigwigs, J. Peter Grace complained about how many food stamp dollars were going to Puerto Rico, and said that, in addition, "900,000 [Puerto Ricans] live in New York, and they're all on food stamps, so this food stamp program is basically a Puerto Rican program." In a so-called apology the next day, he called his racist remarks "oratorical mistakes"—he thought he'd said "almost all" of the Puerto Ricans in New York are on food stamps!

Despite an angry demonstration in New York right after the speech, despite statements and letters of protest from numerous groups and individuals, including a letter to the president signed by 170 congressional representatives demanding his resignation or ouster, there has been no word from the White House, except for a statement by an aide that the apology was considered sufficient and that Grace had spoken as a private individual.

Now who would believe that! Certainly not the people who picketed. They carried signs like: "J. Peter Grace, Reagan-

omics Hitman!" The whole thing was very spirited—about 150 people, mostly young, some carrying signs lettered on corrugated cardboard, and all shouting: "Grace gotta go!" and "¡Sácalo!" (Get him out!) for two hours during the evening rush hour. The picket was called by the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights—I don't know who they are. I hear they're planning a 24-hour vigil in front of the Grace Company.

I left before they started the speeches because at that point the whole rally was dominated by Congressman García and a couple of other Democrats who are running for office. It's unfortunate that the just anger of the Puerto Rican people against Reagan & Co. is being used by the Democratic Party to get votes.

AL  
New York City

## Reagan's visit shakes West Germany

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

The Federal Republic of Germany experienced the largest demonstration in its history and the heaviest street fights in recent times, as Ronald Reagan attended the NATO summit meeting on June 10 in Bonn and spoke to carefully selected guests in West Berlin on June 11. Internal strife in the peace movement was temporarily forgotten, as close to 400,000 people marched in the blistering heat on the 10th under the motto "Stand up for Peace! Strengthen the Resistance! No New Nuclear Missiles in Europe!"

The marchers' demands, which were undersigned by 1,900 organizations and groups, included the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from European soil, the stopping of West German arms exports and an end to the government's indirect support of the U.S. interventionist policy in Central America.

Aside from one incident, where a young man ignited himself with gasoline and cut his own throat in an act of protest, the mass demonstration in Bonn called to mind pictures of the Woodstock music festival: The rally, which followed the march, took place in a large open area, where a number of stages offered music, theater and speeches to the weary crowds. The police remained for the most part unseen and attended to the protection of the nearby government quarters.

The bloody demonstration in West Berlin on the next day contrasted sharply with the relaxed, almost limp atmosphere in Bonn. While Reagan spoke with Mayor of Berlin von

Weizsaecker and 25,000 specially invited guests at a large garden party, sirens could be heard in the distance. Close to 11,000 police were fighting with somewhere between 6,000 and 7,000 demonstrators, who set police cars afire, destroyed the windows of a large number of banks and stores and set up burning barricades as protection against water-throwing tanks and tear-gas squads.

The events of June 10 and 11 in Bonn and Berlin reflect some of the difficulties that are presently troubling the West German peace movement. Under the strong influence of the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP—German Communist Party), the western arm of the ruling state capitalists in Eastern Germany, important sections of the peace movement have abandoned the increasingly militant youth for the sake of support from parts of the bourgeoisie. Internal criticism of the dominant role of the DKP has been growing, especially as the result of the building up of an oppositional, anti-armament movement in Eastern Germany. The question, whether the peace movement in Western Germany can or should

do without the support of the DKP, has not only been causing many internal quarrels. It has been the focal point for reactionary attacks on the peace movement for a long time. The fact that a schism in the peace movement has been one of the main goals of its enemies, and would certainly be welcomed by them, makes this problem all the more difficult.

JB  
Bonn, West Germany

### EVENTS

#### CHICAGO

CELEBRATE WITH THE JEARL WOOD DEFENSE COMMITTEE—Sunday, August 1, 7 pm until 2 am; Crystal Palace (formerly, the Wizz), 11935 South Michigan Ave. Music, dancing and prizes! Guest speakers: Bennie Lenard & Wallace Davis. For more info, call (312) 226-5915.

#### LOS ANGELES

STOP THE DEATH FLIGHTS—Demonstrate against the deportation of Salvadorean refugees. Friday, July 23, 9:30 am. Assemble at 96th and Airport Blvd. March to Western stockholders' meeting at Marriott Hotel, 5855 West Century Blvd. For more info, call (213) 660-4587.

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# Equal Rights Amendment Defeated— Women's Movement at a Crossroads

By PAT NELSON

At midnight on June 30, the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) died. Despite last minute lobbying and demonstrations held in four key states, backers of the measure—which simply says that “equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex”—were unable to come up with the three additional states needed for ratification.

Pro-ERA forces staged demonstrations as large as 10,000 in North Carolina, Florida, Illinois and Oklahoma in the hopes of winning over some of the legislators. However, the amendment was either tabled or voted down in the first three states and the 10-year struggle for the ERA was over.

Supporters have announced that they plan to reintroduce the ERA on July 14 and start the process over again. They say they hold little hope of the bill passing in Congress before 1985, however.

The ERA was first introduced in 1923, shortly after women won the right to vote. But it sat on the shelf until 1970 when, in the face of a growing, militant women's liberation movement, it was passed by the House of Representatives. Two more years passed before it cleared the Senate and was sent to the states for ratification. In 1978, when it was clear the bill was not going to pass in the seven years set for ratification, supporters were able to win a three-year extension to try to get the final three states. No state has ratified the bill since then and now time has run out.

## Why did it fail?

With the defeat of the ERA, the women's movement is now at a crossroads, and there is a lively debate taking place over such questions as why the ERA failed and where to go from here.

The leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW) put the blame for the failure of the ERA to pass on state legislators, most of them men, who voted against the bill. Some, according to NOW, switched sides after saying they favored ERA. Also on the NOW culprit list are big business and insurance companies that profit from unequal pay rates and premium payments and benefits, and contributed heavily to the anti-ERA forces, says NOW.



ERA supporters rally near White House one day after amendment's defeat.

Although the Republican Party, which dropped support of the ERA from its 1980 campaign platform, was seen by NOW as the worst offender, the women's group has also published a list of 101 Democrats who voted against the ERA in four key states even though their party is on record in support of the amendment.

The National Women's Political Caucus, which was formed to elect more women to public office, published a list of 12 state legislators—the “dirty dozen”—who they say blocked ERA's passage. Ten of these are Democrats.

Another view was suggested by State Representative Cleta Detherage (D-OK) who said the bill had failed because “the leaders of the national movement knew nothing of the ratification process and did not organize.” She also mentioned that changes of laws on the state level in favor of women had made the ERA look unnecessary.

Several other supporters said the ERA was killed because the right wing successfully linked it to issues such as abortion, lesbian rights, women in combat and the destruction of the family.

In line with these views, the leaders of the national women's organizations are putting forward their strategy for the women's movement in the '80s.

In particular, NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus say they are going to be putting most of their time and money into getting more women (and men with pro-woman records) elected on the state and federal level. They also intend to work for the defeat of ERA's opponents. That way, they say, when ERA comes around again, the votes will be there to ratify

it.

In addition, NOW and other groups, some of which feel that putting so much energy into the ERA diverted too much from the struggle for other important women's issues, want to start legal actions against insurance companies and other businesses which discriminate against women. They also plan to find and work to overturn state laws which are anti-woman.

## Politicians' promises not worth a damn

But there are problems with these explanations and solutions. It is obviously true that if there had been enough legislators in enough states who supported the ERA, it would have been ratified. But as we have seen, many elected officials who say they will vote a certain way, don't do so. Their promises are virtually worthless.

Besides, if the organized women's movement puts so much into getting its “friends”—which these days usually means Democrats—into office, what do they think the opposition is going to be doing? Phyllis Schlafly, organizer of the Stop ERA movement, says they also are planning to get more women elected, but these obviously are not the same women NOW is talking about.

But it is not a matter of which party is in power or how many feminists are elected that will determine whether ERA or any other legislation important to women is passed. It will depend on whether the ruling class and its lawmakers are forced to pass it. The ERA swept through Congress in 1972 because there was a large, militant women's movement demanding things

much more radical than “equal rights.” We were also fighting for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour childcare, equal pay for equal work, full rights for lesbians and equal access for women to education and job opportunities—even in areas traditionally considered “men's” preserves.

When the ruling class feels threatened, they try to defuse that threat by making concessions: The ERA was one such concession. The 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion was another.

Unfortunately, this co-optive approach worked. Many of the leaders of the women's movement, convinced that the system could actually work, led the movement into legal channels—mainly into the Democratic Party—where its militancy and threatening character were sapped.

Meanwhile, as the other radical movements of the 1960s ebbed and the economy fell apart, a right-wing backlash developed. Many frightened people in the middle and working classes were looking for scapegoats and sections of the ruling class and right-wing organizations pointed to the movements

**Remember! Demonstrate against right-to-lifers in Cherry Hill, NJ, July 17. For info call (212) 964-1350.**

of the '50s and '60s as the cause of the crisis. People of color, drugs, promiscuity, homosexuality and women's libbers were destroying the (white) American family, the foundation of a strong U.S. of A, they said. And they chose the ERA as the symbol to fight against.

The defeat of the ERA was an

important victory for the ruling class, the growing right-wing movement, and their whole sexist, racist, pro-imperialist program. Schlafly, fueled by this success, now plans to go on to other battles: against sex education, which she says is the principal cause of teenage pregnancy, and against a nuclear freeze. She commented: “The atomic bomb is a marvelous gift that was given to our country by a wise God.”

## Women need to unite with all oppressed people

So how can we win equal rights for women?

For starters, we cannot rely on the capitalists' major political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. This approach advocated now more strongly than ever by leaders of many women's organizations, already has led to the defeat of ERA once. It has also led the women's movement to ignore the basic needs of many more oppressed women—Black women, Latinas, lesbians, welfare mothers, working women, etc.—since these go far beyond what liberal politicians are willing to deal with.

Instead, we must build a large, militant movement, that fights for all those things women really need—decent jobs, housing, education, childcare, health care including free and safe abortions on demand, the right to control our own bodies and our own lives, the right to live and love however we choose.

We also need to link up with other movements fighting the ruling class and right-wing offensive to form one united, powerful movement that struggles for equality, justice and freedom for all peoples.

We must go beyond the early women's rights movement which said, “Men their rights and nothing more, women their rights and nothing less.” We must not limit the fight to winning the right to be equally oppressed with men. This system of capitalism we live under cannot afford to grant us our basic rights. We must take the struggle beyond the question of “rights” and fight instead for liberation—for all women and men and children.

Only a strong movement can begin to turn the tide of reaction which has swept the country over the last several years. That movement must embrace the struggle for the needs of all oppressed people within the U.S. and around the world.

Only then can we truly win. □

By PAUL BENJAMIN

"The national Democratic Party has isolated itself from the average Democratic candidate—and the average voter."

—Scott Matheson,  
Democratic governor of  
Utah, October 1981

"We have the issues and we have the people."

—Charles Manatt, chairman  
of the Democratic National  
Committee, June 1982

Only a few months ago the Democratic Party appeared to be in a shambles. It had suffered shattering defeats in the 1980 elections, losing not only the presidency, but its majority in the Senate as well. Then in the spring of 1981, as the Reagan administration steamrollered its economic program through Congress, congressional Democrats split up into warring factions, incapable of pursuing a united strategy.

Last summer's polls showed popular support for the Democrats dropping below 50 percent for the first time in recent memory. Many political commentators, including some within the Democratic Party itself, believed a fundamental shift in U.S. politics was occurring that would reduce the Democrats to minority party status for years to come.

But no such talk was heard at the Democrats' mid-term conference, held in Philadelphia over the June 25 weekend—and with good reason. Recent polls show that the party is regaining the majority support it enjoyed before the 1980 Reagan landslide. In a survey published May

28, 54 percent of those responding identified themselves with the Democrats, as opposed to 34 percent identifying themselves with the Republicans. On key economic issues such as unemployment and Social Security, the Democrats led by a margin of more than two-to-one.

Democratic Party leaders now believe they are on the verge of a substantial victory in this fall's congressional and state elections. They hope to pick up from 15 to 25 more seats in the House of Representatives while holding their own in the Senate. They also look forward to winning up to half a dozen more governorships, mainly in the Midwest. Such gains would put the Democrats in a good position to regain control of the Senate and possibly elect a Democratic president in 1984.

But as Louisiana Representative Gillis Long told delegates at June's mid-term conference: "The opportunity we have comes not because of what we have done, but because of Republican failures."

Voters are blaming the

Reagan administration for sky-high interest rates, a record number of business failures, and the highest unemployment rate since the Great Depression. The administration's arms buildup, the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the blatant racism of the Republican "New Right" are also driving peace activists, women and Blacks into the fold of the Democratic Party. Just as voters turned to Reagan in 1980 because any alternative looked better than Jimmy Carter, they are starting to move toward the Democrats because today anything looks better than Ronald Reagan.

### Programmatic vacuum

The Democratic Party itself has changed very little since 1980, however. It is still publicly identified with the Keynesian/liberal program—"big government," massive federal spending for social programs and so forth—that many people believe is responsible for the current

economic mess.

While this program has been greatly discredited, the Democrats have come up with no serious alternative to it or to the Republicans. In fact, the Democrats basically went along with the Republicans in calling for slashing social programs and building up the U.S. war machine in their so-called "alternative" 1981 and 1982 budgets.

At the recent mid-term conference, the Democrats did little to fill this programmatic vacuum. On the key issue of the economy, the best they could offer was a promise to "lead the national debate" on tax reform. And on the foreign policy front, the Democrats gave blanket support to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon while supporting further increases in military spending.

The main reason Democratic Party leaders failed to lay out any new direction for the party at the conference is that they remain deeply divided over what that direction ought to be.

The party's liberal wing, led by Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, is urging

Democrats to maintain the party's traditional program. Kennedy's main theme at the conference was that the Democratic Party should not try to be a carbon copy of the Republican Party.

These liberals are opposed by the "neo-liberals" or "progressives," who control the party's national machinery and presently appear to be pushing former vice-president Walter Mondale as their "man" in 1984. Their program, such as it is, is reflected in the views of Senator Gary Hart (D-CO), another one of the more prominent "neo-liberals." Hart believes that both the Democrats' Keynesian liberalism and the Republicans' "supply-side economics" have proved to be bankrupt, and advocates a "third way" that amounts to a "compassionate" version of Reaganomics.

Hart says he's for a program of "economic growth"—in other words, tax breaks for the corporations, including lower taxes for companies that hold down wages. He also calls for higher military spending, while criticizing the "indiscriminate" Reagan military budget.

The progressives also differ with the liberals on strategy. In contrast to the liberals' support for social welfare programs, which are popular with the poor but less so with people in the middle class, the "progressives" (believing Democrats can return to power only by appealing more to middle class voters) want to have the party distance itself from "welfare." As one conference participant put it, "There are not enough poor people in America today to win

(Continued on page 14)

## Democrats at Mid-Term Conference: Regrouping for a Comeback

## Government Begins Prosecuting Non-Registrants

After considerable hesitation and delay, the Reagan administration has finally moved against young men who failed to register for a possible draft. On June 30, a San Diego grand jury indicted Benjamin H. Sasway, a 21-year-old student at California's Humboldt State University.

Sasway, who publicly announced his refusal to register with the Selective Service System in a letter to then-President Carter, said in a statement issued after his indictment: "I must stand against the kind of military misdirection that involved us in Vietnam. I must defend vital human rights. I'm not looking forward to trial and possible imprisonment, but I cannot act against my conscience. I will not register, and, if I have to, I'll go to jail."

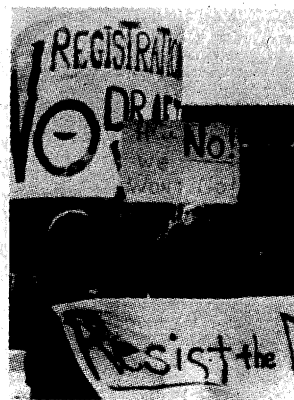
Sasway's trial is set to open on August 21. If convicted, he faces up to five years in prison, and a \$10,000 fine.

Following the indictment of

Sasway, the Justice Department announced it was sending the names of nearly 200 men who have failed to register to U.S. attorneys around the country, with instructions to "proceed with criminal action." More than half a million young men—about seven percent of all those required to register—have failed to sign up since Carter initiated mandatory registration in 1978.

The government's decision to begin moving against non-registrants drew an immediate response from anti-draft activists around the country. Demonstrations in support of Sasway took place in over 100 cities within days of his indictment. Moreover, several national anti-draft organizations vowed that this would be only the first step in an aggressive campaign to defend indicted non-registrants and to defeat a return to the draft.

That the government is planning a return to an active draft



was revealed in a June 28 report issued by a special committee formed to study the state of U.S. military forces. The committee, made up of 55 business leaders, retired military officers, ex-government officials and university officers, concluded that the U.S. must be ready to fight simultaneous

wars on several fronts, for example, in Europe, the Persian Gulf and Northeast Asia. The present number of U.S. troops—about two million—is not sufficient for this task, the report said.

The committee also expressed concern over the number of Black people in the military (Blacks make up 33 percent of the armed forces, as against 13 percent of the U.S. population), stating that if there were a disproportionate number of casualties to Black soldiers this might create dissent and rebellions in the Black community. The report concluded, "The requirements of peace and security will compel the country to resume the draft, perhaps by the mid-1980s." It also urged that "the President be given limited authority to induct a limited number of men and women into the armed forces in a situation in which there is an emergency short of the outbreak of general war."

While Reagan claims to oppose a peace-time draft (he earlier claimed to oppose the registration law), his policies are all directed toward beefing up U.S. military might and involving the country in one or another imperialist adventure, whether in El Salvador, the Middle East or elsewhere. Inevitably, this will lead to a new draft.

The movement to oppose draft registration should therefore be seen as an important part of building a broader anti-war movement. Unfortunately, however, while sections of the current anti-war/disarmament movement have been supporting draft resisters, other sections have not. In particular, more moderate forces, such as those advancing the nuclear freeze campaign, have refused to oppose the draft. Similarly, the huge June 12 disarmament demonstration in New York failed to list opposition to registration among its demands. □

## Office

In a blow movement, a destroyed the (GCN), a lead and gay week burned out the Day Bookstore

The GCN blaze was the Fire Department determinate started as a arson for Patton, GCN conference h

Patton a Boston's vice bars, there ha attacks on ga The attacks, r symptoms of bia, racism, s Despite t

## PROT ON GA

By MICHAEL

CHICAGO— June 27, 28 sup American Nazi P members of the Committee and Action Group," cago's Lincoln Pa —the longest pub in this area in ye

The Nazis had "pro-life, anti-pro-traditional A ily" rally for the s approximate place 12th annual gay/ rally. Although knew that south was the tradition pride rally, they ne ed the Nazis a attempted to pres and Lesbian Prid (which coordinate march) to move t where. As a com Nazi rally was e before the lesbia march actually rea site.

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ment to oppose ion should there- as an important ng a broader anti- t. Unfortunately, e sections of the war/disarmament ve been support- isters, other sec- ot. In particular, e forces, such as ing the nuclear gn, have refused draft. Similarly, e 12 disarmament in New York opposition to reg- ng its demands. □

# Offices of Gay Community News Destroyed by Fire

By IAN DANIELS

In a blow to the lesbian and gay liberation movement, an early morning fire on July 7 destroyed the offices of **Gay Community News (GCN)**, a leading movement-oriented lesbian and gay weekly based in Boston. The fire also burned out the offices of **Fag Rag** and **Glad Day Bookstore**.

The GCN staff strongly suspects that the blaze was the work of arsonists. "Although the Fire Department says that the fire was of indeterminate origin, we believe that the fire started as a result of arson: arson for profit, or arson for political vengeance," said Cindy Patton, GCN's managing editor, at a press conference hours after the fire.

Patton added: "In recent months, while Boston's vice squad has been out raiding gay bars, there have been an increasing number of attacks on gay men and lesbians in the streets. The attacks, raids, and, we believe, this fire, are symptoms of a worsening climate of homophobia, racism, anti-semitism and sexism."

Despite the fire, the GCN staff managed to

publish a reduced edition of its July 17 issue on schedule. (Fortunately, the paper's subscription list was not kept in the now-burned out offices, though other records were destroyed.) Moreover, support for the paper's continuing publication has been extensive. Over 800 people attended a July 12 community meeting called to organize volunteer help for the paper and to plan a response to the attack on GCN, **Fag Rag** and **Glad Day Bookstore**.

The Revolutionary Socialist League sent a message of solidarity to GCN upon learning of the fire. It read in part: "The RSL has always found GCN to be an invaluable newspaper, both because of the thoroughness of your reportage, and because of your willingness to open your pages to differing viewpoints of importance to the lesbian and gay and left-wing communities. We stand in full solidarity with you and are confident that your voice will not be silenced."

GCN desperately needs typewriters, office supplies and money. We urge our readers to send whatever assistance they can to: GCN, c/o GLAD, 2 Park Sq., Boston, MA 02116. □



## PROTESTERS DROWN OUT NAZIS ON GAY PRIDE DAY IN CHICAGO

By MICHAEL BOTKIN

**CHICAGO**—On Sunday, June 27, 28 supporters of the American Nazi Party, including members of the America First Committee and Detroit's "SS Action Group," rallied in Chicago's Lincoln Park for an hour—the longest public fascist rally in this area in years.

The Nazis had called their "pro-life, anti-homosexual, pro-traditional American family" rally for the same time and approximate place of Chicago's 12th annual gay/lesbian pride rally. Although city officials knew that south Lincoln Park was the traditional site of the pride rally, they not only granted the Nazis a permit, but attempted to pressure the Gay and Lesbian Pride Committee (which coordinates the annual march) to move the rally elsewhere. As a compromise, the Nazi rally was ended shortly before the lesbian and gay march actually reached the rally site.

Although the lesbian and gay pride parade never came in sight of the Nazis, the fascists were drowned out by over 1,000 anti-Nazi demonstrators. This was a partial victory. However, the fact that 28 Nazis—the largest number seen in Chicago recently—were able to rally for a full hour (with less police protection than they have had in the past) must also be seen as a partial victory for the Nazis.

Organizing for the anti-Nazi

demonstration began when the RSL initiated the Stonewall Committee, a coalition of lesbians, gays, women, third world people, union activists and leftists. At its initial May 9 meeting, the committee voted to call for a same-time/same-place counter-demonstration "to defend lesbian and gay pride day and to stop the Nazis." Groups endorsing the Stonewall Committee included: Black and White Men Together, Gender Services, Sojourner Truth Organization, Take Back the Night Coalition, Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the RSL.

The Progressive Labor Party and the Communist Workers Party, two left groups that usually mobilize for anti-fascist demonstrations, were conspicuously absent from the anti-Nazi rally. Presumably, the focus on defending lesbian and gay rights kept these groups away, since both have been virulently anti-gay in the past.

The local gay establishment, represented by the Illinois Gay and Lesbian Task Force (IGLTF), a lobbying group, and by **Gay Life**, a newspaper owned by Chicago's wealthiest gay bar owner, actively opposed the Stonewall Committee's call for a same-time/same-place counter-demonstration and accused the committee of "seeking to promote violence." Some initial supporters of the Stonewall Committee, several of whom are politically close to the Democratic Socialists of Amer-

ica (DSA), echoed these views. These people insisted that the coalition police the demonstration in order to prevent anyone from "provoking the police." When the rest of the Stonewall Committee opposed this, the grouping split from the committee and organized separately for the demonstration.

## Militant Contingents March in LA and NY



**LOS ANGELES**—Stop Racism in Gay Bars! and U.S. Out of El Salvador! were the favorite chants as 50 people marched in the Gay and Lesbian Latinos Unidos contingent of the annual Gay Pride March June 27. The contingent, which included supporters from the El Salvador support group, CISPES, and from the RSL, was one of only a very few which raised political and militant slogans in the large crowd of over 80,000.

**NEW YORK**—Marching behind a lead banner "Dykes and Faggots Against the Right" a militant/political contingent attempted to maintain a militant presence at this year's Christopher Street Liberation Day (CSLD) march June 27. The contingent was organized by Black and White Men Together, CRASH, Lavender Left and the RSL, and supported by Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Freedom Socialist Party, Revolutionary Workers League, Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists and other organizations.

This year's CSLD events were sharply less political and spirited than in previous years. During the sparsely-attended rally, many leftists and activists hissed, booted and chanted during a speech by a gay cop, Charles Cochrane, but this sentiment failed to spread to the majority of participants at the rally.

A final complication to the day's events revolved around the role of the Spartacist League (SL), which has recently taken to spending large sums of money on selected anti-Nazi mobilizations in order to promote its own narrow, sectarian interests. Refusing to work with other left and movement groups involved in anti-Nazi organizing, the SL has instead shown up at two recent anti-Nazi demonstrations with an elaborate and powerful sound system and tried to use this to dominate the anti-Nazi rallies. (At an anti-Nazi rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on March 20, the SL's frustrations over its inability to achieve any success with this tactic led it to physically assault

a broad coalition of anti-racist organizations that was leading the demonstration. For further details, see **Torch**, April 15, 1982.)

The long, self-imposed isolation of the SL seems to have produced a feverish hysteria in the group to achieve some "success," no matter how deviously it is accomplished. Thus, the SL (which for years stayed far, far away from numerous anti-Nazi demonstrations) has now proclaimed that "under a revolutionary leadership" (its own, of course), an "historic demonstration against the fascists" took place in Chicago on June 27.

Unfortunately for Black and (Continued on page 14)



# THE HISTORY OF HAITI—

Part Two

## Haiti explodes

### Grand jury jails political activists

The Justice Department is once again using grand jury subpoenas to jail political activists. This May the grand jury handing out indictments for the Nyack, New York, Brinks truck robbery (alleged to have been carried out by members of the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army) subpoenaed Bernardine Dohrn, a former leader of the Weather-people. It asked for a handwriting sample from Dohrn—the words “Martha K. Powell”—in connection with a “serious crime other than the Brink’s robbery.”

Following a tradition laid down by members of the lesbian, Puerto Rican and Chicano movements who have been major targets of similar grand jury subpoenas in the past, Dohrn has refused to testify. As a result of her non-cooperation, Dohrn was ordered to jail until she agrees to testify or until the grand jury’s 18 month term expires. A new grand jury could then be impaneled, however, and it could again issue subpoenas.

Besides Dohrn, Eve Rosahn, a supporter of the May 19th Communist Organization, has been subpoenaed and jailed. Rene Thornton of Manhattan is being held on \$25,000 bail as a material witness.

### Work stoppage at Virginia prison

On June 1 prisoners at the Virginia State Prison in Richmond began a work stoppage to protest new restrictions on personal property and on receiving food from visitors. Jawwaad Bilal, one of the prisoners involved in the action, wrote the *Torch/La Antorcha*:

“The strike was constructed in an attempt of building avenues for a negotiable compromise (settlement). In a memo dated June 2, Warden Mitchell made it clear that no reasonable concessions could be made. . . . On June 7, prison officials resorted to their normal maneuver of handling ‘disturbances’ by identifying and isolating the assumed ‘troublemakers.’ . . . All seven of us were apprehended from our cells, without incident or provocation and taken to the institution lock up unit, and were subsequently, on June 9, transferred without notification to the Mecklenburg Maximum Security Unit at Boydton.” The seven have since been granted transfers to general population at an “appropriate institution” but as of now, writes Bilal, “We still remain at Mecklenburg.”

—WF

### Black Transit Worker Murdered

A transit worker was killed in Brooklyn on June 22 for being Black.

After finishing work around midnight, William Turks, 32, and two co-workers stopped for a snack in the nearby Gravesend neighborhood. Nearly 20 white youths surrounded their car, smashing the windows with beer bottles, cans and long iron rods, shouting “N-----s get out of here.” Dennis Dixon, 30, and Donald Cooper, 30, managed to get out of the car and escape. William Turks was dragged from the car and beaten. He died three hours later from skull and brain injuries. Six people have been arrested so far, all from the immediate neighborhood.

This killing was not an isolated incident. In fact, since Turk’s murder two other racist attacks that occurred at the same exact spot, outside the “Avenue X Bagels” shop, have come to light. In April, Frank Tyrrel, 30, was assaulted in the early morning and went into a coma for several days. In May 1981, a Black police officer in civilian clothes was jumped by young whites shouting “Kill the n-----.” There were no arrests in either case.

While many in the neighborhood expressed shock and regret, the comments of the mother of one of those arrested for the murder make clear the extent to which a racist climate exists. She told the *New York Times* “that she is sure her son is not guilty, but she understands why the killing happened.”

*In Part One, we described how French colonists used the labor of African slaves to turn St. Domingue (now Haiti), on the western end of the island of Hispaniola, into the most profitable colony the world had known. But they could do so only through systematic terror, for from the moment Africans set foot on the island, they fought the yoke of slavery. Toward the end of the 18th century, tension was also mounting in the colony’s free population, as different groups of whites and enfranchised mulattoes fought over the wealth the slaves alone produced. The result was, in the words of one prominent French colonist in 1783, that ‘this colony of slaves is like a city under the imminence of attack; we are treading on loaded barrels of gunpowder.’*

By WILLIAM FALK

During the night of August 14, 1791, at the Plantation Normand de Mézy near Limbé, a group of slaves gathered in the remote woods named Bois Cayman. There they pledged to carry out a revolt they had been planning for months. “The Good Lord hath ordained vengeance,” they said. “He will give strength to our arms and courage to our hearts. He shall sustain us. Cast down the image of the god of the blancs, because he maketh the tears to flow from our eyes. Harken unto Liberty that speaketh now in all our hearts.”

Eight days later, on August 22, 1791, the go-ahead signal was given. The night drums changed beat at a little after 10 p.m. and the slaves on the Noé, Clément, Flaville, Gallifet and Le Normand plantations rose up. The Haitian Revolution had begun.

For two years before this the 700,000 slaves of St. Domingue had listened to news of the revolution that was taking place in France. The young and growing French bourgeoisie was opposing the feudal and autocratic restrictions on the development of capitalism enforced by the monarchy. At the same time, all the oppressed classes—the peasants, the (very small) working class, the tradesmen, the shopkeepers—were rising up and fighting for their freedom.

Back in St. Domingue, the different groups in the colony interpreted the revolution in

their own ways.

To the petits blancs it meant freedom from the rule of the plantation owners. To the plantation owners, it meant freedom from the arbitrary rule of the French king and the right to trade with English and U.S. merchants. To the free mulattoes and the few free Blacks it meant the end of the degradation of the special laws that restricted them and a chance to have equal rights as citizens. In the case of the rich mulattoes this included the right to hold property—particularly slaves—the same as other Frenchmen.

From 1789 to 1791 all these groups raised troops and sporadically battled each other in civil war. Each group, along with the royalist colonial bureaucracy, and emissaries and troops sent from the ever-changing central French government, made and betrayed alliances with dizzying speed.

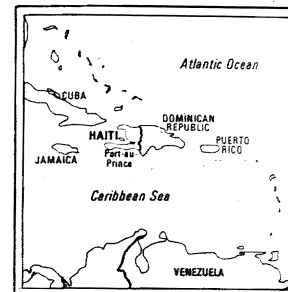
In the meantime, the slaves, however, developed a much more revolutionary interpretation of the events in France: The white slaves of France had risen, they thought, killed their masters and were enjoying the fruits of the earth. “It was gravely inaccurate, in fact, but they had caught the spirit of the thing,” comments C.L.R. James in *The Black Jacobins*.

### Slaves rise up

Over the summer of 1791, slaves from the large plantations of the north held secret meetings and prepared their own anti-slavery revolution, culminating in the meeting at Bois Cayman. Between the time of that changed drum beat on the night of the 22nd and the dawn of August 23, slaves on dozens of plantations around Limbé and Acul rose up, killed the whites and set their houses and cane fields on fire.

The rebellion spread as fast as the fires, east to Quartier Morin and past that to Limonade, and south to Dondon. In his book *The Haitian Revolution*, Thomas Ott estimates that as many as 100,000 slaves revolted in the north province in the first few months of the insurrection.

The slaves “fought like angry tigers,” recalled one French official in his memoirs. Soon the white civilians fled the area and the Black slaves battled with



troops sent out from the region’s main town, Cap François (today Cap-Haitien). The slaves organized themselves into “regular bodies and a considerable part of them are well armed,” reported a Boston newspaper. Nearly 10,000 slaves died in the first months of the fierce and bloody fighting, taking over 2,000 whites with them. The rebels sacked and burned nearly 1,200 plantations.

The main things the slaves had going for them were their overwhelming numbers—they made up more than 90 percent of the population—and their burning desire for freedom and a willingness to die for it. What they didn’t have was leadership that could unite them all (and if possible the free mulattoes) and focus the fight against the colonists.

That strong leadership came in September 1791, when Toussaint Louverture, a 45-year-old slave from the Breda plantation near Cap François, joined the rebellion. No one is more associated with the Haitian Revolution than Toussaint (as he is generally referred to), yet he neither had the daring to start it nor did he see it through to final victory.

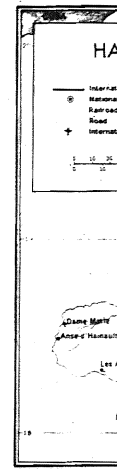
Moreover, his early loyalties were not clearcut. Toussaint’s background was a privileged one for a slave. He was the coachman on a large plantation run by a relatively benign master. In the first weeks of the revolution, Toussaint protected his master and his family. And soon after joining the rebellion, Toussaint was involved in an attempt to sell it out. In early 1792, the insurrection was hemmed in and the destruction the slaves had wrought now worked against them—they were having trouble feeding and supplying themselves. The leaders of the rebels, including Toussaint, went to the French and offered to lead the Blacks back to slavery if afterward 60

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# BLACK PEOPLE STRUGGLING TO BE FREE

top leaders would be freed. (The French turned them down.)

But once he joined the rebellion wholeheartedly, he brought to it a clear notion of what kind of army was needed to win, the determination to build such an army, and a sophistication and worldliness that enabled him to practice master diplomacy, turning one enemy of the slaves against another, each in turn.

During 1792, Toussaint began to put together the core of his army. To do this, he wel-

spreading to Jamaica.

By early 1794, the French position in St. Domingue seemed hopeless. Ex-slave troops armed by Spain were pressing in from the east and had taken most of the north province. British troops, in cooperation with royalist French planters who had broken their ties to the revolutionary French government, had taken much of the southern peninsula.

At this point, the French

against the ex-slave troops "loyal" to Spain since 1791) battled English troops.

The "Negroes are called Brigands and are infinitely the most formidable enemy the British arms have to encounter," wrote one English lieutenant.

The English tried everything to win. They offered to pay Blacks to fight for them, they offered bribes to every French commander from the governor on down. They fashioned special steel-studded pieces of armor to throw on the battlefields to cut up the barefooted Black troops.

But nothing could turn back the ex-slaves, determined to win their freedom once and for all. About 10 million pounds poorer (equivalent to \$500 million U.S. at the time), and with the loss of 100,000 men (about half in combat, about half to yellow fever), the English troops finally retreated in 1798.

As the British surrendered, Toussaint (who now held the titles of lieutenant-governor and military commander-in-chief of the colony) negotiated his own treaty with them. He aimed to use the British as a counterweight to the French. By this time the radical period of the French Revolution was over. The old colonial planters held positions of influence in Paris and the French government was busy plotting to turn back the clock in St. Domingue. Toussaint feared, in particular, that the French government was planning to build up Rigaud and the mulattoes he represented, at the expense of Toussaint and the Black ex-slaves.

To head off this threat, Toussaint arranged it so that the treaty was with him alone, not with Rigaud. Toussaint promised the British that he would not aid the slave rebellion in Jamaica. In return, the British (though at war with France) agreed to trade with St. Domingue, to refrain from blockading the island and to respect its territory.

With this newly won alliance with the English Toussaint could now move against Rigaud and to consolidate his hold over the whole of the island. In the late fall of 1799, Toussaint arranged, through the British, to have U.S. warships blockade the ports of the south, where Rigaud was based, to cut off all incoming supplies. Meanwhile, Toussaint's army invaded by land. By the summer of 1800, Toussaint, with an army four times the size of Rigaud's and plenty of powder shipments from U.S. and British suppliers, had defeated Rigaud and won control of the south.

The ex-slave army then turned to the eastern part of the island which, though technically

owned by France, was still ruled by Spain. In a campaign that started in early January 1801 and took only one month, Toussaint's army swept across Spanish-controlled Hispaniola. Meeting little resistance, the army took the capital, Ciudad Santo Domingo, in February 1801.

Thus after nearly 10 years of bloody civil war, the Black people of St. Domingue had secured the island. And it was free of slavery for the first time since 1500.

## New form of bondage

But the ex-slaves did not get the freedom they had fought for so valiantly. Toussaint wrote a new constitution making himself governor-general for life. Toussaint personally held all power, with his army officers running various areas of the country for him.

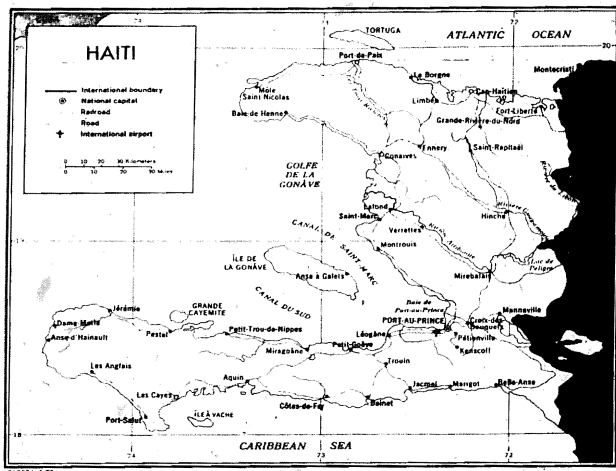
In Toussaint's administration, the role of the "cultivators," as the ex-slaves who worked the plantations were now called, was the same as the role of soldiers in the army—to work and take orders. They were bound to specific plantations, worked for over 12 hours a day and got food, housing and 25 percent of the profits distributed among them in return. In truth it was little more than a modified, somewhat more benevolent, form of slavery. The army commanders roamed the

countryside, catching any cultivators not on plantations and punishing those who didn't work hard enough. There were rumors afloat that Toussaint wanted to restore slavery in its old form.

In this situation, the Black masses of the island once more showed their determination to be free. On the night of October 22, 1801, the workers around Limbé and Acul, and then Marmelade and Dondon, rose up. By dawn of the 23rd, they had killed 300 white plantation owners and set their houses on fire.

Toussaint's army moved in to suppress the uprising and Toussaint came to personally supervise. Over one fourth of the workers in the rebellious districts were killed in punitive expeditions. In the town of Trou du Nord, a thousand workers were shot and bayoneted at the base of a tree. Also in October, the French government, now led by Napoleon Bonaparte, made peace with England. For the first time since 1791, the tables were turned: Internally, France was quiet (the radicals of '89 and '94 were all dead or in prison). Internationally, the imperial powers were at peace. But in St. Domingue the once-united Black people were divided and in civil war.

By early December, Napoleon had assembled 20,000 soldiers, and had put them to sea. Their mission: "to annihilate the government of the Blacks in St. Domingue." □



came deserters from the French forces and used them to train his troops. He instituted strict army discipline. Starting with a band of 600 followers, Toussaint created a trained regiment of 4,000.

## France ends slavery in colony

Meanwhile, the turmoil in France and St. Domingue hadn't escaped the notice of France's rivals. They all plotted to gain control of the colony that could provide, if "order" were restored, over \$40 million a year. This was a dangerous situation for the rebelling slaves—but it also created openings.

Beginning sometime in 1792, Spain, which owned the eastern part of Hispaniola, offered guns and supplies to the Black rebels in exchange for allegiance to the Spanish king. It was a marriage of convenience. Spain planned to betray the insurgents and restore slavery if they ever got control of the colony. But the insurgents knew that without supplies their defeat was nearly inevitable in any case. Most of them, including Toussaint's regiment, began carrying the Spanish flag during 1793.

In September 1793 England, France's strongest enemy, also entered the fray, invading the colony from the sea. England wanted to take St. Domingue away from France and to prevent the slave rebellion from

government took action to save the situation. Earlier, in April 1792, it had granted equal citizenship rights for free Blacks and mulattoes on the island. Now, with the French revolution in its most radical phase, the National Convention in Paris officially abolished slavery in all French colonies.

This act, decreed on February 4, 1794, resulted in a rapid shift in the balance of forces in St. Domingue. On May 6, 1794, Toussaint broke the alliance with Spain. That morning he heard early Mass at the side of the Spanish commandant. Afterward, he mounted his horse, unfurled the Tricolor, the revolutionary flag of France, and he and his regiment slit the throats of the Spanish garrison.

Two months later, in July 1794, Spain made peace with France, giving up all claims to any part of Hispaniola in the process.

## Toussaint's army battles British

Having won official freedom from slavery from France, and with Spain out of the picture, the Black army in St. Domingue now turned its attention to its one remaining European enemy—England. For the next four years, Toussaint's forces, in alliance with the army of the mulatto general André Rigaud (which previously had been fighting for the French and



British officers surrendering to Toussaint in 1798.

# Lebanon's Agony Continues

(Continued from page 1)  
**central government."** Both have been getting Israeli military and economic support for years.

More broadly, Begin hopes that by crushing the PLO in Lebanon, he can convince the Palestinians that further resistance to Israeli expansion is useless, thus clearing the way for the complete absorption of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Begin has made no secret of his determination to annex these territories to Israel. In recent months his regime has dismissed the elected local representatives of the Palestinians in these areas and replaced them with Israeli puppets. At least 12 Palestinian militants participating in strikes and demonstrations against this campaign—and against the invasion of Lebanon—have recently been killed by Israeli troops.

## Khaddafi advises PLO suicide

Initially it appeared that Begin would easily accomplish these goals. Within a few days after invading the country, Israeli troops had captured the main strongholds of the PLO and its Muslim leftist allies, and bottled up the main PLO forces in West Beirut.

In the face of these setbacks, on June 28 PLO leader Yasir Arafat had agreed "in principle" to take his forces out of Lebanon. At the time, the PLO leadership had very little choice, as its army in West Beirut—amounting to only about 7,000 fighters—was threatened with annihilation.

Moreover, the PLO had been deserted by its supposed allies in Lebanon and the Arab world. As the Israeli army rolled through Lebanon, most Lebanese Muslim leaders abandoned the PLO and sought an accommodation with the rightist Christian leaders supported by the Zionist regime. Meanwhile, conservative Arab rulers outside Lebanon, such as the Saudis, also failed to help the PLO when it most needed it. Even the so-called radical Arab states refused to do anything to support the Palestinians. The Syrians fought only to protect their own sphere of influence in Lebanon, and quickly agreed to a ceasefire. And Libyan President Muammar Khaddafi, safe in his capital, advised the PLO forces cut off in West Beirut to commit suicide!

But despite the Israeli victories and the isolation of the Palestinians, the Begin regime has been unable to bring together all the elements that would secure its ultimate goals.



Anti-war demonstration in Jerusalem. Begin government's invasion of Lebanon has sparked significant opposition within Israel. 80,000 Israelis protested on July 4 in Tel Aviv.

Above all, the Israeli rulers have failed to totally crush the PLO, the key to the ultimate success of the invasion.

## Opposition to Begin in Israel

There are a number of reasons why Begin has been forced to stop short of smashing into West Beirut and finishing off the PLO forces there. The slaughter in Lebanon has already resulted in anti-Zionist demonstrations around the world, and caused deep misgivings even among Israel's closest allies in the Western bloc. It has also alienated a significant section of the Jewish community in the United States and elsewhere. An assault on West Beirut, which would be nothing less than a massacre of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, would bring the wrath of virtually the entire world down on the Zionist state.

In addition, the Israeli people themselves are deeply divided over their government's policy in Lebanon. Until now, successive Zionist regimes have justified Israel's constant attack on the Palestinians and Arab countries as defensive moves necessary for the survival of the Zionist state. But Begin can hardly use this excuse for the continued occupation of Lebanon, since it is clear to all Israelis that the PLO has already been driven miles beyond any point where it could bombard Israeli territory.

Even before the invasion the Israeli "Peace Now" movement had organized protests against

the Begin regime's repressive West Bank policies. Now the Lebanese crisis is spurring the development of a truly mass anti-war movement. On July 4, 80,000 people in Tel Aviv demonstrated against the war. Clashes have broken out on campuses between pro-war and anti-war students. A poll released on July 11 showed that 68 percent of the Israeli people oppose any assault on West Beirut.

And for the first time in the country's history opposition to Israeli military policy is developing within the army. In June, 30 soldiers who had fought in Lebanon demonstrated in Jerusalem against Israeli bombing of civilians. Among the troops still in Lebanon, constant political debates are taking place, with many maintaining that the government "allowed the war to grow out of all proportion to its original goals." Some have argued that the war was a mistake from the beginning.

Most Israelis supported the war as long as it was limited to driving the PLO out of southern Lebanon. But they are unconvinced that the government's broader political goals are necessary for Israeli security. They are recoiling from both the slaughter of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, and the possibility of further Israeli casualties. And they fear that Israel is getting bogged down in a war it cannot win—an "Israeli Vietnam"—in Lebanon.

But precisely because the PLO has been able to survive in West Beirut, the Israeli government's ability to dictate events in Lebanon is eroding. Arafat and the other PLO leaders know well that as long as

their forces remain armed and in possession of their section of the city, they have a few chips to bargain with at the negotiating table. They are presently playing for time by demanding various concessions as the price for carrying out their pledge to withdraw from Lebanon.

The PLO position has also been helped by the fact that Lebanese Muslim leaders have begun to tilt back toward the PLO to try to offset the Israeli-rightist alliance. The Muslim leaders regard the Israeli call for them to disarm as a prelude to freezing them out of any political settlement in Lebanon. Consequently, they are countering Israeli support for Gemayel and the rightists by demanding a continued PLO presence in Lebanon.

All these factors are combin-

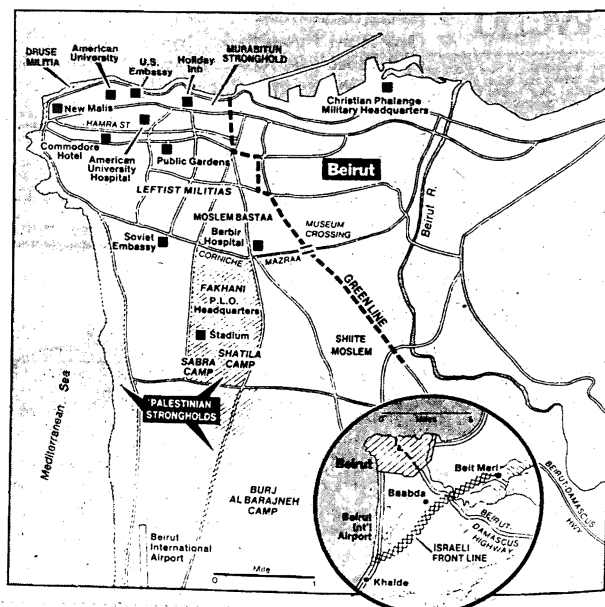
ing to confront the Israeli rulers with a dilemma over their next moves in Lebanon. They are reluctant—for the moment—to risk an international and domestic crisis by leveling West Beirut. Consequently, they cannot enforce their demands for withdrawal of the PLO and a "stable" Lebanon. But at the same time, they cannot back down from these demands without allowing the PLO to escape total defeat and thus claim a political victory.

## U.S. troops to Mideast?

Under these circumstances, the Begin government has little choice but to rely on U.S. imperialism to secure what it has been unable to achieve on its own. From the beginning of the invasion Begin has called for U.S. participation in a multinational force to enforce an imperialist peace in Lebanon.

On July 6 Reagan announced that he had "agreed in principle" to contribute a "small contingent" of Marines for "temporary peacekeeping" duties in Lebanon. These forces, in company with French troops, would supervise the evacuation of the PLO forces in West Beirut, the withdrawal of "all foreign troops" from Lebanon, and "restoration of control by the Lebanese government throughout the country."

Despite this, direct U.S. participation in the negotiations presently underway in Lebanon is by no means an unmixed blessing for Begin. Although the Reagan administration has generally supported Israeli goals in Lebanon, the Begin government does not trust the U.S.



government demands.

In particular, the resignation of State Alexia firmest support of Begin's policy to major shifts. Haig's replacement by Shultz, was a move to the left. An international company with Saudi Arabi other Arab record as uncritical. Moreover, Caspar W. Bechtel received the Israeli in as counter to the Middle government will try to following a Mideast policy.

In fact, the Lebanese policy is changing. A magazine, F. Begin a letter. U.S. might with the P government pose a comp a step would nizing the P political for East, and a setback for Although U ment official threat was admitted th "sharply wo Israeli prim

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government to back all of its demands.

In particular, Begin fears that the resignation of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Israel's firmest supporter among Reagan's policy advisers, could lead to major shifts in U.S. policy. Haig's replacement, George Shultz, was previously an executive at the Bechtel Group Inc., an international construction company with close ties to the Saudi Arabian royal family and other Arab rulers. Shultz is on record as opposing Reagan's uncritical support for Israel. Moreover, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, another Bechtel recruit, has criticized the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as counter to U.S. interests in the Middle East. The Israeli government fears these advisers will try to talk Reagan into following a more even-handed Mideast policy.

In fact, the administration's Lebanese policy may already be changing. According to *Time* magazine, Reagan recently sent Begin a letter warning that the U.S. might open direct talks with the PLO if the Israeli government continued to oppose a compromise peace. Such a step would amount to recognizing the PLO as a legitimate political force in the Middle East, and would be a major setback for the Israeli rulers. Although U.S. State Department officials deny any such threat was made, they have admitted that Reagan did send a "sharply worded" letter to the Israeli prime minister.

## Where will the PLO go?

So far, special envoy Philip Habib, the U.S.'s man on the scene, appears to be making very little progress toward a political settlement in Lebanon. It's hard to know exactly what's going on in the talks, as the public statements from all sides are little more than propaganda and often contradict each other. But the key issues under discussion—and unresolved—are clear.

Among the most important of these is the future status of the PLO in Lebanon. PLO leaders are insisting on retaining a political office in Lebanon, and want to keep at least a token armed force under Lebanese military command. The Israeli government opposes both conditions.

It is also uncertain where those PLO forces who do leave Lebanon will go. Most Arab rulers are willing to provide a refuge for the PLO leadership, but none wants any significant number of PLO guerrillas on their territory. They are particularly afraid that PLO radicals might stir up the oppressed workers and peasants, and the tens of thousands of Palestinian

refugees present in virtually every Arab country, and try to overthrow their governments.

Finally, agreement is still lacking on the exact composition and role of any multinational "peacekeeping" force that is sent into Lebanon.

The current situation could lead to a disaster for the Reagan administration. If the negotiations break down completely, it would once again expose U.S. imperialism's inability to control events in the Middle East. The administration might then be faced with the choice of defending an Israeli assault on West Beirut, or risking a major confrontation with its most important Mideast ally. But if the administration winds up having to send troops into Lebanon to enforce a settlement, it may not be able to get them out again easily. Any such agreement could fall apart, just as all previous efforts to impose political order in Lebanon have collapsed. U.S. troops in the area could then be drawn into combat with one or another of the political factions in Lebanon, leading to a full-scale Mideast crisis.

Even more important, U.S. military intervention in Lebanon is likely to encounter broad opposition within the U.S. itself. In earlier Mideast wars, mainstream U.S. opinion overwhelmingly favored Israel. But the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has divided U.S. public opinion, with about one-third supporting the invasion, one-third opposing it, and one-third unable to decide. Given increasing popular suspicion of Reagan's Cold War foreign policy in general, major opposition is almost certain to develop against the dispatch of U.S. troops to back up Israeli demands in Lebanon.

Also, U.S. military intervention in the Middle East would sharply escalate the rivalry between U.S. imperialism and the Russian state-capitalist rulers in that part of the world. Although the Russian rulers did nothing to aid the PLO against the Israeli invasion, on July 8 they did send a letter to Reagan warning against deployment of U.S. troops in Lebanon.

Since the 1973 Middle East War the U.S. and Russian rulers have had an informal agreement to keep their own troops out of the region. Dispatch of U.S. troops to Lebanon would violate this understanding and, some State Department officials believe, the Russian government might retaliate by stationing troops in Syria. This would not only mean a major defeat for the Reagan administration's policy of preventing Russian expansion in the Middle East, but would also increase the danger of a direct U.S.-Russian confrontation in the area.

Consequently, it is not surprising that Reagan is hedging over his "commitment in principle" to send U.S. troops to Lebanon. From the beginning the administration has stated it will send a "peacekeeping" force only if all parties agree to a settlement in Lebanon. More recently it has maintained that U.S. military intervention is merely a "contingency" to be implemented only if no other solution is possible, while Reagan himself said on July 11 that he is "wary" about ordering troops into Lebanon.

Meanwhile, as all the different forces juggle their options, Lebanon's agony goes on. The Israeli government, preparing for a prolonged occupation of Lebanon, is building water pipe lines and other facilities for its troops. Israeli forces continue their air and artillery bombardment of West Beirut—punctuated only by one short-lived "ceasefire" after another—and the death toll rises. But despite everything, the Palestinians have not surrendered.

We cannot say when the bloodshed will end. It is still uncertain whether any settlement will be reached, or if U.S. troops will go to Lebanon. The Begin regime may well decide to assault West Beirut in an effort to win total victory regardless of the human and political cost. But both the U.S. and Israeli governments may find they are taking on more than they can handle by trying to crush the Palestinians and impose an imperialist "peace" in Lebanon. □



# WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## Black miners rebel in Azania

Black gold miners in Azania (South Africa) carried out a week-long series of uprisings in early July. Workers at the West Driefontein mine 40 miles southwest of Johannesburg set off the rebellion when they went on strike July 1. That night they broke out of their barracks, where they had been confined by security guards, and torched the mine's administration building. The next day other strikes began at the nearby Stilfontein and Grootvlei mines.

Police and security guards tried to suppress the workers with tear gas and dogs. When these efforts failed they opened fire on the strikers, killing at least 11 workers. The miners were finally forced back to work after hundreds were either fired or jailed.

But other Black miners northwest of Johannesburg continued the rebellion. On July 5, 12,000 workers at the Kloof gold mine broke out of their compound and set fire to a fuel depot and other company property, while 2,000 platinum miners struck in Bophuthatswana. However, the racist apartheid government was able to suppress these struggles by July 7. It is trying to head off further outbreaks by shipping thousands of miners back to their so-called "tribal homelands."

The Black miners were rebelling against the slavery imposed on them by the white rulers in general and the mine owners in particular. Over 450,000 Black workers come from the "homelands" every year to do backbreaking work in the gold fields. They are forbidden to bring their families, and are forced to live in compounds constantly patrolled by mine security guards. And, like all Black people in South Africa, they are denied even the most basic political rights by the white rulers' apartheid system.

The Black miners were defeated in part because white workers in the gold fields sold them out and effectively collaborated with the government to keep the mines open. Before the Black uprisings began, white workers were overwhelmingly in favor of walking out to enforce their own demands for higher pay. But rather than join with the Blacks, they cancelled a strike vote scheduled for July 7 and accepted a compromise wage settlement. There are about 22,000 white workers in the mines, who hold either supervisory positions or highly-paid skilled jobs. These workers earn more than five times as much as Black miners.

## Argentine junta on the rocks

In the wake of Argentina's defeat in the Malvinas war, the country's military rulers are having enormous difficulty maintaining either their unity or their authority. Former president Leopoldo Galtieri was forced to resign on June 17 and was replaced by another army leader, General Benito Antonio Bignone, on June 22. But senior air force and navy commanders opposed Bignone's appointment and resigned from the government. Although the government claimed on July 10 that these commanders "are just a step away" from rejoining the government, serious differences exist within the military—and throughout Argentine society—over who to blame for the defeat, how to rebuild Argentina's shattered economy, and whether or not to return the country to civilian rule.

The opposition press is calling the junta's conduct of the war "the blackest page in Argentine history." Soldiers returning from the battlefield say many officers ran away, and that troops were not provided with food, ammunition and other essential goods. The government is trying to suppress the reports by threatening extended draft service or dishonorable discharges for soldiers who talk to the press.

The country's economy is staggering under the weight of a 125 percent annual inflation rate, \$35 billion in foreign debts, and a 9.7 percent drop in industrial production. The government itself admits that the economy "is in an unprecedented state of destruction." But few believe its economic program, including devaluation of the peso, controls on interest rates and other measures, will bring any relief. And while the government has pledged "some form of democratic government" by 1984, it correctly fears that the Argentine people will not be satisfied by promises. Throughout the Malvinas crisis Argentine workers combined support for Argentina's legitimate claim to the islands with calls for the downfall of the junta. The army's sorry showing in the war has further shattered the government's prestige, split the military commanders, and opened the way for workers to launch a militant struggle for freedom and democracy in Argentina.

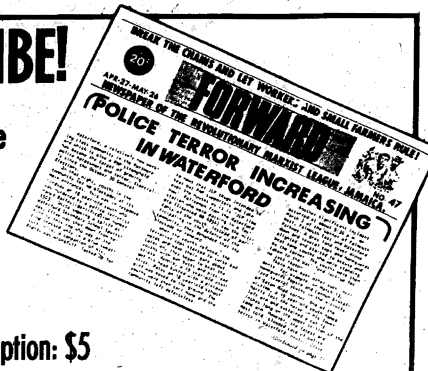
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# DISPUTE IN UNITED SECRETARIAT REVEALS CRISIS OF TROTSKYIST THEORY

By ROD MILLER  
and RON TABER

A major factional struggle is raging within the largest current in the international Trotskyist movement, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). The fight, which has been simmering for some time, recently broke out into the open in a series of polemical exchanges between the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the USec's sympathizing section in the U.S., and Ernest Mandel, the main theoretical spokesman for the USec.

On the surface, the dispute is over the relative validity of various theories on the nature of the Russian revolution put forward within the Russian Marxist movement prior to 1917, particularly the differing perspectives and strategies advanced by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who later would become the major leaders of the October Revolution.

In fact, however, the dispute runs much deeper than this; it involves the basic theory, political program and strategy of the USec—and more specifically, its attitude toward Stalinism. This question has long plagued the Trotskyist movement, leading to numerous factional struggles, splits and reunifications throughout its post-World War II history. But despite this, the movement has never come to grips with the fundamental theoretical issues involved.

In our view, the heart of the problem lies in the mistaken view taken by orthodox Trotskyists toward the Stalinist regimes and Stalinist parties. Instead of recognizing that Stalinist society is a form of capitalism—state capitalism—the Trotskyist movement has held a contradictory view.

On the one hand, the movement, following the analyses and theories laid out by Trotsky, claims to oppose Stalinism: Trotsky considered Stalinism to be, overall, a counter-revolutionary force. Within Russia, he thought that the Stalinist bureaucracy was working to overturn the gains of the workers' revolution of 1917. In his view, the Stalinists had totally destroyed the soviets, the councils created during the October Revolution that had been the basis for the workers' state, and had strangled the Bolshevik Party, politically as well as physically in the purges of the 1930s. Trotsky also believed that the Stalinist bureaucracy was acting to restore capitalism by undermining the nationalized property and central planning, which Trotsky considered the foundations of the workers' state. Internationally, Trotsky believed the Stalinist bureaucracy and Stalinist parties were working to prevent successful proletarian revolutions.

On the other hand, Trotsky's theory implied that Stalinism is progressive, although Trotsky himself never stated this directly. What Trotsky did argue was that nationalized (state) property and central planning in Russia—irrespective of whether the workers themselves had any control over the property, the planning or the state—constitute the essence of a "workers' state." This meant that to the extent that the Stalinist bureaucracy did actually defend state property and planning, it was defending the "workers' state" and was therefore playing a progressive, rather than counter-revolutionary, role. Similarly, if Stalinist and semi-Stalinist forces around the world were able to come to power and nationalize property and institute some form of planning (such as happened in Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, China, etc.) then they were creating "workers' states" and were also historically progressive.

This contradiction has created considerable political

problems for the Trotskyist movement, as Stalinist forces—which one part of Trotskyist theory condemns as counter-revolutionary—have come to power and created so-called workers' states—which another part of the same theory holds as progressive. What, then, should be the attitude of Trotskyists to these Stalinist and semi-Stalinist forces? Moreover, if such forces are actually creating "workers' states"—why should Trotskyists be Trotskyists, instead of Stalinists? For over 30 years, these questions have wreaked havoc in the movement.

Recently, however, the leadership of the SWP, headed by Jack Barnes, has decided to take the bull by the horns. Without saying so explicitly, the SWP leadership has begun a major revision of orthodox Trotskyism in order to resolve the contradiction in its attitude toward Stalinism. The first phase of this revision was the unveiling about three years ago of a new strategy in which Barnes called for a "new, mass Leninist International." This was, in fact, a call to junk the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and instead to try to hook up with non-Trotskyist forces that the Barnes' leadership has termed "fully revolutionary," specifically the Cuban Communist Party, the New Jewel Movement in Grenada and the Sandinist National Liberation Front in Nicaragua.

Within the past year, Barnes has begun to lay the theoretical basis for his new orientation. In particular, he has started to challenge some of the Trotskyist movement's long-held views on the pre-1917 political disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky over the nature of the coming Russian revolution. In a nutshell, Barnes and his allies are arguing that Trotsky's conception of the Russian revolution—expressed in the theory of the Permanent Revolution he put forward in 1905 and defended until his death in 1940—was wrong, and that Lenin's theory of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was correct.

Somewhat indirectly, this new position was first put forward publicly last November in the *International Socialist Review (ISR)*, the theoretical supplement to the SWP's newspaper, the *Militant*. The issue contained an article entitled "How Lenin Saw the Russian Revolution," written by Doug Jenness on behalf of the Barnes faction, accompanied by a 1921 article by Lenin describing the Russian Revolution in distinctly different terms from those used by Trotsky in his theory of Permanent Revolution (*ISR*: November 13, 1981, *Militant*). Not surprisingly, these articles provoked a written response from USec theoretical leader Ernest Mandel, which is dated January 1, 1982, and appears in the April *ISR* (April 9, 1982, *Militant*). The latest shot in the debate is an often-uncomradely 16-page rejoinder by Jenness in the *ISR* section of the June 25 *Militant*.

The extent of Barnes' theoretical break with traditional Trotskyist views, combined with the apparent heat of the discussion, suggests that the present dispute may well be only the early stage of a profound crisis within both the United Secretariat and within the SWP itself. Given the size and relative political influence of the SWP on the U.S. left, and given the importance of the theoretical issues under debate, we believe it is worth devoting considerable space to an analysis of the controversy.

In the article below, we begin this assessment by sketching our view of the debate within the Russian Marxist movement over the nature of the Russian revolution. This is

## PART ONE: CONCEPTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

a necessary starting point since the public polemics between the SWP leadership and Mandel have thus far been confined to this question, with neither side yet willing to indicate openly what lies behind their heated polemics. In our next article, we will summarize and evaluate the differing views on this question being put forward by the SWP leadership and Ernest Mandel. After that, we will attempt to explain what is really going on within the USec, what the possible results of the faction fight will be, and the importance of the dispute to the international left.

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Prior to the October Revolution of 1917, the nature of the Russian revolution had been the subject of intense debate among the different tendencies of the radical and revolutionary movements in Russia. Given the decrepit state of the Tsarist regime, some kind of overturn was clearly impending. What would the nature of this overturn be? How would it be carried out? And what would be its goals? To these fundamental questions, Russia's revolutionaries gave markedly different answers.

By the time of the unsuccessful 1905 Revolution (later to be termed the "dress rehearsal" for the 1917 revolutions), several distinct viewpoints had crystallized among radical opponents of the Tsar. Those who considered themselves Marxists generally agreed that the coming revolution would be bourgeois democratic in nature. By this, the Marxists meant that the central task of the Russian revolution would be to eliminate the feudal and semi-feudal characteristics of Russian society. This included overthrowing the Tsar and establishing some kind of democratic republic; freeing the peasants from the remnants of serfdom; granting democratic rights to the many nationalities held against their will within the Russian empire and oppressed in a host of ways by Tsarist rule; and, instituting other reforms generally associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

The view of the Russian Marxists that the coming revolution would be "bourgeois democratic" was based on the orthodoxy of the Marxist movement of the time. Virtually all Marxists (in Russia, Europe and elsewhere) agreed that the "next stage" in Russian historical development would be—and could only be—a bourgeois or capitalist stage. Accordingly, the task of the Russian revolution would be to sweep away the legacies of feudalism in order to allow for the unfettered growth of capitalism. As Russian capitalism developed, it would, among other things, increase the size and weight of the working class, laying the basis for a working class, socialist revolution at some undetermined point in the future.

This basic conception was expressed in the program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), adopted at its 1903 (Second) Congress:

"In Russia, where capitalism has already become the dominant mode of production, there are still very many survivals from the old pre-capitalist order.... Hindering economic progress to a very considerable extent, these survivals inhibit an all-round development of the class struggle of the proletariat....

"The most important of all these survivals and the mightiest bulwark of all this barbarism is the Tsarist autocracy....

"Therefore, the Russian Socialist Party takes as its most immediate task the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic."

### Menshevik view of Russian revolution

Within the framework we have outlined, however, there were considerable differences over how the bourgeois revolution would proceed, what it would entail and what would happen afterwards. While the initial differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks factored in over the organizational structure of the revolution (the Bolsheviks, led by V.I. Lenin, favored a disciplined and centralized structure; the Mensheviks, led by Julius Martov, Paul Axelrod and others, favored a less disciplined organization), by the time the factions disagreed on a question related to the Russian revolution, the Mensheviks favored the more moderate and evolutionary approach.

To the Mensheviks, a bourgeois revolution in Russia was largely a question of a change in the government structure: eliminating the autocracy, convoking a constituent assembly to establish a Western-style bourgeois parliament and civil liberties. In a ratification of the orthodox Marxist view of the revolution, the Mensheviks thought that the liberal and other moderate, pro-capitalist elements (the Mensheviks themselves) would play the central role in the formation.

Consistent with this view, the Mensheviks saw the main task of the Russian workers' revolution as helping the bourgeois liberals overthrow the autocracy and carry out further reforms. Thus, in the revolution, the workers should help the liberals to gain power for themselves and then to carry out further reforms. Thus, in the revolution, the workers should help the liberals to gain power for themselves and then to carry out further reforms.

### Bolsheviks look to and peasants

Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw the Russian revolution as a more radical way. While they agreed that the revolution would be bourgeois democratic, they had a very different view of the role that the workers and peasants would play in the revolution.

Reflecting Lenin's long-time study of the Russian situation in Russia, the Bolsheviks recognized that the Russian revolution would be a bourgeois democratic revolution of the peasants—the vast majority of the population. The central task of the revolution would be to eliminate the landlord/noble class. The Russian peasants, who still lacked the land they needed to live, were largely the land that the peasants, who had collectively utilized to pasture their cattle, etc. (following emancipation known as the "cut-off lands"). And the peasants, who had been burdened with huge payments, taxes and other obligations, which had to be paid off in installments, were allowed freedom of movement.

Given the extreme poverty and backwardness of the Russian peasantry, the Bolsheviks saw the Russian revolution as a bourgeois democratic revolution of the peasants (the Russian revolution of 1789) would be a virtual revolution of the peasants, not at all separate from the struggle against the monarchy as a whole. Quite the contrary, the pillar of the autocracy was precisely the landlord class—whoever since Peter the Great had favored himself as Tsar—had been the backbone of the bureaucracy and the officer corps of the Tsarist regime. A peasant assault on and expropriation of the landlord class would both demolish the social basis of the autocracy, paving the way for the establishment of a democratic republic, and create the conditions for the development of Russian agriculture.

In the Bolsheviks' view, the other main task of the revolution would be the industrial working class that was growing rapidly, was highly organized and was becoming increasingly revolutionary. The Bolsheviks thought that the urban

"Therefore, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party takes as its most immediate political task the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic."

## Menshevik view of Russian revolution

Within the framework we have briefly sketched here, however, there were considerable differences among the Marxists over how the bourgeois democratic revolution would proceed, what it would entail and just what would happen afterwards. While the initial major dispute between the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of the RSDLP had been over the organizational structure of the party (the Bolsheviks, led by V.I. Lenin, advocated a more disciplined and centralized structure; the Mensheviks, led by Julius Martov, Paul Axelrod and others, stood for a looser, less disciplined organization), by the time of the 1905 Revolution the factions disagreed on a whole series of questions related to the Russian revolution, with the Bolsheviks taking up the more radical and revolutionary positions and the Mensheviks the more moderate and reformist ones.

To the Mensheviks, a bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia was largely a question of a constitutional reform of the government structure: eliminating the Tsar and convoking a constituent assembly to write a constitution and establish a Western-style bourgeois democracy, with a parliament and civil liberties. In a rather mechanical interpretation of the orthodox Marxist view of a bourgeois revolution, the Mensheviks thought the bourgeois liberals and other moderate, pro-capitalist forces (who opposed the autocracy as an obstacle to unfettered capitalist development) would play the central role in carrying out this transformation.

Consistent with this view, the Mensheviks believed that the main task of the Russian workers (and the RSDLP) was to help the bourgeois liberals overthrow the Tsar, boost the liberals into power and then to maintain pressure on them to carry out further reforms. Thus, in the Menshevik view of the revolution, the workers should neither seek to seize power for themselves nor do anything that might frighten the liberals from carrying out their "historic tasks."

## Bolsheviks look to workers and peasants

Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw the revolution in a far more radical way. While they agreed with the Mensheviks that the revolution would be bourgeois democratic, they had a very different view of the role that the various social forces and classes would play in the revolution.

Reflecting Lenin's long-time study of the agrarian question in Russia, the Bolsheviks recognized that a crucial arena for the Russian revolution would be the struggle on the part of the peasants—the vast majority of the Russian people—against the landlord/noble class. Though legally freed from serfdom in 1861, the Russian peasants were far from free farmers. They still lacked the land they needed to farm. The landlords and nobles continued to hold vast tracts, particularly the land that the peasants, while they were still serfs, had collectively utilized to pasture their animals, gather wood, etc. (following emancipation this land became known as the "cut-off lands"). And the peasants were still burdened with huge payments, called "redemption payments," which had to be paid off in full before the peasants were allowed freedom of movement and other rights.

Given the extreme poverty and oppression of the Russian peasantry, the Bolsheviks believed that a major component of the Russian revolution (as of the French Revolution of 1789) would be a virtual peasant war against the landlord class. To the Bolsheviks, such a peasant war was not at all separate from the struggle against the Tsar and the monarchy as a whole. Quite the contrary; the chief social pillar of the autocracy was precisely the landlords and nobles who—ever since Peter the Great had fully subordinated them to himself as Tsar—had been the backbone of the imperial bureaucracy and the officer corps of the military. Therefore, a peasant assault on and expropriation of the nobles/landlords would both demolish the social props of Tsarism, thus paving the way for the establishment of a democratic republic, and create the conditions for the unfettered capitalist development of Russian agriculture.

In the Bolsheviks' view, the other key social force in the revolution would be the industrial working class—a class that was growing rapidly, was highly concentrated in the cities and was becoming increasingly restive and radical. The Bolsheviks thought that the urban workers, who were

brutally exploited and denied almost all basic rights, would fight not only the economic struggle—for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, an end to the myriad fines imposed on them by the employers, etc.—but would also lead the political struggle against the autocracy in the cities, ultimately carrying out an armed uprising to depose the Tsar.

The Bolsheviks further expected that in the face of a peasant war in the countryside and mass strikes and uprisings by the workers in the cities, the supposedly anti-Tsarist bourgeois liberals and the moderate landlords and capitalists who stood behind them would vacillate in the anti-Tsarist struggle, ultimately preferring a deal with the autocracy to a mass, radical revolution that could threaten their property and privileges. Thus, in sharp contrast to the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks rejected the idea that the workers' goal should be to help the liberals gain power and to put pressure on them to lead the anti-Tsarist struggle and make reforms; instead, the Bolsheviks thought the workers should join with the peasants in a revolutionary struggle against all the privileged classes, the landlords/nobles and



Lenin and Bolsheviks believed peasants would play a key role in Russian revolution.

the capitalists, and their political representatives, to overthrow the autocracy and the entire "old regime."

Lenin, in his major work elaborating Bolshevik perspectives of 1905, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, explained the question this way:

"We must be perfectly certain in our minds as to what real social forces are opposed to 'tsarism' . . . The big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the factory owners . . . cannot be such a force. We see that they do not even want a decisive victory. We know that owing to their class position they are incapable of waging a decisive struggle against tsarism; they are too heavily fettered by private property, by capital and land to enter into a decisive struggle. They stand in too great need of tsarism, with its bureaucratic, police, and military forces for use against the proletariat and the peasantry, to want it to be destroyed. No, the only force capable of gaining 'a decisive victory over tsarism', is the people, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry."

Based on this understanding of the role various class forces would play in the revolution, the strategic approach of the Bolsheviks was to try to establish a revolutionary alliance between the workers and the peasants. The aim of this alliance would be to seek to establish what Lenin termed in *Two Tactics* "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." This revolutionary-democratic dictatorship would lead the workers and peasants in carrying out the expropriation and destruction of the landlord class (the Bolsheviks called for nationalizing the land, placing it under the ownership of the state which would then determine the precise relationship of the peasants to the land), the institution of the eight-hour day, the establishment of bourgeois freedoms, the calling of a constituent assembly to set up a democratic republic, and other bourgeois democratic tasks.

Thus, despite the shared assumption of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks that the coming revolution would be bourgeois democratic, there was a world of difference between the two factions' approaches to the revolution.

Lenin summarized this difference in *Two Tactics*: "The depth of the rift among present-day Social-Democrats on the question of the path to be chosen can at once be seen by comparing the Caucasian resolution of the new-Iskra supporters [Mensheviks] with the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party

[Bolsheviks]. The Congress resolution says: the bourgeoisie is inconsistent and will without fail try to deprive us of the gains of the revolution. Therefore, make more energetic preparations for the fight, comrades and workers! Arm yourselves, win the peasantry over to your side! We shall not, without a struggle, surrender our revolutionary gains to the self-seeking bourgeoisie. The resolution of the Caucasian new-Iskra supporters says: the bourgeoisie is inconsistent and may recoil from the revolution. Therefore, comrades and workers, please do not think of joining a provisional government, for, if you do, the bourgeoisie will certainly recoil, and the sweep of the revolution will be diminished!"

He added: "One side says: advance the revolution to its consummation despite resistance or passivity on the part of the inconsistent bourgeoisie."

"The other side says: do not think of independently advancing the revolution to completion, for if you do, the inconsistent bourgeoisie will recoil from it."

"Are these not two diametrically opposite paths? Is it not obvious that one set of tactics absolutely excludes the other, that the first tactics is the only correct tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy . . . ?"

## Unanswered questions

But while Lenin and the Bolsheviks foresaw an alliance between the two main revolutionary classes, the workers and the peasants, the precise nature of this alliance and, more narrowly, the composition of their "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship," was left open. Which class would predominate? How would they be represented in the dictatorship? If by parties, which ones? These and other crucial questions were not fully answered or, in some cases, not addressed at all, either in *Two Tactics* or in other Bolshevik writings or resolutions.

In addition, the all-important question of exactly what would happen after the overthrow of the Tsar, the seizure of state power and the establishment of a revolutionary government was never made clear.

In some of Lenin's writings, the assumption appears to be that the revolutionary government would convocate a constituent assembly, which in turn would decide upon a constitution and hold elections—the result being a more-or-less traditional bourgeois democratic republic with the more-or-less open-ended development of agriculture, industry and the economy as a whole on a capitalist basis.

In other writings—and in parts of the very same writings that appear to advocate the above view—Lenin suggests that another, more revolutionary course might be possible, particularly if the Russian revolution were followed by working class socialist revolutions in one or more of the more-developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. With the support of socialist revolutions elsewhere, Lenin suggests that the Russian revolution itself could go further—beyond the bourgeois democratic revolution to an actual socialist revolution.

To illustrate the contradictory and ambiguous nature of the views expressed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks on the possible course of the Russian revolution after the overthrow of the Tsar, we quote several brief passages from Lenin's writings from the year 1905.

In *Two Tactics*, written in June-July 1905, Lenin repeatedly and insistently attacks the notion that the Russian revolution can go beyond its bourgeois democratic (capitalist) boundaries. He writes:

"Finally, we will note that the resolution, by making implementation of the minimum programme the provisional revolutionary government's task, eliminates the absurd and semi-anarchist ideas of giving immediate effect to the maximum programme, and the conquest of power for a socialist revolution."

"The degree of Russia's economic development (an objective condition), and the degree of class-consciousness and organization of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition inseparably bound up with the objective condition) make the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can close their eyes to the bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution which is now taking place; only the most naive optimists can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed about the aims of socialism and methods of achieving it."

Later in the same work, Lenin returns to this point, again emphasizing the need for a stage of capitalist development and bourgeois rule:

"Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. What does this mean? It means that the democratic reforms in the political system and the social and economic reforms that have become a necessity for Russia, do not in themselves imply the undermining of capitalism, the undermining of bourgeois rule: on

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the contrary, they will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class."

He even adds, "... From these principles it follows that the idea of seeking salvation for the working class in anything save the further development of capitalism is reactionary."

This would all seem clear enough, but elsewhere in *Two Tactics*, Lenin argues against an overly limited notion of the possibilities of the revolution and takes a somewhat more elastic view.

"We cannot get out of the bourgeois-democratic boundaries of the Russian revolution, but we can vastly extend these boundaries, and within these boundaries, we can and must fight for the interests of the proletariat...."

More significantly, writing in September of 1905, Lenin makes an even more radical departure from the restrictive notions put forward in *Two Tactics*.

Here he says: "... from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way." (*Social Democracy's Attitude Toward the Peasant Movement, Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 9, pp. 236-237*).

In this passage, Lenin is no longer speaking of a prolonged period of bourgeois rule. No longer is the government that takes power after the overthrow of the Tsar "unable (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism." (*Two Tactics*) Instead, Lenin here presents a much more radical conception of the revolution, one which foresees the possibility of going beyond any fixed and immutable bourgeois "stage."

It is important to note here that Lenin wrote the passage referring to an "uninterrupted revolution" two months after *Two Tactics* was published—in other words, under the impact of the still-radicalizing 1905 Revolution. (The revolution was to crest a month or two later with a general strike and near-uprising in St. Petersburg and a nearly weeklong, and ultimately unsuccessful, armed insurrection in Moscow.) Apparently, as the struggles of the workers and peasants deepened and moved to the left, Lenin's own interpretation of the possibilities of the Russian revolution moved left with them. (The significance of this cannot be overstated since, as we will see later in this series, a similar process was to take place in 1917.)

The final point to note about Lenin and the Bolsheviks' theory is that it embodied a view of the revolution that was considered to be a rather unorthodox application of Marxism, although still remaining formally within the bounds of orthodoxy. This was the idea that in a revolution that the Bolsheviks considered would be, and had to be, bourgeois democratic (the orthodoxy), the working class would, in alliance with the peasantry, seek to seize power and establish a revolutionary government (this was considered by many Marxists to be heretical). In other words, the Bolsheviks foresaw a revolution that would be bourgeois democratic but would be made over and against the bourgeoisie and, moreover, would result in a government in which the working class, rather than the liberal bourgeoisie, would play a major role.

What Lenin had in fact done was to develop a theory of the Russian revolution that was based on his own careful and concrete analysis of the state of Russian society and, in particular, the alignment and political physiognomy of the various classes, while trying to cram this approach into the somewhat mechanical orthodox Marxist framework of the time. The result was to push the traditional conception of the revolution considerably more to the left than the orthodoxy suggested.

## Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

In the debate within the Russian Marxist movement over the nature of the Russian revolution, there was a third perspective, distinct from that of both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. This was the view of Leon Trotsky. Although Trotsky had supported the Mensheviks at the time of the 1903 split in the RSDLP, particularly disagreeing with Lenin's conception of the party, by the time of the 1905 Revolution Trotsky was in fact independent of the two major factions. He continued to oppose the Bolsheviks on the party question (which he was to do until 1917), but was far to the left of the Mensheviks on almost all major questions, particularly the nature of the impending revolution.

Trotsky's theory, which he called the theory of Permanent Revolution (basing himself on some comments by Marx on the revolutions of 1848), shared the view of the other Marxists that the chief tasks of the Russian revolution were bourgeois democratic (overthrowing the Tsar, resolving the



Leon Trotsky.

land question, establishing a democratic republic, etc.). Within this general framework, he had fundamental agreement with the Bolsheviks on a number of key questions and, on the whole, stood far closer to them than to the Mensheviks.

Trotsky believed, for example, that the revolution would be far deeper and more radical in scope than the moderate "constitutional reform" envisioned by the Mensheviks; specifically, he recognized that the peasant struggle and the resolution of the land question would play a crucial role in the revolution (though Trotsky paid considerably less attention to this question than did the Bolsheviks, in particular Lenin, who made the agrarian question one of his main areas of expertise). Trotsky also shared the Bolsheviks' view that the bourgeois liberals and the moderate capitalists and landlords behind them would not support—let alone lead—the revolution, but would ultimately oppose it.

As a result, Trotsky, like the Bolsheviks, argued that the Russian revolution would have to be carried out by the workers and peasants against the landlords, the Tsar and the bourgeoisie. Moreover, again in common with the Bolsheviks, he advocated an armed insurrection to overthrow the autocracy and establish a revolutionary government.

Despite these areas of agreement, however, Trotsky had significant differences with the Bolsheviks in his assessment of the revolution. He felt certain, for example, that the peasantry, due to their dispersal in the countryside, their low level of literacy and other factors, would not play an independent political role in the revolution. However militant the peasant movement would be, Trotsky argued, the peasantry on the whole would tend to support one or the other of the two main urban classes—the workers or the capitalists—depending upon which of the two showed the more decisive leadership.

Ideally, in Trotsky's view, if the working class, under the leadership of Marxist revolutionaries, fought in a militant and revolutionary manner, the peasants would follow them. If, on the other hand, the workers failed to be sufficiently bold and decisive, the peasants would follow the bourgeoisie. Based on this, Trotsky did not expect or call for a government of workers and peasants, but rather predicted that the outcome of a successful insurrection would be a workers' government, supported by the peasants. This was a major disagreement with the Bolsheviks.

His second disagreement was on the question of what a revolutionary government would do once in power. Trotsky did not believe that such a government could limit itself to carrying out bourgeois democratic reforms. Rather, he believed that a revolutionary government would find itself forced, by the very nature of the struggle, to go beyond the bourgeois democratic tasks. In his major work on the character of the Russian revolution, *Results and Prospects*, written between 1904 and 1906, Trotsky put the question this way:

"To imagine that it is the business of Social Democrats to enter a provisional government and lead it during the period of revolutionary-democratic reforms, fighting for them to have a most radical character, and relying for this purpose upon the organized proletariat—and then, after the democratic programme has been carried out, to leave the edifice they have constructed so as to make way for the bourgeois parties and themselves go into opposition, thus

opening up a period of parliamentary politics, is to imagine the thing in a way that would compromise the very idea of a workers' government. This is not because it is inadmissible 'in principle'—putting the question in this abstract form is devoid of meaning—but because it is absolutely unreal, it is utopianism of the worst sort...."

Trotsky recognized that a central aspect of the class struggle in the cities would be mass strikes by the workers for a variety of demands, such as the eight-hour day. Knowing that the capitalists would resist such concessions, Trotsky argued that the revolutionary government would have to intervene on the side of the workers and take decisive measures against the capitalists, such as expropriating the factories. But these measures would not be the bourgeois democratic actions of a bourgeois democratic government; they would be the anti-capitalist—i.e., socialist—measures of a workers' government.

"Immediately, however, that power is transferred into the hands of a revolutionary government with a socialist majority, the division of our programme into maximum and minimum loses all significance, both in principle and in immediate practice. A proletarian government under no circumstances can confine itself within such limits. Take the question of the eight-hour day... let us imagine that the actual introduction of this measure during a period of revolution, in a period of intensified class passions; there is no question but that this measure would then meet the organized and determined resistance of the capitalists in the form, let us say, of lockouts and the closing down of factories.

"Hundreds of thousands of workers find themselves thrown on the streets. What should the government do? A bourgeois government, however radical it might be, would never allow affairs to reach this stage... because, confronted with the closing-down of factories, it would be left powerless. It would be compelled to retreat, the eight-hour day would not be introduced and the indignant workers would be suppressed.

"Under the political domination of the proletariat, the introduction of an eight-hour day should lead to altogether different consequences... For a workers' government there would be only one way out: expropriation of the closed factories and the organization of production in them on a socialized basis." (*Results and Prospects*)

In Trotsky's view, therefore, there could be no distinct bourgeois democratic "stage" of the Russian revolution. Although the revolution would begin by addressing the bourgeois democratic tasks, it would quickly take on a proletarian socialist character.

Finally, Trotsky tended to link the prospects of the Russian revolution more closely to the international revolution than did the Bolsheviks. Whereas the Bolsheviks left the question of the revolution's spreading to the more economically advanced countries of Europe rather vague, Trotsky was more confident that the Russian revolution would be part of—and perhaps even serve as the spark for—revolutionary upheavals leading to workers' governments in one or more of the advanced capitalist countries. On the other hand, Trotsky felt that if such revolutions did not take place, if the workers of the more advanced capitalist countries were unable to come to the aid of the Russian workers, then the Russian revolution would almost certainly be doomed to failure.

Thus, for Trotsky, the Russian revolution would be "permanent" in two inter-related senses: It would not stop at a distinct bourgeois democratic stage and it would not be limited to Russia but rather would be—and would have to be—part of an international socialist revolution.

In his 1919 introduction to *Results and Prospects*, Trotsky summarized this perspective as follows:

"... the Revolution, having begun as a bourgeois revolution as regards its first tasks, will soon call forth powerful class conflicts and will gain final victory only by transferring power to the only class capable of standing at the head of the oppressed masses, namely, to the proletariat. Once in power, the proletariat not only will not want, but will not be able to limit itself to a bourgeois-democratic programme. It will be able to carry through the Revolution to the end only in the event of the Russian Revolution being converted into a Revolution of the European proletariat. The bourgeois-democratic programme of the Revolution will then be superseded, together with its national limitations, and the temporary political domination of the Russian working class will develop into a prolonged Socialist dictatorship. But should Europe remain inert the bourgeois counter-revolution will not tolerate the government of the toiling masses in Russia and will throw the country back—far back from a democratic workers' and peasants' republic. Therefore, once having won power, the proletariat cannot keep within the limits of bourgeois democracy. It must adopt the tactics of permanent revolution, i.e., must destroy the barriers between the minimum and maximum programme of Social Democracy, go over to more and more radical social reforms and seek direct and immediate support in revolution in Western Europe."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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# '82 Contract Round: Many Defeats But Some Fightback

Although the 1982 contract round is barely half over, it has already produced a series of stunning defeats for U.S. workers. In contract talks so far this year, the capitalists have demanded—and won—the most savage cutbacks since the early years of the Great Depression.

In the first quarter of 1982, first-year wage increases in major contract settlements averaged only 2.2 percent, compared to 9 percent during the first quarter of 1981. Workers in auto, trucking, meat processing, airlines and other major industries have been forced to accept wage cuts or freezes in national contract negotiations. On June 18 the United Steelworkers of America also agreed to reopen its contracts with steel companies that are demanding similar concessions.

So far, most workers have been unable to put up much resistance to the capitalist give-back offensive (for example, in 1981 the number of strikes dropped to its lowest level in over 40 years). But recently some workers around the country have begun to fight back, resulting in a number of long and bitter strikes.

• 1,500 machinists in North Kingston, Rhode Island, have been on strike against the Browne and Sharpe Manufacturing Company since their contract expired last October 19.

• 4,000 oil workers at Texaco's Port Arthur, Texas, refinery have been out on strike since January.

• 3,700 electrical workers in Pennsylvania struck for 205 days and finally won a decent contract from the Westinghouse Air Brake Company in May.

• 500 other electrical workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, shut down a tool plant owned by Gulf & Western in May.

• Nearly 1,400 hospital workers in California won wage increases and other benefits in February after a month-long strike at four local hospitals. A second hospital strike in Santa Clara, California, has been going on since January.

• Lumber workers in Washington and Oregon forced the Weyerhaeuser Company to back down on wage cut demands in April after a three-week strike.

• Workers in New Jersey organized a series of walkouts in May, including strikes by 4,300 electrical workers against the Public Service Electric and Gas Company, oil workers in Elizabeth, chemical workers in Haledon, and cement truck drivers in northern and central New Jersey.

• More recently, machinists working for Northwest Airlines won a compromise settlement on June 16 after a four-week strike, while 1,800 teamsters struck the Joseph Schlitz Brew-



Electrical workers at Westinghouse Air Brake Co. in Pennsylvania struck for 205 days.

ing Company on June 15.

• In a related development, General Motors workers, who barely ratified a national contract that included massive takeaways in April, are resisting company demands for additional concessions in local contract negotiations.

These struggles share several features in common. Many of them involve industrial workers, who represent the core of the U.S. working class and traditionally set the pattern for labor negotiations. Since industrial companies have been taking the lead in demanding concessions from their employees, the fact that some of these workers are beginning to fight back is a welcome sign.

In addition, the recent strikes have been very militant. For

example, in the Browne & Sharpe walkout, police had to use clubs and pepper gas on March 22 to disperse over 800 strikers trying to prevent scabs from entering the plant. And in May construction workers in Colorado blockaded a highway and fought with state cops during a statewide strike.

Another good sign is that many strikers are gaining support from other workers who see the necessity of backing every fight against company takeback demands. On June 19 more than 1,000 people, including members of 196 union locals from 14 states, rallied to support 180 furniture workers in Jasper, Indiana, who have been on strike since March. A week earlier 4,000 people marched to support striking steelworkers

and electricians in nearby Richmond, Indiana.

Unfortunately, other factors may limit the impact of these struggles on the working class as a whole. For example, the majority of them have taken place at companies that are either making profits or at least are in no immediate danger of collapse. Such conditions are far different from those in crisis-ridden industries such as auto, trucking and steel, where workers are often being given the choice of making concessions or watching their plants—and their jobs—fold up completely.

Moreover, most of the recent strikes involve relatively few workers. Despite their militancy, these workers lack the social weight necessary to lift the confidence and fighting spirit of the working class as a whole.

Finally, economic conditions may cut short any chance of these strikes setting off a more widescale struggle against concessions. Even most capitalist economists admit that any recovery from the current recession will at best be weak and short-lived. If the economy stagnates or plunges into a new recession, continued high unemployment will make it very difficult for U.S. workers to reverse the defeats they have suffered over the past year. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE

### Reagan intervenes in rail dispute

President Reagan's supposed hostility toward "big government" hasn't stopped him from using it against the labor movement. On July 8 Reagan invoked the Railway Labor Act to block a threatened strike by 35,000 locomotive engineers scheduled to begin July 11. The president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), John Sytsma, had called for a strike after negotiations between the union and 117 railroad companies broke down over management demands for work rule changes.

Reagan's action means that the engineers are banned from striking for a 60-day "cooling-off period." During the first 30 days a three-member emergency board appointed by the president will examine the disputed issues and recommend a settlement. Then labor and management negotiators have 30 days to decide whether or not to accept the board's recommendations.

Most industry and labor leaders reportedly believe that Sytsma did not want a strike and carefully announced the walkout early enough for Reagan to take action before workers shut down the railroads. Sytsma is a member of the Republican Party's newly formed Labor Advisory Council and boasts of his "good relations" with the Reagan administration.

Sytsma has led the BLE into the same kind of trap the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) walked into last year. PATCO leaders supported Reagan in the 1980 election in order to have "a friend in the White House"

when their contract came up. But Reagan not only rejected PATCO's demands, but also fired over 11,000 controllers and decertified their union after they went on strike last August. Although Sytsma insists that an "impartial" board will back the union, industry leaders are hardly reluctant to turn their demands over to a board hand-picked by the strikebreaking Reagan administration. One of them declared: "If ever we had a chance to get a decent emergency board, this is it."

### Autoworkers say: no more concessions

On June 26 autoworkers at the Ford Motor Company's Brook Park, Ohio, plant rejected company demands for local work rule changes by a 3,297 to 1,674 vote. Recently, workers at General Motors' Indianapolis, Indiana, plant also voted down local concessions by a two-to-one margin. These votes may indicate that both companies will have a hard time getting takeaways at over 100 plants whose local contracts are coming up for ratification in July.

Ford and GM workers were forced to accept wage freezes and other concessions in national contract negotiations last winter. But they are showing renewed signs of militancy. In particular, GM workers are not only resisting company demands, but are also starting to rebel against leaders of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) who supported the recent contract. For example, in May workers in Lordstown, Ohio, voted out three-term Local 1112 President Marlin (Whitey) Ford and elected a militant who had led the fight against

concessions. And when UAW President Doug Fraser refused to convene a conference to deal with GM's demands for local concessions, UAW leaders at Midwest GM plants organized one on their own.

Meanwhile, Chrysler workers, who gave up even greater concessions in 1979 and 1981 contract renegotiations, are hoping to regain some of their losses when their contract expires on September 14. In May the UAW's Chrysler Council voted to demand the renewal of cost-of-living benefits and wage parity with Ford and GM workers.

These developments are taking place even though the auto industry remains in terrible shape. Big Three auto sales fell 17.5 percent in the last 10 days of June compared to 1981, and a quarter-million autoworkers are still unemployed. But the auto companies are earning huge profits despite falling sales. GM expects to rake in up to \$500 million for the second quarter of 1982, while Ford and Chrysler will each earn around \$100 million. Autoworkers suspect—with good reason—that these profits are coming out of their paychecks, and are opposing company demands for further give-backs.

Some autoworkers who originally supported concessions as the only way to keep their jobs are beginning to realize that the companies' takeaway campaign was a swindle from the start. Big Three managers—and UAW leaders—claimed the auto industry needed concessions from UAW workers in order to rebuild their plants and compete more effectively with fuel-efficient cars produced by "cheap foreign labor." But in May, just six weeks after the GM contract was ratified, the company announced it was investing \$200 million to produce small cars for the U.S. market—in Japan.

—PB

# Democrats...

(Continued from page 4)  
a national election with their votes."

The third major faction in the Democratic Party is the conservatives, or "boll weevils," who are little more than Republicans who stay in the Democratic Party for a variety of reasons; they broke party ranks last year to support Reagan's programs in Congress. While the boll weevils have no hope of taking over the Democratic Party, they do enjoy considerable influence over party policy because of their power in Congress.

## Floor debate banned

At the Philadelphia conference the differences among the factions were swept under the table for the sake of presenting a facade of Democratic Party unity. A member of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) happily noted: "Everybody's holding hands as they dance from square to square."

To make sure everyone kept in step, DNC Chairman Charles Manatt actually banned any floor debate on the party's 1982 platform, arguing that Democratic infighting "will get a lot of attention in the press and distract from the assault on Reagan's policies."

Instead, the Democrats were content to criticize the Reagan administration while saying as little as possible about concrete Democratic alternatives. Above all, they lambasted the Republican economic record. House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill charged: "What the Republicans called a 'New Beginning' has turned into a national disgrace, marked by record unemployment, huge budget deficits and a tearing of the social safety net to shreds."

Meanwhile, the Democrats are concentrating on rebuilding their support among traditionally pro-Democratic constituencies. As early as January the

DNC strengthened its ties to organized labor by bringing representatives from 20 unions onto its newly-formed Labor Council. At the Philadelphia conference Democrats appealed for the "women's vote" and staged a "spontaneous" demonstration in favor of the ERA. Then, immediately after the conference, both Kennedy and Mondale sought Black support at the NAACP's convention in Boston.

Finally, the Democrats are planning to make the disarmament issue a Democratic campaign theme in the fall elections. They adopted a motion calling for negotiations with the Russian government over a "mutual and verifiable" nuclear weapons freeze. One Democratic Congressman told reporters: "Sure, the economy is first. But in an emotional sense, the nuclear freeze is the real issue."

But even on this issue the Democrats are hedging their bets. As a sop to Democratic conservatives, their motion calls for any arms reductions to be "consistent with the maintenance of overall parity with the Soviet Union"—a policy the Reagan administration is counterposing to calls for a nuclear freeze. They also supported additional military spending to ward off Republican charges that the Democrats are "soft on defense."

## Democratic Party a trap

Overall, the Democrats are hoping to capitalize on the expected anti-Reagan backlash among working people, Blacks, women and peace activists in the fall elections, pretending to support their needs and concerns without committing themselves to anything definite.

Already, Democratic Party politicians are hard at work trying to convince the various movements and organizations that are beginning to mobilize

popular opposition to the Reagan administration to rebuild the Democratic Party and support it as the chief vehicle for their struggles.

This approach is bearing fruit. For example, on June 21 leaders of the Mobilization for Survival, a major group within the disarmament movement, argued in New York for concentrating on "electoral activity" this fall. The National Organization for Women (NOW) is planning to "turn to the ballot box" following the defeat of the ERA, and the NAACP's convention slogan was: "Elect We Must, Leadership We Can Trust."

Working for and supporting the Democratic Party represents a trap for the anti-Reagan movement that is just beginning to emerge. Electing Democrats won't solve anybody's problems. The Democratic Party is just as committed to defending the interests of the corporations and banks that dominate the U.S. and the capitalist system as a whole as is the Republican Party. They differ with the Republicans only on tactics.

As long as U.S. capitalism is in crisis, the Democrats, just like the Republicans, will in fact support attacks on the living conditions and political rights of workers, the poor and various oppressed groups. What matters is not what they say, especially when they are out of power, but what they do. No one should forget that the current capitalist and right-wing offensive against workers and oppressed people began under a Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, and a Democratic-controlled Congress.

We can defend ourselves only by building a militant mass movement independent of both capitalist parties that can fight for what we need, not what the capitalists and the liberals tell us is possible. Our strength lies in our ability to mobilize militant strikes, demonstrations and other actions that can force the capitalists to retreat, not in trooping off to the polls to vote for the "lesser evil" every couple of years. This is what we must keep in mind when the Democrats come asking for our votes in coming months. □

# Gay Pride Day...

(Continued from page 5)

Latin people, lesbians and gays, women, Jews, unionists and other special targets of Nazi/Klan terror, the demonstration was something less than "historic." Significantly larger crowds have mobilized against the Nazis in the Chicago area in the past and the Nazis have never been able to rally for as long as they did at Lincoln Park on June 27.

Moreover, although only 40 uniformed police, some on horses, were used to protect the Nazis from the crowd, the police presence was actually magnified by the SL itself, which on numerous occasions tried to stop people from throwing rocks at the Nazis, often falsely telling anti-Nazi demonstrators "there's a cop right behind you." On one occasion, the SL was even seen physically subduing a would-be rock thrower.

Finally, the SL alienated much of the crowd by refusing to pick up on chants related to lesbians and gay men that started in the crowd—despite the fact that the Nazi rally was a

clear provocation to the annual gay pride activities, and despite the large numbers of lesbians and gay men in the crowd.

Despite the anti-gay stance of various left groups, the sectarian shenanigans of the Spartacist League and the "ignore the Nazis" line of the official gay establishment, a decent-sized crowd did mobilize to protest the race-hating, anti-gay bigots. This was positive.

At the same time, groups like the Nazis and Klan are continuing to made headway: Just before the Nazis ended their Lincoln Park rally, a group of about a dozen young white people on the fringe of the crowd began to chant "white power" and heckle the anti-Nazi rally. Apparently encouraged by the long fascist rally, they declared themselves "supporters of the KKK" and one of their number tried to start a fight with an anti-Nazi demonstrator.

Though the youthful racists were eventually driven off by a handful of Stonewall Committee members, the incident shows the deadly nature of the Nazi/Klan appeals to bigotry. □

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